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## ERRATA.

- Page 90, line 8 from bottom, for '*giving*' read '*give*.'
- 89, line 3, after *No.* insert *XXV*.
- 93, line 12, for *these* read *those*.
- 95, line 6, for '*auxiliary*' read '*ancillary*'
- 98, line 3, for *Trowbridge* read *Tunbridge*, and so *passim*.
- 106, line 15, for *letter* read *letting*.
- — line 20, for *price* read *fine*.
- — line 32, for *it* read *them*.
- 107, line 10, for *people* read *atms-people*.
- 108, line 11 from bottom, for *know* read *cars*.
- 162, line 12, for *indices* read *indicia*.
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PRESENTED BY  
ABANI NATH MUKHARJI  
OF UTTARPARA,  
THE

# EDINBURGH REVIEW,

JULY, 1819.

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N<sup>o</sup>. LXIII.

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ART. I. *Neueste Ostfriesische Geschichte.* Von TILEMAN DOTHIAS WIARDA. Berlin, 1818.

BY the treaty of Vienna, the principality of East Friesland was ceded to his Majesty, and annexed to the newly created kingdom of Hanover. The volume now before us concludes the history of that province, which the very learned TILEMAN DOTHIAS WIARDA \* began many years ago, under the auspices of the East-Frisick States or Parliament, to whom he was secretary,—and whom he has outlived. During the usurpation of the French, East Friesland was disguised under the name of the Department of the Ems, and incorporated in the Great Empire. Its peculiar constitution was then suppressed—and we have not heard that the Hanoverian ministers of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, have yet thought fit to reassemble the ‘knights, burghers and commonalty,’ who in former times displayed a spirit of independence and patriotism, which was frequently very troublesome to their hereditary rulers, the Princes of the house of Czirksena. The first of this line held his authority by the choice of the people; but such recollections are soon effaced; and the descendants of Ulrick were as well inclined to tyrannize over their loving subjects, as if they had owed their origin to Hugh Capet, or Rodolph of Hapsburgh.

The voluminous chronicles of an obscure and inconsiderable territory, scarcely discernible on the map, and whose name is

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\* Wiarda has published several other works relating to the history and antiquities of East Friesland, of which we have availed ourselves in the composition of this article.

seldom pronounced by the historical muse, may appear unattractive even to those who seek for information, and unworthy of the study of those who endeavour to diffuse it. But the countries occupied by the Frisons, are included, either ethnographically or politically, amongst the ancient States of the Netherlands, who, with the kindred Hanse, were the counterparts, in the North, of the republics of fairer Italy in the South of Europe.—In his attachment to freedom, the Belgian certainly did not yield to the Italian; nor did he contribute less to the progress of the arts of civilized life. Lisle strove against arbitrary power with as much resolution as Milan or Florence.—The pallet of John of Bruges enabled the disciple of Cimabue to attain his immortality.—If Venice clothed the gay courtiers of Burgundy in silks and sandals, Arras spread the produce of her looms on the walls of the presence chamber of Castile: And the heavily laden vessels of Antwerp crossed the adventurous track of the Argosies of the Frescobaldi. The early splendour, however, of the Northern worthies, seems to have obtained but the transient gaze of posterity, whilst that of Italy is ever before our eyes: and it may be puzzling to account for this difference. We are misled, perhaps, by our partiality to our own favourite pursuits; but we cannot help imputing it chiefly to the fact, that literature has not led us to study their politics:—*Carent vate sacro*.—They have no poets to invite us into the Stadthouse. It is Genius that sends forth the emanations which bind the past to the present. Dante and Petrarch and Boccaccio still live as our companions and our friends; they compel us to embrace their opinions, and to share their feelings; and their immortality is imparted to all around them. The wars and revolutions which affected the destinies of these great men, and which awaken the liveliest interest when connected with their biography, or interwoven in their writings, would not command the attention of the reader with equal power, if he considered the events merely in their dry historical bearings. But for the banishment of Dante, we should be just as ignorant of the disputes of the Bianchi and the Neri, as we are of the factions of ancient Holland, which divided the Dutchmen in twain, under the portentous names of the Kabbeljauers and the Hocckens.

Yet history may be instructive, though destitute of the brilliant colouring of poetical associations, and barren of decisive wars and glorious victories. The Great States of Europe were made up of smaller countries and feuds which had been brought together at different intervals, and whose constitutions did not merge in the government of the ruling sovereignty. The provincial states of France were of much greater importance to the

people, and consequently ought to be more interesting to the historical observer than the later institution of the States-General of the kingdom; although these have almost exclusively engaged the attention of historians: and the remark is applicable with still greater force to Germany. On these two Empires were dependent all the towns and provinces peopled by the Belgic races—and nowhere can the constitutional governments of the middle ages be studied with more satisfaction. To us also the Belgic laws and customs are the more valuable, from their resemblance to the ancient usages of England; for many of the nations included in the Saxon confederation, were of Belgic kind and tongue.

‘ Upon the particular accounts given me of the province of *Friesland*,’ says Sir William Temple, in his *Observations upon the United Provinces*, ‘ I began to make reflections upon them, as the likeliest originals of many ancient institutions amongst us, of which no others can be found, and which may seem to have been introduced by the Saxons here, and, by their long and absolute possession of that part of the isle called England, to have been so planted and rooted amongst us, as to have waded safe, in a great measure, through the succeeding inundations and conquests of the Danish and Norman nations; and perhaps there may be much matter found for the curious remarks of some diligent and studious antiquaries, in the comparison of the *Bailie* or *Grietman* amongst the Frisians with our Sheriffs; of their Assessors with our Justices of the Peace; of their judging civil causes in their district upon the first resort, but not without appeal, with the course of our Quarter Sessions; of their chief judicature being composed of counsellors of four several quarters with our four circuits; of these being the common criminal judicature of the country; of the composition of their States with our Parliament, at least our House of Commons; in the particulars of two deputies being chosen from each town as with us, and two from each bailiarge, as from each county here; and these last by voices of all persons possessed of a certain quantity of land, and at a meeting assembled by the Grietman for that purpose; and these deputies having full power to resolve of all matters without resort to those that chose them, or knowledge of their intentions, which are all circumstances agreeing with our constitutions, but absolutely differing from those of the other provinces in the United States, and from the composition, I think, of the States, either now or formerly used in the other nations of Europe.’

These remarks contain, as is usual in the works of this acute and sensible, but hasty writer, much striking truth, mingled with gratuitous conjectures, and weakened by unfounded assertions. But the analogy which he has pointed out between the Parliament of England and the ancient government of Fries-

land is indisputable; and we may, with much profit, study the constitution of England, in the *Meene-Mente*, or Parliament of *Upstalboom*. The Supreme Legislative body by which the *Frisick States* had been governed from the dawn of their history, possessed all the essential characters of the popular branches of our Government. It was a representation of the commonalty, united to a landed aristocracy. Deputies were annually chosen by the *Frisick* land-owners to assist in the name of the *Meene-Mente*, or Commonalty, at the general council of the nation, at a time when we cannot prove that representatives of shires sat in the Commons House of Parliament in England. None of the circumstances indeed under which the English House of Commons is supposed to have arisen, ever existed among the *Frison*s, nor were their liberties purchased or won like English liberty, nor did their constitution unfold itself like the English constitution. Yet the representation of the commonalty of landholders formed the basis of their government; and we may admit the possibility, at least, that such a system may have existed amongst our Saxon ancestors, when we trace it in the enchorial polity of the nations, who, less fortunate than their associates, remained behind amidst the swamps and marshes of *Friesland*, and on the shores of the Northern Sea.

We confess, with all humility, that if we owed nothing to the Saxon *Frison*s, except Justices of the Peace and Quarter Sessions, and Sheriffs and Members of Parliament, it might be suspected that we, degenerate Saxons, were under no peculiar obligation to them. But there is one benefit which they conferred upon England, which certainly deserves the gratitude of posterity. The 'Vir illustrissimus' Doctor *PIERIUS WINSEMIUS*, historiographer to their High Mightinesses the States of *Friesland*, informs us, in the second book of his *Chronijk van Frieslandt*, printed at *Franecker* by Jan Lamrincke, 1622, that the pleasant custom of *Kissing* was utterly unpractised and unknown in England, (just as it is at this day in New Zealand, where sweethearts only know how to touch noses when they wish to be kind), until the fair Princess *Ronix*, the daughter of King *Hengist* of *Friesland*, 'pressed the beaker with her *lipkens*,' i. e. little lips, and saluted the amorous *Vortigern* with a *kusjen*, i. e. a little kiss, according, as Doctor *Pierius* quoth, 'to the practice of our (*Frisick*) nation.'\* We quote the passage below, in the original low

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\* Want dese *Rowena* ofte *Ronixa* na dat sy even met hare *lipkens* den *Beecker* aenghereiret hadde, heeft hem den *Coninck* overgelevert, presenteerende hem nae, tghebruyck van onse natie, hare rechterhand eende een *kusjen*, waer over de *Coninck* in zyn ghemoedt

Dutch, on account of the tender harmony and amatory elegance of the language. From this period, continues Dr Pierius Winsemius, the aforesaid custom of kissing was adopted in Britain; so that the learned Erasmus Rotterodamus, many ages after, found occasion to praise the whole land on account thereof.

We think that Mr Turner, in the new edition of his most valuable Anglo-Saxon history, should include the lands to the south of the Elbe, in the map which he has given of the countries occupied by the Saxons on the Continent. The antient authorities are unanimous in stating, that a considerable portion of the population of England was composed of Frisons. In the ancient metrical chronicle of Kolyn, the invasion of Britain is strongly expressed by a single word. He says that the Frisons, the Angles, the Saxons and the Allemans, *swarmed* over into Britain. He wrote partly from tradition, and partly from other writers of greater name. Procopius considered the Frisons as one of those tribes who divided Britain; and Bede names them as the first of the nations from whom Saint Egbert held that the Anglo-Saxons derived their origin. Language is the surest test of affinity between nations; and the assertions of these several historians are corroborated by the resemblance of the Frisick tongue to the Anglo-Saxon. Saint Egbert sent out twelve English missionaries—Willebrand, Swibert, Acca, Wigbert, Willibald, Wimbald, Lebwin, the two Ewalds, Warnefried and Marcelin, who ‘being born in England of Frisick and Saxon race,’ were able ‘to present the Gospel to the Pagan Frisons and Saxons in *lingua Germanica* ;’ and Willebrod of Northumberland is particularly noticed for his proficiency in Frisick,

Angels uten Neersassen was  
Van Northumberlande das  
Ons tie schreften laten horen  
Sinte Willebrod geboren  
En te prekten zy te mael  
Goede in ti Friese tael,

The language spoken by the old or Continental Saxons, in the reign of Charlemagne, was nearly English; but it soon lost its purity by the admixture of the Francic dialect. The Frisick, on the contrary, continued unadulterated during several centuries; and even now, as the boors in Friesland sing or say—

*Bufter, breat en greene tzies,  
Is guth Inglish en guth Friesch.*

---

so seer verheuget is, dat hy haer terstont tot een wijve genomen ende vercooren heeft. Heeft die gewoonte van *kussen* naermaels in Brittanien plaetse begrepen, *Chronijck van Frieslandt*, p. 43.

Which, duly expounded, means that  
 Butter, bread, and green cheese,  
 Is good English and good Friese.

Very guth *Inglisch* indeed ! The dialect, however, which is now called *Friesch*, is a corrupted *patois*. The ancient language, in which the laws and charters are written, is no longer spoken ; but the Frisick peasants retain the original pronunciation of the Anglo-Saxon Theta. There is no doubt but that this sound was once common to all the Gothic dialects ; and it would be difficult to ascertain why it became obscured in most of them. In East Friesland, the ancient Frisick has been banished by the Nether Saxon ; and the language of the State of Friesland Proper, of which the distich we have quoted is a specimen, retains only the vestiges or corruptions of its ancient nomenclature. The codes of Brokmerland and Hunsingr, written in the thirteenth century, are the oldest monuments of the Frisick tongue ; and both in vocabulary and in grammar, it approaches nearer to the Anglo-Saxon, than any other of the Teutonic or Scandinavian dialects. The Norsk bears a close resemblance to the Anglo-Saxon in its roots ; yet its grammatical structure differs essentially. Wiarda has translated some passages from King Ethelbert's laws into Frisick, with scarcely any other change except a modification of the orthography.

*Gif þuman ofarlægþ xx scill. gif þuman nægl of weorðeþ in scill, gebete. gif man feýtefingen ofarlægþ viii scill. gebete. gif man mroblefingen ofarlægþ iv scill. gebete. gif man goldfingen ofarlægþ vi scill. gebete. gif man þon litelan fingen ofarlægþ xi scill. gebete.*

*Æt þam neglum gehwylcum scill.*

*Æt þam lægeretan plite-pamme in scill. æt þam maran vi scill.*

The following is Wiarda's Frisick translation.

*Gef thuman offeslayt xx scill. Gef thuman negl of weorth iii scill. ebete.*

*Gef man scot fingr offeslayt viii scill. ebete. Gef man lange fingr offeslayt v scill. ebete. Gef man then gold fingr offeslayt vi scill. ebete.*

*Gef man then litka fingr offeslayt xi scill. ebete,*

*Fram tham neglum hwelicum scyl.*

*Fram tham lerestan wlite wleuma ii scill. and fram tham maran vi scill.*

But, though thus closely allied, the Frisick and Anglo-Saxon languages are not to be identified. The former may perhaps claim the distinction of being the least altered branch of that widely extended language, which may be intelligibly though incorrectly designated as *Belgic*. In the history of nations and of languages, words may be considered as tokens, which pass ac-

according to their received, not their real value. Whether this primitive tongue was or was not the dialect of the Belgic Britons before the Saxon conquest, may be the subject of fruitless conjecture; but there are reasons for supposing that it was spoken in England concurrently with the Anglo-Saxon, and that it became the basis of the modern English language, which was certainly evolved in many districts of this island before the Anglo-Saxon became extinct in others. In a greater or lesser degree, it entered into the composition of the Jutish or Danish, of the Flemish, and of the Nether Saxon;—many of which, in their turns, again and again reacted upon each other, whilst new compounds resulted from the amalgamation. Claude Duret, one of the earliest philologists of modern Europe, chose an elegant device, which is engraved in the title-page of his ‘*Tresor des Langues.*’ It is the fig-tree—

———— such as at this day to Indians known  
In Malabar or Decan, spreads her arms,  
Branching so broad and long, that in the ground  
The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow  
About the mother tree.

The emblem is singularly expressive of the growth of languages. It is as easy to point out the general affinity of each class, as it is difficult to define their mutual relationship, with accuracy and distinctness. The summit of each new stem is lost in the foliage of the parent branch, and the base is rendered inaccessible by the scions which again spring from its root.

In the early chronicles of Friesland, we meet with the customary procession of ideal monarchs and heroes, who invariably pace along the pages of the monkish writers; but no facts of moment relating to Frisick history are to be collected earlier than the seventh century. The country did not escape the ravages of the Northmen, by whom it was occasionally subjected. Radbod, who is called king of the Frisons by several historians, was conquered by Charlemagne in 716. The story of his indignant rejection of Christianity is well known: But Radbod was a Dane and a tyrant, and not a native prince. Godfreyd of Denmark reconquered the country;—he was as oppressive as his predecessor;—and the Frisons were again delivered by the might of the orthodox emperor. These Danish tyrants were so abhorred by the Frisons, that their cruelty became traditional. Popular aversion bestows a whimsical deformity on its objects. Our countryfolks will never forget bloody Queen Mary, who intended to make all the English women give suck to puppy dogs: And as strange stories were current respecting the severity of the Danish kings. The yoke of these oppressive and



insatiate robbers was galling to the Frisons; and Charlemagne was considered as the deliverer of the nation: Thus he is praised as the 'beloved Charles,' in the fragment of a very antient popular ballad, which has been incorporated in the prefaces to the Frisick Codes.

—— thi minera  
Karl, hi was minnera  
And hi was betera  
Hi stifte and sterde  
Triwa and werde.

'The beloved Charles; he was beloved, and he was the bettermost; he ruled and steered (with) truth and faith.' Charlemagne governed his half-subdued subjects with a wise and considerate policy, when religious zeal did not exasperate him. The conquered were left in possession of their laws; and he established himself by asserting his supremacy rather than his dominion.

The Frankish emperors delegated their authority to a governor, who first bore the title of a Duke, afterwards of a Count. Wiarda calls him quaintly, yet appropriately, by the name of the Stadtholder. This government was not incompatible with the rights and freedom of the people. We may judge that the authority of the Counts of Friesland was more restricted than in the other provinces of the empire; for no one of these delegated rulers was able to render the government of the entire country hereditary in his posterity. The Frisick territory, under the Carolingians, extended from the mouth of the Meuse to the Weser. The Flye, the present Zuyder sea, divided the eastern Frieslanders from the west Frieslanders. The latter, however, appear to have been governed rather in federation than in union with their eastern brethren. Towards the fall of the Frankish monarchy, the country was divided. DIRK, the first Count of Holland, became master of the greater part of the western territory, (now constituting Holland), in the year 922. A small portion between the Alkmaar and the Flye retained its liberty, and the name of West Friesland, which it yet preserves, though incorporated with Holland. Dirk's dominions were long known by the name of *Frisia hereditaria*; whilst the rest of the country was honourably distinguished as *FRISIA LIBERA*. It comprehends the modern provinces of Friesland Proper and Groningen, and the principality of East Friesland.

Liberty may be entitled a mountain-nymph by the poet, but never did she find a surer domicile than amidst the fens of the Netherlands. Nature has treated man more kindly than the

philosophers; they would regulate his capacity for freedom according to the elevation of the mercury in the weather-glass; but she teaches him to defy their rules, and to laugh at their speculations. *Free Friesland* was worthy of the name: The common greeting of the people was neither simple *wassail*, nor *peace be with you*; but they saluted one another with ‘health, thou noble freeman.’ In the 12th century, they no longer feared the sword of the Emperor, nor did they very much respect his sceptre. The slight authority which the head of the Holy Roman empire retained in a few districts, was only acknowledged in theory. Military tenures did not exist, nor were they ever introduced into the country; and the priesthood had no temporal authority. The independence and self-rule of the Frieslanders was so striking, when compared to the rest of Europe, that it was forced upon the notice of old Bartholomew, though the writers of the middle ages seldom advert to constitutional polity. Bartholomew, whom we quote in the venerable language of his translator Trevisa, is emphatic in his description of Frisia. ‘The men,’ says he, ‘ben hye of bodye, stronge of vertu, sterne and fiers of herte, and swyft and quiver of body. They ben free, and not subjecte to lordship of other nations; and they put them in perill of dethe by cause of freedom. And they hadde lever dye than be under the yocke of thraldome. Therefore they forsake dygnyte of knyghthoode, and suffre none to ryse and to be greater among them under the tyle of knyghthode, but they ben subject to judges that they chese of themselfe from yere to yere, whiche rule the comynite among them.’

Free Friesland was divided into seven ‘*Sea-lands*,’ or provinces, obviously so called, because they were all bounded by the sea; and the Sea lands were subdivided into several smaller districts, or shires, which, in respect to the management of their internal affairs, were wholly independent of each other. In each of these districts, the powers of legislation and of judicature were vested in the *Ghemena-mente*, or *Meene-mente*; in the commonalty or in the land-owners assembled in the *Liodthing*, a meeting strictly corresponding to the Saxon Folk-mote. The Liodthing met at stated times as a matter of course; but when the Commons were summoned for any particular purpose, the Assembly took the name of the *Bodthing*, (from *Beda*, A. S. heotan—Engl. *to bid*.) The Bodthing was called for the purpose of passing judgment in cases of urgent necessity. Under the Imperial Government, the court of each district, or shire, held a Bodthing every fourth year, in the nature of an assembly of provincial estates. And the same name was also

anciently applied to the general assembly of the representatives of the Frisons, when summoned by the Emperors.

Land, contrary perhaps to what might have been expected, was held freely and allodially, and feudal tenures and vassalage were wholly unknown; for the territorial jurisdictions, which we shall notice below, have no proper analogy to feudality. The laws distinguish between land acquired by descent, or held by common right, and land acquired by purchase, or by deed, called *cap-land* and *hock-land*; the latter apparently corresponding with the Anglo-Saxon tenure. Whether held by inheritance or by purchase, the right of the owner appears to have been equally secure; but if a title was contested, the proofs of ownership were adapted to the nature of the land. An heir could not be compelled to wage battle for his inheritance in any case; and he defended his right by the oaths of twelve men. Cap-land or hock-land was held by the oaths of seven recognitors; though sometimes exposed to a more hazardous ordeal. Trial by battle was not excluded by the law; and the possessor might therefore be compelled to meet the demandant in the field. A custom prevailed amongst the Frisons, somewhat analogous to Borough English; land was partible, but the younger son was preferred, by taking the head tenement, and the chief portion of the patrimony; and if territorial authority was annexed to it, the rights of jurisdiction passed undivided to the youngest son. Thus, in 1358, Kampo, the youngest son of the noble Wiard Abdena, succeeded to the lordship of Aurich, to the exclusion of his elder brother. This custom of preferring the younger son, exists also in some English manors. All the lands in a district, called the Theel-land, \* lying in the bailiwick of Norden and Bertum, are held by a very extraordinary tenure—we speak in the present tense, for the customs of the Theeland were subsisting in the year 1805; and we do not suppose that they have since become obsolete. The Agrarian law, elsewhere a phantom, either lovely or terrific, according to the imagination of the spectator, is here fully realized. The land is considered as being divided into portions, or *Theels*, each containing a stated quantity: the owners are called Theel-men, or Theel-boors; but no Theel-boor can hold more than one theel in severalty. The undivided, or common land, comprizing the theels not held by individuals, belongs to all the inhabitants of the Theel-land, and is cultivated, or farmed out, on their joint account. The Theel-boor cannot sell his hereditary theel, or alienate it in any way, even to his nearest relations.

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\* From the Frisick, *Teelan* or *Tilan*, A. S.—Eng. *to till*.

On his death, it descends to his youngest son.—If there are no sons, it descends to the youngest daughter, under the restrictions after mentioned; and, in default of issue, it reverts to the commonalty. But elder sons are not left destitute: When they are old enough to keep house, a theel is assigned to each of them (be they ever so many), out of the common lands, to be held to them and their issue, according to the customary tenure. If a woman, who has inherited a theel, becomes the wife of a Theelboor, who is already in possession of a theel, then her land reverts to the commonalty, as in case of death without issue. All lawsuits and disputes are decided in the Folkmote, which is held once in each year; and no appeal is allowed from its decision.

Faithful to the customs of their Scythian forefathers, the Teutons and Scandinavians did not willingly abandon the principle which secured the equal enjoyment of the gifts of nature to every individual in the tribe or sept.

Campestres melius Scythæ,  
 Quorum plaustra vagas ritè trahunt domos,  
 Vivunt et rigidi Getæ,  
 Inmetata quibus jugera liberas  
 Fruges et Cererem ferunt;  
 Nec cultura placet longior annuâ  
 Defunctumque laboribus  
 Æquali recreat sorte vicarius.

The Gothic nations, emigrating from their native wilds, spoiled those who had been enriched and enervated with the treasures of Asia; yet after the frame of society had been created again out of new and heterogeneous elements, the community of land was still cherished and retained by them. Poets, however, are not the most accurate teachers of rural economy. It is now well ascertained, that metes and bounds promote the welfare of the husbandman; and we never regret to witness the creation of the hedges and ditches, which, by authority of Parliament, invade the 'open and unenclosed common fields,' derived from Scythian polity. Yet if Horace were to return from Elysium, he might even now be rejoiced by beholding the vestiges of the free harvests of the Scythians and the Getæ; and Tacitus \* might almost be quoted at Westminster-hall, when an action is brought for a *shifting or changeable acre* in an English com-

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\* Agri pro numero cultorum at universis per vires occupantur quos mox inter se secundum dignitatem partiantur: facilitatem partiendi camporum spatia præstant. Arva per annos mutant, et superest ager.—*Tacitus, de Mor. Ger. cxxvi.*

mon field. We can still trace the steps by which the boundless liberty of the Nomadic races was partially restrained into conformity with the wants of incipient civilization. They broke and ploughed the ground; the crop became as valuable as the pasture; they needed bread corn, and were no longer contented with milk, and the flesh of the slaughtered animal; agriculture advanced, but they did not cease to be shepherds and herdsmen; and the territory over which they were spread continued to be the property of the community. Hence arose the system of annual allotments of land, which were sown in severalty, but grazed promiscuously after the reaping of the harvest. † This is the 'special manner of common,' which in Norfolk is called '*Shacke*,' or '*Shock*.' And the report of the decision of '*Sir Miles Corbet's case*,' pronounced by the Court of King's Bench, '*11ilt. 27. Eliz.*' affords a clear commentary on the primitive agriculture of the Teutons. In Normandy, all unenclosed arable and pasture lands were subject, by the custom of the country, to the same 'special manner of common;' and the season when the Normans fed and grazed *promiscuë*, was called the *Bannon*. \* By this system of alternate cultivation and pasturage, the generous freedom of patriarchal simplicity was in some measure combined with the churlish ineptum et tium of the Iron Age. And the tenures of the tillers of the Theeland were gradually frained to answer the same end.

The liberties of the Frisick people were watched with great jealousy:—Thus it was the law of Brokmerland, that no man might build towers or strong walls, or live in a house higher than twelve feet beneath the roof; and all buildings of stone, save convents and the 'houses of God,' were utterly forbidden.—

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† In the county of Norfolk, there is a special manner of common, called *Shacke*, which is to be taken on arable land after harvest, until the land be sowed again. And that began in ancient times in this manner.—The fields of arable land in this country do consist of the lands of divers several persons lying intermixed in many several small parcels, so that it is not possible for any one of them, without trespass to others, that they can feed their cattle on their own land; and therefore every one doth put their cattle to feed *promiscuë* in the open field. These words, *to have Shacke*, is as much as to say, to go at liberty, or at large.—2 Rep. 5.

\* *Coutumes de Normandie*, art. 81-5. Paswage has the following note. 'Le mot *banon* est pris pour le temps auquel les terres ne sont ni cultivées ni ensemencées, et qu'elles sont libres à quiconque y veut mener ses bestiaux sans la permission du propriétaire, ce qui s'entend des terres qui ne sont point closées de hayes ou de fosses, lesquelles sont défendues en tout temps.'

Brokmerland was divided into four Quarters. Rustringia and Hunsingoe, were also divided in the same manner. This we learn from their customs; and we may conclude, that a similar organization prevailed in every shire or district of sufficient extent.—The Meene-mente, or landowners of every hamlet, chose their own *Redieva*, or *Reeve*, whose authority was confined to the little district which elected him. The landholders of all the hamlets contained in each fardingdela, or Quarter, assembled, or resolved themselves in a quarter Liodthing, where they elected a Capital Redieva, the chief judicial officer of the quarter, who held his office during a year, and who was also the representative, or deputy of the Meene-mente, in the General Council or Parliament of Friesland. These Capital Reeves decided smaller matters of their own authority—subject, however, to an appeal to the *Smela Wurf*, or Sessions, or full bench of the Reeves of the shire; and from this Court a second appeal could be had to the Meene-mente assembled in the Liodthing or Bodthing. In Hunsingoe, the elective franchise is apparently given to ‘every man’ of the *Karspel*; an indefinite description which must be restricted by analogy. It is singular, however, that the farming labourers, who had not a landed qualification, were distinctly authorized to vote in the election of a parish priest. And in Westerwold, on the contrary, only the wisest man from each household was to attend the Folkmote. The Meene-mente of the four Quarters resolved themselves twice a year into a General Assembly or Folkmote of Brokmerland, where any disputes between the Quarters were decided, and wherelaws were enacted which were binding throughout the shire.

The government of a Frisick shire, thus proceeded by a triple gradation of democracies, each of which possessed its own judicial and executive officers, who also represented the meene-mente, or landholders, from whom their authority emanated, in the supreme council of the nation. The Redieva swore before all the people, that he would give help without fee or reward, unto the poor like as unto the rich, unto his enemy like as unto his friend. This Redieva was sometimes called the Grietman, but anciently and generally he was known by the name of the Asega. The Latin writers translate this title by *Judex*, or *Consul*; and under all those names he appears as the representative of his Meene-mente at the Parliament of Upstalboom. The free choice of this officer by the people was therefore their most important constitutional privilege; and thus it is ensured to them by their ancient bill of rights, which is said to have been confirmed by Charlemagne;—a document which, if not authentic according to the letter, is certainly so according to the spirit,

and, at all events, of high antiquity. Whilst the Imperial authority was acknowledged, the Asega took his oath of office before the Emperor,—‘*Ille Asega non debet quemquam judicare, nisi plebs eligerit ipsum, et ipse coram Imperatore Romano juraverit; tunc tenetur scire omnia jura que sunt Kesta et Londruich, id est petitiones et edicta.*’ In the same manner they elected the *Aldirmon*,\* who was an executive officer nearly corresponding to our Sheriff,—the *Tulemon*, who acted as attorney general of the people;—the *Eedswara*, or inquest man—and the *Keddar*, *Bannere*, or *Frona*, the summoner, crier, or beadle.

We have before noticed, that laws of each district were enacted by the people assembled in the *Liud-thing*. They chose to claim this privilege as the ancient concession of Charlemagne, according to their metrical law.

Tha wi Fresa Kerstena wrdon  
 Tha urjef us thi Kinig Karl  
 Sa hwersa alle lioda enne Kere kere,  
 That hi stede and stalle were  
 Bi londcs leggore  
 And bi lioda libbande.

\* When wa Frisons became Christians, then the King Charles granted to us, when as all the folk chuse a law that it shall remain steady and still, as long as the land shall lye and people shall live.

In the custumals of the early part of the 13th century, the enactments proceed wholly from the Meene-mente, or Commonalty. Thus, in the statutes of Humsterland, ‘*Hæc sunt statuta terre Hummerke, que statuta universitas voluit.*’ The expression *universitas* deserves attention, because it is applied in like manner in English records to the commonalty, both of the English counties, and of the entire kingdom assembled in Parliament. The statutes of Langewold begin with the same declarations—‘*Post annum grati M.CC.VII statuta sunt hæc jura ab omnibus Laicis in Langewolda morantibus.*’—And in the custumal of Hunsingoe, the laws are declared to have been chosen by the people ‘*Thit hebbat thaliude keren.*’

An assembly of unlettered husbandmen would find it difficult to settle the form of a new law, or to revise the text of an ancient custom. This task, therefore, was usually entrusted to a special committee. Thus the men of Brokmerland named their *Keremen*, who, after due consideration, proposed the law to the people, by whom it was adopted. ‘*This hath been chosen by the Keremen, and it pleased all the people.*’ In the new sta-

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\* There was also an Aldirmon of the Dikes.

tutes of Hunsingoe, the laws are said to have been 'chosen by the abbots (*i. e.* priests), and the wisest of Hunsingenaland.' But their propositions did not become laws, till they were accepted by the rest of the *Meene-mente*, or *Commonalty*. This practice was universal amongst the Teutonic nations, whose laws, sometimes apparently proceeding only from the members of such committees, under the names of *Sapientes*, *Optimates*, *Witan*, and other equivalent denominations, received in fact their validity from the assent, either expressed or implied, of the body of the people.

In the 14th century, we find the two estates of the clergy and the nobility noticed, for the first time, in the style of the legislative assemblies. The *Hovetlinge*, or territorial nobility, are mentioned in the statutes of Emsiga, enacted in 1312. And in 1446, 'the Parsons and Curates' appear by the side of the 'Judges, Consuls, and Commonalty of the land of Hunsingoe.' The *Liod-thing*, however, was not the less democratic. It was exactly like an ancient county court, where all the suitors were of equal weight; or a modern English county meeting, in which the nobility and clergy, though mentioned by name, are distinguished purely by courtesy and respect, and without possessing any superiority in rights over the lay or untitled freeholder. The *Hovetlinge* and the clergy appeared in the *Liod-thing*, solely in their character of landholders, or members of the *Meene-mente*, and on a perfect equality with the rest of the unlettered or unprivileged *Meene-mente*.\*

The Priest, it is said, in the laws of Brokmerland, 'must not meddle with worldly affairs, for he is consecrated unto his own office;' a wise maxim, and singular in an age of priestcraft. But the parish priests were elected by the *Meene-mente*, like the secular Judges. As a body, the clergy had no authority, except a very limited ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which was strictly defined. The Church was curbed in every mode. The Frisons paid no tithes to the parson, and the parson paid no first fruits or tenths to the Pope of Rome. Over part of the country the Archbishop of Bremen exercised a diocesan jurisdiction; the remainder was within the Bishoprics of Utrecht and Munster. But these powerful prelates were compelled to respect the privileges of freemen. It was the boast of Abbot Emo, their chronicler,

\* 'Si quidem nobiles et liberi plebei dummodo prædia possiderent æquabili jure rempublicam et libertatem tutabantur, non alio quam popularis communis titulo, id est gemene gemente. Siccama ad Ll. Ir. 68.' Wiarda differs from Siccama in opinion; but without reason.



that the Bishop could not take a chicken against their will. 'In tanta libertate in Frisia constituti sumus quod nec pullum gallinæ per suos potuit episcopus capere.' Like the Greeks, the Frisons called their priests by the name of *Papas*; and they were *Papas* in a lawful way. Æneus Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius V., and Abbot Emo, both state, that all the parish priests of Friesland were married, because the Frisons did not like to trust a lusty celibate priest in their villages. The Pope states the fact and the reason with historical calmness; the Abbot inveighs against the abuse. Friesland retained its married priesthood during many centuries. We apprehend that this custom, as well as the name given to the Priests, may be considered as indicating an early connexion with the Eastern Church.

In the *Lex Frisionum*, we find the usual distinctions of *Nobilis*, *Liber*, and *Litus*. The rank of the Teutonic *litus* has been much discussed; he appears to have been a villein, owing many services to his landlord, but above the class of slaves. If a free Frison killed a noble Frison, he paid eighty shillings for his *weregild*—53 shillings and a penny was the price of the head of an equal. If a *Litus* had fallen, his lord received 27 shillings bating a penny, whilst the relations of the deceased were to be contented with 8 shillings, all but two-thirds of a penny. This was law in the Carlovigian era; but, in the Frisick customals of the 13th century, the *weregilds* are regulated according to the injury inflicted, not by the rank of the sufferer: The odious privileges which separated the classes were obliterated, and all were equally respected and equally protected against violence. Yet as inequality is a constant law of nature, the nobility were distinguished from the plebeians. This nobility was territorial; and the privileges of the nobles were annexed to their property, that is to say, to their land. The *Hovetlinge* or *Haudlinge*, *Capitanei* or headmen, for it was thus the nobility were called, were the superior owners or landlords of extensive domains, which were held by tenants who had a heritable interest in the land, subject to the performance of predial services, and the payment of rents in kind; and they were hereditary judges over their hereditary tenantry. The *Hovetlinge*, in some districts, were owners of towns and castles in their own right. In others, the people elected a *Hovetling* as commander of a garrison; and they placed him in the castle, and removed him at their will, but the privileges of the *Hovetlinge* were not equal in all the districts. The men of *Brokmerland* passed the law which forbade the erection of strongholds, lest their *Hovetlinge* should entrench themselves too securely. Neither, as Bartholomew says,

did they suffer any one to rise, and to be greater among them, under title of knighthood. The free Frisons did not grudge to the nobility the full enjoyment of their legal rights; but they were jealous, and with reason, of the haughty spirit of chivalry. The famous *Occo Then Brocke*, one of the mightiest Frisick nobles, had received the accolade from Joan of Naples. His belt and golden spurs were considered by the Frisons as ignominious tokens of his degeneracy from Frisick freedom. The enmity which his rank excited was both bitter and universal; and Folkmar Allena, \* his nephew, did not hesitate to adopt the common sentiment, and to stain his sword with the blood of his ambitious relation. In the 14th century, the Hovetlinge gradually acquired greater power, and thus became hereditary rulers of entire districts or shires; their authority generally proceeding, in the first instance, from the choice of the Meene-mente, who nominated them as their stadtholders or commanders; till at length the country was distracted by their factions, and ultimately reduced to an hereditary sovereignty.

We have seen that the government of each district was vested in the Meene-mente, except in matters of minor importance, which were decided by the elected judges, as a permanent and standing body; but the entire commonwealth was governed by its same elected legislators, when assembled in a Parliament, from which there was no appeal. ‘This is the first chosen law of all the Frisons:’—‘We come together once a year at Upstallsboom, on Tuesday in the Whitsun week, in order

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\* In consequence of the fondness of the Frisons for their ancient customs, they refused to adopt territorial surnames, which elsewhere were inseparably allotted to nobility. Exceptions are only found in the names of a very few powerful and ambitious chiefs like *Okko Then Brodik*. The Frisick surnames were patronymics, formed by adding the terminations, *a*, or *na*, or *sna*, to the parent name. Thus *Wiard* became *Wiarda*; *Uko*, *Ukena*; and *Keno*, *Kenesna*. Some of their names have an English aspect; such as *Howerd*, *Manninga*, and *Allema*. Many of the christian names, however, have a harsh Scythian sound. We may notice *Arp*, *Aut*, *Ayke Bufe*, *Bolke*, *Benne*. This circumstance is not so trifling as it may seem; for very few baptismal names were in common use in the middle ages, except those which had been borne by Christian saints; and the employment of these ugly heathen sounds, which certainly never found a place in the Calendar, indicates a corresponding diversity of habits. The most sensible names which *Wiarda* has given in his list, are *Brefe* and *Alle*, both of which were common Christian names in Friesland; though the learned author does not appear to recollect their signification:

‘ that we may then and there areed the laws which the Frison is to hold. And if any man knoweth how to amend a law, then that we may set the lighter law, and hold to the better law.’ The season of the session is not without a mystery. Putting aside the example of good king Arthur, who, as is well known to all romance readers, invariably held his Round Table at merry Carlisle in the Whitsun week—that was the time when the English Parliaments usually met in days of yore, in an age of simple devotion, when they trusted that at such a holy tide their proceedings would be sanctified by the sevenfold gifts of the spirit of wisdom, truth, and charity. †

Upstallsboom was the *Malberg*, or Hill of Pleas of the Frisons. A rising ground near Aurich, planted with oak trees, was the spot where the States assembled from time immemorial. The *Meene-mente*, or commonalty, were represented by their elected Redievas, Asegas or Grietmen, whom the Latin historians and records term ‘*Consules terræ*, or *Jurati*,’ and who, annually chosen as the executive authorities of their own immediate districts, became, when assembled, the depositaries of the power of the entire commonwealth. When the Parliament of Upstallsboom is mentioned by contemporary writers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and in the records and charters of that period, the Nobles or Hovetlinge are not named as a constituent part of the assembly. It may be conjectured, however, that they were not excluded. A rigid adherence to principle constitutes a meritorious peculiarity of the Frisick laws. It would not have been discordant to their spirit, if the hereditary judges had been entitled to a voice as well as the elected judges. But there is no proof of the fact. Wiarda assumes that the Hovetlinge formed one of the estates at Upstallsboom; but he fails completely in proving his opinion; for, strangely enough, the quotations which he adduces relate only to the district assemblies or folkmotes, in which the nobility were included in the democracy: And his assertion that they voted as a distinct estate, is still more destitute of foundation. In the fourteenth century, the Clergy appear for the first time. Having been chosen by the people, the priests may be considered as representatives, though not specially delegated for the year.

The districts or shires of Friesland being about twenty in number, were considered as composing the Seven ‘Sea-lands:’

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† The mass of the Holy Ghost was always celebrated in the presence of the counsellors of the French Parliaments, on the first day of the sitting. Louis XVI. desired that the same service might be celebrated at the opening of the proceedings in the Champ de Mars.

In some measure each 'Sea-land' had the character of a separate State. The ancient constitution of Friesland is comprized in seven articles. The second provides—'If any one of the Seven Sea-lands is attacked, either by the Southern Saxons, or by the Northmen, then shall the six come unto the help of the seventh, so that they may all do well alike.' But the protection afforded by the Commonwealth to each of its members, was to be returned by their contributing to the common tranquillity. 'If any one of the Seven Sea-lands becomes unbuxome, then shall the six rule the seventh, so as that all may fare rightly.' We have no account of the general government of each Sea-land; therefore we are not certain that the elected judges of the districts were considered as the provincial States representing the *Meene-mente* of the Sea-land in which they were locally included; yet this is the more probable, because the Seven Sea-lands elected seven judges, who were the executive authorities of the republic; they directed the affairs of the commonwealth during the intervals of the session of the *Upstallsboom* Parliament, and represented it during the vacation. In a former article, we had occasion to speak of several deputations or committees of a similar nature which existed in the constitutional governments of the middle ages. The government of each district or towuship was repeated in the organization of the legislative bodies, by which they were collectively ruled. The seven judges of the Sea-lands were invested with functions exactly analogous to those of the four judges of *Brokmerland*, only on a larger scale; and the *Meene-mente*, or commonalty, who assembled in the *Liodthing*, for the purposes of self-rule within their own district, delegated that authority to the judges, who, at *Upstallsboom*, became the *Meene-mente* of Friesland.

The records, in the strict sense of the word, of the Parliaments of *Upstallsboom*, are not numerous; and indeed it is probable that its proceedings were seldom reduced to writing. But there is full evidence that, in the early part of the thirteenth century, the representative constitution was in vigour, and that it had existed from time immemorial. This proof is given by the chronicle of Abbot Emo, who died in 1237, and who has commemorated several memorable instances when the legislative body exercised its legal authority for the preservation of the public peace.

In 1214, one *Rhadbern* a powerful nobleman of *Fivelingo*, occasioned many disturbances with the help of his family and retainers. The Consuls of the land ordered the East Fris-

landers to burn their houses to ashes; and the event formed an era in the history of the country. \* 'And all the land,' Emo continues, 'trembled before the Jurats of Upstalsboom, who, according to most ancient usage, had been elected by the commonalty of the Frisons.' A flood having damaged the possessions of the monastery of Etnerum in 1219, the neighbouring villages were ordered to contribute to the repairs of the dikes by the 'majores de septem villis mari conterminis.' In 1221, a dispute between Luderick Prior of Schelwolde, and the Præmonstratenses, and which had occasioned many popular tumults, was settled by the 'Consuls of the land, and the Jurats of Upstalsboom.' And not long afterwards, in 1231, we find them interfering between the inhabitants of Erneven and Uthusen, who disputed for the possession of an island which the Jurats adjudged to the latter.

The origin of institutions which were ancient customs in the days of Emo, has been referred to Charlemagne by some of the Frisick historians. He was considered almost as their tutelary saint; and all their franchises were ascribed to his clemency and beneficence. They boasted of a charter of freedom granted by Charlemagne, to which the purple monogram, or the golden bull, was certainly never affixed or appendent. And there is a romantic rhapsody containing the concessions made by the Emperor Charlemagne to *Magnus the standard-bearer*, the leader of the 'naked Frisons,' who won *Romera-burg*, and delivered Pope Leo. These grants are mere fictions; but they existed at an early period: and we cannot avoid admitting, that the franchises which they import were such as had been long enjoyed by the country. William, King of the Romans, confirmed the privileges of Charlemagne, by a diploma dated at Aix-la-Chapelle in the year 1248, whilst Melis Stocke, a poet of the 13th century, but a Dutchman, and an enemy of the free Frisons, laughed at their credulity.

But we find other documents relating to the rights of the Frisons, which wear an appearance of greater authenticity. The first is a petition, a bill of rights, consisting of seventeen articles, presented in the name of the Frisons to 'King Charles,' and affirmed by him. The title of *King*, given to Charlemagne, seems to show that he was considered less as Emperor, than as succes-

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\* Hic est annus VIII. ab incurſu Orientalium Friſonum in Fevel-gouſum in die B. Laurentii contra Rhadbernum et generum ſuum et ceteros parentes, quorum domus incineratæ ſunt et conſulum terræ parte. Contremuît tota terra propter Juratos quos univerſitas Friſonum de more vetuſtiſſimæ creaverat apud Upſtaliſboom.

sor, by conquest, of the ancient Frisick monarchy. It exists in Frisick, as well as in Latin; \* but the Latin text is a translation, or rather an abridged paraphrase. Legislation by petition and answer, appears peculiar to governments where the legislative authority was divided between a monarch and the representatives of his people. If the 'Vetus Jus Frisicum,' as the Latin text is entitled, be a supposititious record, it is yet of very ancient date; it was composed at a period when the Emperors were directly recognised, and when it was desirable to produce a code imposing limits on their authority. But, in the 13th century, their pretensions were obsolete, and wholly disregarded, as is proved by the laws of Brokmerland, in which the Frisons act and enact solely by their own authority. Internal evidence, therefore, carries the Vetus Jus Frisicum much further back. The first *Liodkest* relates to the security of property. 'PETITIO I. Hæc est prima petitio, et Karoli Regis concessio omnibus Frisonibus, quod universi rebus propriis utantur, quamdiu non demeruerunt possidere.' This is further enforced by the 3d article, that 'each man is to hold his fee unless he is cast by pleading and with proof, and according to law.' By the seventh article of the Frisick text, 'the Frisons claim free speech and free answer, and a free judgment seat.' Their services are defined by the 10th article with cautious accuracy, and expressed in poetical phraseology.—Neither in peace nor in war are they to 'follow the King's ban or bidding beyond the Flye towards the west, and the Weser towards the east; south to the German marches, and north to the sea, out with the ebb, and in with the flood;'—and it is the duty of each Frison to keep up 'the sea-wall which encircles the land like a golden hoop,' and guard it against the waves; and he is to oppose the encroachment of the raging sea 'with three tools,' 'with the spade, and with the fork, and with the hod;' and 'with the point of the lance, and the edge of the sword, and the brown coat of mail.' He is also to 'defend the land against the Southern Saxon and the Northman,—against the tall helmet and the red shield, and the unrighteous might. And thus shall we Frisons hold our land within and without, if they will help us, God and Saint Peter!' The Frisons were constantly exposed to the attacks of the element and the enemy. Floods desolated the land; † extensive provinces were washed

\* The Vetus Jus Frisicum was first published by Jakob de Rhoer, *Verhandelungen ter nisporing van der wetten en gesteldheit onzer Vaderlands*.—Vol. iii. p. 1. Groningen, 1781.

† The Zuyder sea covers a very considerable portion of antient West Friesland. Notwithstanding the labours bestowed upon the

away; and the neighbouring potentates, particularly the Counts of Holland, attempted repeatedly to become the Lords of Friesland; and Rodolph of Hapsburg, and his successors, supported their pretensions, as the means of reuniting Friesland to the Empire.

Such aggressions only roused the republic to resistance: And an extraordinary parliament was held, for the 'concord and reformation' of the Constitution of Friesland, on St Lambert's day 1323; when the Grietman, Judges, Prelates, and Clergy of the lands of Ostergoe and Westergoe, with the other Sea-lands of Friesland, issued a solemn declaration of their determination to defend their liberties.

'Si aliquis princeps secularis vel spiritualis cujuscunque nominis, seu dignitatis extitit, qui nos Frisones vel aliquos ex nostris impugnaverit, volens nos jugo servitutis subicere, communi concursu vel armato manu nostram libertatem mutuo tueamur.'

Very many laws were made for the regulation of judicial proceedings, and the election of the representative Judges. In the year 1324, a charter, granted by the States, runs only in the name of the '*Universitas Judicum Seclandiarum Frisæ in Upstalsboom congregatorum.*' No particular inference, therefore, respecting the rights of the clergy, as an Estate, ought to be drawn from the preamble to the laws of 1323. As we have before noticed, the nobility do not appear as a distinct Estate; and there was then no representation of towns in Friesland. Stavoren, Groningen, and Embden constituted distinct and independent States, which did not appear by representatives at Upstalsboom. On one occasion only, Groningen sent *embassadors*. This peculiarity of the States of East Friesland, the absence

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dikes, the country was always exposed to tremendous floods, which are related with minuteness in the chronicles. At a very early period, one Ivo Hopper who, as the story goes, owned great estates between Stavorn and Hoorn, sent his servant-maid to draw water at the well. and she found a herring in the bucket, which she brought to Ivo Hopper. If it had been a red herring, or a pickled herring, Ivo would probably have considered that it was quite in the ordinary course of things that such a fish should be found in the water; but it was a fresh herring; whereat he marvelled mainly. He was sufficiently acute to be warned by the miracle, as Doctor Pierius Winsemius calls the event; he sold his lands, and not long afterwards the entire tract was carried away by the sea. The sea water had percolated beneath the surface; and the land was *blown up*, according to the expression used by navigators, by the vertical pressure of the fluid.

of a representation of Burghers, continued till a period comparatively modern.

Free Friesland was at length bound down, and partitioned into principalities, by such steps as gradually subverted the Italian republics. Friesland was divided between the powerful factions of the Schiringers and the Vetkopers, who warred on each other with great fury. Each party called in foreign aid; and these foreign auxiliaries were treated without much respect for the laws of war. When a party of Frisons got a prisoner in their power, whom they suspected to be a stranger, they made him repeat *Dir iz nin Klirk zo Krol az Klirr Klamsto krol here di Klirk aller Klirken iz hia to Krol*, or else *Hyrdt racryrn lyrr*,—phrases, it seems, which no organs but those of a native Frison could pronounce with fluency; and, if the captive blundered, they instantly punished him with the *wapel-deopne*,—that is to say, they threw him into a stagnant pool, and kept him under with their lances, till he was drowned. A test somewhat similar used to be the bane of the Netherlanders on this side of the water.

—— Jakke Strawe and his meinie,  
When that they wolden any Flening kille,

first presented the luckless merchant with bread and cheese, asking him the names of the morsels. And if the poor creature opened his mouth, and answered in his ‘guth English,’ that it was breat and käse, then Jakke Strawe and his boys knocked him on the head without mercy. The Schiringers were assisted by James of Bavaria, Count of Holland, and they became his men, and acknowledged him as Duke of Friesland. He could not retain all Friesland, but he was afterwards confirmed by treaty in the possession of Friesland Proper and Groningen, which, with the rest of his dominions, afterwards passed to the House of Burgundy. East Friesland was the scene of various contests between the powerful Nobles; and the Meene-mente adhered to their various chiefs. A confederacy was formed against Ukena, a valiant Hovetling, by the Brokmer men, and the other most considerable districts, in 1430. They swore, with uplifted hands, ‘that, with the help of God Almighty, we will be free and Frisick, and stand by one another, and maintain the rights of our forefathers.’ This confederacy was called ‘the union of freedom;’ its president or protector was Edzard, the head of the ancient family of Czirksema; and under the authority of the union of freedom, he became in effect, though not in name, the sovereign of the country. Edzard died childless in the year 1439, and his brother Ulrick succeeded to his power. And, in the year 1454, the ‘Prelates, Hovet-



linge, and Freeholders, ' acknowledged him as sovereign of East Friesland, but with a reservation of their rights, franchises and privileges. Ulrick, however, had some opponents; and, to protect himself against them, he became a feudatory of the Empire, \* and accepted a grant of East Friesland as an Imperial Fief; and he and his descendants were created Counts of the Holy Roman Empire.

Under the hereditary counts, the States of East Friesland formed themselves into three estates or orders, each voting separately;—the Prelates, being the superiors of the religious houses and collegiate chapters;—the Ridderschafft, or knight-hood or nobility;—and the Gemeene Stände, or Commonalty. The latter were called the Landschafft, (the *landfolk* of the Sax-

\* The old republic of East Friesland continued in the family of Czirkscna till the male line became extinct in the person of Prince Charles Edzard in 1744, when it passed to Frederick of Prussia. George the Second had very fair pretensions to the principality; and such was the glorious uncertainty of the public law of the Holy Roman empire, that there were about a dozen other claimants, who could each quote the pandects, and the Lombard laws and civilians, and feudists, in support of their legal rights to the inheritance. Besides which, the Countess of Kaunitz Rittburg was entitled to the sum of 130,000 rix dollars, charged by Count Enno upon the principality in 1603, for the benefit of his younger children, and upon which no interest had been paid for fifty years.—Against all these lawful demands the King of Prussia had chiefly to oppose a grant which had been presented to his father by the Empress of Charles the Sixth. It was delicately concealed, as Morgenstern relates, 'in a gold tobacco-box under all the tobacco;' so that the old king found it when he had smoked out all the *knaster*. This grant was of doubtful validity, particularly against Hanover; and if the suit had been brought before the Diet, it would probably have lasted till the empire itself expired. But Fritz, who did not like to spend his money in protracted lawsuits, wisely anticipated any appeal to the Imperial tribunal, by quartering a couple of regiments in the country, in the lifetime of Prince Charles Edzard, who had long been in a state of declining health; and the instant he expired, the Prussian commander took military possession of the country. This transaction occasioned much ill will between Great Britain and Prussia; but, in 1755, the dispute was silently terminated by the treaty in which they entered into a reciprocal guarantee of their possession. The other claimants were left to their fate: and the representatives of the Countess of Kaunitz Rittburg have not, as yet, been able to obtain payment of any part of their principal and interest.

on charter of Henry the Third), or the Hausslente, or house-keepers; and latterly, they were simply denominated the Third Estate. Originally the representatives of Einden and Aurich sat and acted amongst the landed Gemeene-mente; but they afterwards seceded and formed a separate estate of burghers. The estate of the clergy was suppressed at the Reformation by the secularization of church property. In the earlier period of the new government, the Meene-mente usually empowered their Amtmen, or bailiffs, (who had now replaced the Asegas or Grietmen), to appear in their name in the Assembly of the States; but as it was soon discovered that these worthy functionaries were more inclined to serve the Prince, this practice was soon discontinued, and the Meene-mente elected private representatives. Even under the Prussian line, the States continued to exercise a substantial share of authority. After many disputes and civil wars, they established a strong barrier against the acts of their native Princes, and asserted their right of taxation, and the still more important privilege of administering the public funds. And if personal liberty had been better protected, the Frisick constitution, in theory, would not have yielded to that of England, for both were founded upon the same system of territorial representation.

We cannot deny the antiquity of the representation of the Commonalty amongst the Frisons. 'In the memorable assertion of legislative right by the Commons, in the 2d of Henry V, they affirm, that the commune of the land is, *and ever has been*, a member of Parliament. And the assenting suffrages of our older law books must be placed in the same scale. The first gainsayers were Cambden and Sir Henry Spelman, who, as holding the antiquities of our constitution somewhat more exactly than their predecessors, declared that they could find no sign of the Commons in Parliament, till the forty-ninth of Henry III. Prynne, some years afterwards, with much vigour and learning, maintained the same argument, and Brady completed the victory. But the current doctrine of Westminster-hall, and still more of the two Chambers of Parliament, was still more against these antiquaries: and it passed at one time for a surrender of popular principles, and almost a breach of privilege, to dispute the lineal descent of the House of Commons from the Wittenagemot.'—*Hallam*, vol. ii. pp. 238–9.

We are not wholly satisfied with the modern revulsion of opinion. Protesting, in due form, against any inferences which may be drawn either by our worthy friend Major Cartwright, or by the useful and respectable members of the Hampden Club, respecting the present right of the people of England to Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage, we think that the doctrine of the Antiquity of the House of Commons is not substantially

incorrect. Certain it is, that in Saxon times neither *citizens*, nor *burgesses*, nor *knights* of the shire, were returned by the Sheriff. But then, in Saxon times, the *Aldermen* were returned by the shire: And, elected by the people, they sat and assented amongst the King's Witan. Their seats in the Witenagemote were connected as inseparably with their office as their duties in the Folkmote. Nor is there any reason for denying to the Aldermen of the burghs, the rights and rank possessed by the Aldermen of the hundreds: And they in all cases were equally elected by the Commons. The prevailing ideas respecting the comparative inferiority of the inhabitants of the Saxon burghs, should be examined without prejudice. The houses of the shiresmen are dispersed here and there in the upland towns and wapentakes, within the boundaries marked out by the river, and the forest, and the hill, and the mere, which ascertain the limits of the shire: while walls and towers and ditches surround the city, and compel the sokmen of London to dwell as nearer neighbours in the wards. But when the mote-bell rings, they come together in the burghmote with as much lawful authority and freedom as the commonalty of the county in the shire-mote. If the King had occasion to confer or treat with any one city or town in particular, the magistracy, elected or presented by the wards for the government of the burgh, would be the natural medium of communication between their constituents and the Sovereign. And if the matter required the consent of all the cities or towns, a deputation from the elected magistracy of each would not fail to be assembled. An unquestionable vestige of the delegation of the magistracy of the towns to the Great Council, is found in the ancient custom of London, which required that the Recorder and a senior Alderman should constitute two out of the four representatives of the City. A careful examination of the returns might perhaps show that the same custom prevailed in other towns. Indeed, we cannot well imagine how the government of an Anglo-Saxon kingdom could have proceeded, without a representation of the inhabitants of its component parts. The shires (and such towns as may not have been of the body of the shire) were very much in the nature of distinct states, independent of each other, though subject to the same crown. Hence the members for one place could not vote individually, but they consented as joint attorneys, and in the name of the commonalty which empowered them. The four members of London had only one vote, which could be given by any two of them as a quorum. Another class of representatives of the Commons, may have proceeded from the tribunals corresponding with the Herred-things

of the Norwegians, which seem to have been the origin of our Grand Juries. If so, our knights, girt with swords, are disguised by insignia which ought to be regarded as badges of wealth only; and, instead of being the equals of the lesser nobility of France or Germany, they are the representatives of the estate of *landfolk*, who, in Scandinavia, were honoured by the name of boors, or peasantry.

It is now time, however, to close these details;—and we do it with a reluctance with which it would be unreasonable to expect that many of our readers should sympathize. There is a pleasure in steering through the dark channels of antiquity, by the feeble and scattered lights of forgotten chronicles and imperfect records, which no one but an antiquary can understand.—But on the present, and on some other occasions, we cannot help thinking, that our speculations have an interest of a higher kind;—and may even be said, without absurdity, to be connected with objects of great practical utility.—Of late years, the principles of free Government have been industriously misrepresented, as the recent growth of rash speculation and plebeian discontent,—and the name of legitimacy has been confined to regal usurpations of no very great antiquity.—The true test, no doubt, of all political institutions is their utility, and conformity to justice and reason. But prejudices stand formidably in the way of this ultimate and conclusive appeal.—The timid are deterred from approaching it by the cry of theory and innovation,—and favour is bespoken, with more generous natures, for all existing abuses that can wrap themselves in the venerable robes of antiquity, or be associated with the primitive virtue and wisdom of our ancestors. In such circumstances, it cannot be without its use to show, that the principles of freedom are in reality the most ancient and the longest established of any;—that the tyrannies that have desolated the world are but late-sprung corruptions of institutions by which it had long been experimentally blessed; and that those who may now bestir themselves for the introduction of a more liberal policy, aim only at the restoration of rights which were once universally acknowledged;—and of which the value has been most rigidly and practically demonstrated, not only by the evils that have followed their suppression, but by the happiness, and glory and prosperity that resulted from their enjoyment.

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ART. II. 1. *A Statistical, Historical and Political Description of the Colony of New South Wales, and its dependent Settlements in Van Diemen's Land: with a Particular Enumeration of the Advantages which these Colonies offer for Emigration, and their superiority in many respects over those possessed by the United States of America.* By W. C. WENTWORTH, Esq. a Native of the Colony. 1 vol. 8vo. pp. 466. Whittaker, London, 1819.

2. *Letter to Viscount Sidmouth, Secretary of State for the Home Department, on the Transportation Laws, the State of the Hulks, and of the Colonies in New South Wales.* By the Hon. HENRY GREY BENNET, M. P. pp. 137. Ridgway, London, 1819.

3. *O'HARA's History of New South Wales.* 1 vol. 8vo. pp. 470. Hatchard, London, 1818.

THIS land of convicts and kangaroos is beginning to rise into a very fine and flourishing settlement:—And great indeed must be the natural resources, and splendid the endowments of that land that has been able to survive the system of neglect and oppression experienced from the mother country, and the series of ignorant and absurd Governors that have been selected for the administration of its affairs. But mankind live and flourish not only in spite of storms and tempests, but (which could not have been anticipated previous to experience) in spite of Colonial Secretaries expressly paid to watch over their interests. The supineness and profligacy of public officers cannot always overcome the amazing energy with which human beings pursue their happiness, nor the sagacity with which they determine on the means by which that end is to be promoted. Be it our care, however, to record, for the future inhabitants of Australasia, the political sufferings of their larcenous forefathers; and let them appretiate, as they ought, that energy which founded a mighty empire in spite of the afflicting blunders and marvellous cacæconomy of their government.

Botany Bay is situated in a fine climate, rather Asiatic than European,—with a great variety of temperature,—but favourable on the whole to health and life: It, conjointly with Van Diemen's Land, produces coal in great abundance, fossil salt, slate, lime, plumbago, potter's clay; iron; white, yellow and brilliant topazes; alum and copper. These are all the important fossil productions which have been hitherto discovered: But the epidermis of the country has hardly as yet been scratched; and it is

most probable that the immense mountains which divide the eastern and western settlements, Bathurst and Sidney, must abound with every species of mineral wealth. The harbours are admirable; and the whole world, perhaps, cannot produce two such as those of Port Jackson and Derwent. The former of these is land-locked for fourteen miles in length, and of the most irregular form: Its soundings are more than sufficient for the largest ships; and all the navies of the world might ride in safety within it. In the harbour of Derwent there is a roadstead forty-eight miles in length, completely land-locked;—varying in breadth from eight to two miles,—in depth from thirty to four fathoms,—and affording the best anchorage the whole way.

The mean heat, during the three summer months, December, January, and February, is about  $80^{\circ}$  at noon. The heat which such a degree of the thermometer would seem to indicate, is considerably tempered by the sea-breeze, which blows with considerable force from nine in the morning till seven in the evening. The three autumn months are March, April, and May, in which the thermometer varies from  $55^{\circ}$  at night to  $75^{\circ}$  at noon. The three winter months are June, July, and August: During this interval, the mornings and evenings are very chilly, and the nights excessively cold: Hoar-frosts are frequent; ice, half an inch thick, is found twenty miles from the coast; the mean temperature, at daylight, is from  $40^{\circ}$  to  $45^{\circ}$ , and at noon from  $55^{\circ}$  to  $60^{\circ}$ . In the three months of spring, the thermometer varies from  $60^{\circ}$  to  $70^{\circ}$ . The climate to the westward of the mountains is colder. Heavy falls of snow take place during the winter; the frosts are more severe, and the winters of longer duration. All the seasons are much more distinctly marked, and resemble much more those of this country.

Such is the climate of Botany Bay; and, in this remote part of the earth, Nature (having made horses, oxen, ducks, geese, oaks, elms, and all regular and useful productions, for the rest of the world) seems determined to have a bit of play, and to amuse herself as she pleases. Accordingly, she makes cherries with the stone on the outside; and a monstrous animal, as tall as a grenadier, with the head of a rabbit, a tail as big as a bed-post, hopping along at the rate of five hops to a mile, with three or four young kangaroos looking out of its false uterus to see what is passing. Then comes a quadruped as big as a large cat, with the eyes, colour and skin of a mole, and the bill and web-feet of a duck—puzzling Dr Shaw, and rendering the latter half of his life miserable, from his utter inability to determine whether it was a bird or a beast. Add to this a parrot,

with the legs of a sea-gull; a skate with the head of a shark; and a bird of such monstrous dimensions, that a side bone of it will dine three real carnivorous Englishmen;—together with many other productions that agitate Sir Joseph, and fill him with mingled emotions of distress and delight.

The Colony has made the following progress.

Stock in 1788.				Stock in 1817.			
Horned Cattle	-	-	5	Do.	-	-	44,753
Horses	-	-	7	Do.	-	-	3072
Sheep	-	-	29	Do.	-	-	170,920
Hogs	-	-	74	Do.	-	-	17,842
Land in Cultivation	-	-	0 acres.	Do.	-	-	47,564
Inhabitants	-	-	1000	Do.	-	-	20,379

The colony has a bank, with a capital of 20,000*l.*; a newspaper; and a capital (the town of Sydney) containing about 7000 persons. There is also a Van Dieman's Land Gazette. The perusal of these newspapers, which are regularly transmitted to England, and may be purchased in London, has afforded us considerable amusement. Nothing can paint in a more lively manner the state of the settlement, its disadvantages, and prosperities, and the opinions and manners which prevail there.

‘ On Friday Mr James Squires, settler and brewer, waited on his Excellency at Government House, with two vines of hops taken from his own grounds, &c.—As a public recompense for the unremitted attention shown by the grower in bringing this valuable plant to such a high degree of perfection, his Excellency has directed a cow to be given to Mr Squires from the government herd.’—*O'Hara*, p. 255.

‘ *To Parents and Guardians.*

‘ A person who flatters herself her character will bear the strictest scrutiny, being desirous of receiving into her charge a proposed number of children of her own sex, as boarders, respectfully acquaints parents and guardians that she is about to situate herself either in Sydney or Paramatta, of which notice will be shortly given. She doubts not, at the same time, that her assiduity in the inculcation of moral principles in the youthful mind, joined to an unremitting attention and polite diction, will ensure to her the much-desired confidence of those who may think proper to favour her with such a charge.—Inquiries on the above subject will be answered by G. Howe, at Sydney, who will make known the name of the advertiser.’ p. 270.

‘ *Lost,*

‘ (supposed to be on the governor's wharf), two small keys, a tortoise shell comb, and a packet of papers. Whoever may have found them, will, on delivering them to the printer, receive a reward of half a gallon of spirits.’ p. 272.

‘ *To the Public.*

‘ As we have no certainty of an immediate supply of paper, we cannot promise a publication next week.’ p. 290.

‘ *Fashionable Intelligence, Sept. 7th.*

‘ On Tuesday his Excellency the late Governor, and Mrs King, arrived in town from Paramatta; and yesterday Mrs King returned thither, accompanied by Mrs Putland.’ *Ibid.*

‘ *To be Sold by private Contract, by Mr Bevan.*

‘ An elegant four-wheeled chariot, with plated mounted harness for four horses complete; and a handsome lady’s side-saddle and bridle. May be viewed, on application to Mr Bevan.’ p. 347.

‘ *From the Derwent Star.*

‘ Lieutenant Lord, of the Royal Marines, who, after the death of Lieutenant-Governor Collins succeeded to the command of the settlement at Hobart Town, arrived at Port Jackson in the Hunter, and favours us with the perusal of the Ninth Number published of the *Derwent Star and Van Dieman’s Land Intelligencer*; from which we copy the following extracts.’ p. 353.

‘ *A Card.*

‘ The subscribers to the Sydney Race Course are informed, that the Stewards have made arrangements for two balls during the race week, viz. on Tuesday and Thursday.—Tickets, at 7s. 6d. each, to be had at Mr E. Wills’s, George Street.—An ordinary for the subscribers and their friends each day of the races, at Mr Wills’s.—Dinner on table at five o’clock.’ p. 356.

‘ *The Ladies’ Cup.*

‘ The ladies’ cup, which was of very superior workmanship, won by Chase, was presented to Captain Richie by Mrs M’Quarie; who, accompanied by his Excellency, honoured each day’s races with her presence, and who, with her usual affability, was pleased to preface the donation with the following short address.—“ In the name of the ladies of New South Wales, I have the pleasure to present you with this cup. Give me leave to congratulate you on being the successful candidate for it; and to hope that it is a prelude to future success, and lasting prosperity.”’ p. 357.

‘ *Butchers.*

‘ Now killing, at Matthew Pimpton’s, Cumberland Street, Rocks, beef, mutton, pork, and lamb. By retail, 1s. 4d. per lib. Mutton by the carcase, 1s. per lib. Sterling, or 14d. currency; warranted to weigh from 10 lib. to 12 lib. per quarter. Lamb per ditto.—Captains of ships supplied at the wholesale price, and with punctuality.—N. B. Beef, pork, mutton, and lamb, at E. Lamb’s, Hunter Street, at the above prices.’ p. 376.

‘ *Salt Pork and Flair from Otaheite.*

‘ On sale, at the warehouse of Mrs S. Willis, 96, George Street, a large quantity of the above articles, well cured, being the Mercury’s last importation from Otaheite. The terms per cask are 10d. per lib. Sterling, or 1s. currency.—N. B. For the accommodation of families, it will be sold in quantities not less than 112 lib.’ p. 377.

‘ *Painting.—A Card.*

‘ Mr J. W. Lewin begs leave to inform his friends and the public



in general, that he intends opening an academy for painting on the days of Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, from the hours of 10 to 12 in the forenoon.—Terms 5s. a lesson; Entrance 20s.—*N. B.* The evening academy for drawing continued as usual.' p. 384.

*' Sale of Rams.*

Ten rams of the Merino breed, lately sold by auction from the flocks of John M. Arthur Esq., produced upwards of 200 guineas.' p. 388.

*' Mrs Jones's Vacation Ball, December 12th.*

Mrs Jones, with great respect, informs the parents and guardians of the young ladies entrusted to her tuition, that the vacation ball is fixed for Tuesday the 22d instant, at the seminary, No. 45, Castle-reagh Street, Sydney. Tickets 7s. 6d. each.' *Ibid.*

*' Sporting Intelligence*

A fine hunt took place the 8th instant at the Nepean, of which the following is the account given by a gentlemen present. "Having cast off by the government hut on the Nepean, and drawn the cover in that neighbourhood for a native Dog unsuccessfully, we tried the forest ground for a Kangaroo, which we soon found. It went off in excellent style along the sands by the river side, and crossed to the Cow-pasture Plains, running a circle of about two miles; then re-crossed, taking a direction for Mr Campbell's stock-yard, and from thence at the back of Badge Allen Hill to the head of Boorroobaham Creek, where he was headed; from thence he took the main range of hills between the Badge Allen and Badge Allenabinjee, in a straight direction for Mr Throsbey's farm, where the hounds ran in to him; and he was killed, after a good run of about two hours."—The weight of the animal was upwards of 120 lib.' p. 380.

Of the town of Sydney, Mr Wentworth observes, that there are in it many public buildings, as well as houses of individuals, that would not disgrace the best parts of London; but this description we must take the liberty to consider as more patriotic than true. We rather suspect it was penned before Mr Wentworth was in London; for he is (be it said to his honour) a native of Botany Bay. The value of lands (in the same spirit he adds), is half as great in Sydney as in the best situations in London, and is daily increasing: The proof of this which Mr Wentworth gives, is, that 'it is not a commodious house which can be rented for 100*l.* per annum unfurnished.' The town of Sydney contains two good public schools, for the education of 224 children of both sexes. There are establishments also for the diffusion of education in every populous district throughout the colony: the masters of these schools are allowed stipulated salaries from the Orphans' fund. Mr Wentworth states that one-eighth part of the whole revenue of the colony is appropriated to the purposes of education;—this eighth he computes at 2500*l.* Inde-

pendent of these institutions, there is an Auxiliary Bible Society, a Sunday School, and several good private schools. This is all as it should be: The education of the poor, important everywhere, is indispensable at Botany Bay. Nothing but the earliest attention to the habits of children can restrain the erratic finger from the contiguous scrip, or prevent the hereditary tendency to larcenous abstraction. The American arrangements respecting the education of the lower orders, is excellent. Their unsold lands are surveyed, and divided into districts. In the centre of every district, an ample and well selected lot is provided for the support of future schools. We wish this had been imitated in New Holland; for we are of opinion that the elevated nobleman, Lord Sidmouth, should imitate what is good and wise, even if the Americans are his teachers. Mr Wentworth talks of 15,000 acres set apart for the support of the Female Orphan Schools; which certainly does sound a little extravagant: but then 50 or 100 acres of this reserve are given as a portion to each female orphan; so that all this pious tract of ground will be soon married away. This dotation of women, in a place where they are scarce, is amiable and foolish enough. There is a school also for the education and civilization of the natives, we hope not to the exclusion of the children of convicts, who have clearly a prior claim upon public charity.

Great exertions have been made in public roads and bridges. The present Governor has wisely established toll-gates in all the principal roads. No tax can be more equitable, and no money more beneficially employed. The herds of wild cattle have either perished through the long droughts, or been destroyed by the remote settlers. They have nearly disappeared; and their extinction is a good rather than an evil. A very good horse for cart or plough may now be bought for 5*l.* to 10*l.*; working oxen for the same price; fine young breeding-ewes from 1*l.* to 3*l.*, according to the quality of the fleece. So lately as 1808, a cow and calf were sold by public auction for 105*l.*; and the price of middling cattle was from 80*l.* to 100*l.* A breeding mare was, at the same period, worth from 150 to 200 guineas; and ewes from 10*l.* to 20*l.* The inhabitants of New South Wales have now 2000 years before them of cheap beef and mutton. The price of land is of course regulated by its situation and quality. Four years past, an hundred and fifty acres of very indifferent ground, about three quarters of a mile from Sydney, were sold, by virtue of an execution, in lots of 12 acres each, and averaged 14*l.* per acre. This is the highest price given for land not situated in a town. The general average of unimproved land is 5*l.* per acre. In years when the crops have

not suffered from flood or drought, wheat sells for 9s. per bushel; maize for 3s. 6d.; barley for 5s.; oats for 4s. 6d.; potatoes for 6s. per cwt. By the last accounts received from the colony, mutton and beef were 6d. per lib.; veal 8d.; pork 9d. Wheat 8s. 8d. per bushel; oats 4s., and barley 5s. p. ditto. Fowls 4s. 6d. per couple; ducks 6s. per ditto; geese 5s. each; turkeys 7s. 6d. each; eggs 2s. 6d. per dozen; butter 2s. 6d. per lib.—There are manufactures of coarse woollen cloths, hats, earthen ware, pipes, salt, candles, soap. There are extensive breweries and tanneries; and all sorts of mechanics and artificers necessary for an infant colony. Carpenters, stone masons, bricklayers, wheel and plough wrights, and all the most useful description of artificers, can earn from 8s. to 10s. per day. Great attention has been paid to the improvement of wool; and it is becoming a very considerable article of export to this country.

The most interesting circumstance in the accounts lately received from Botany Bay, is the discovery of the magnificent river on the western side of the Blue Mountains. The public are aware, that a fine road has been made from Sydney to Bathurst, and a new town founded at the foot of the western side of these mountains, a distance of 140 miles. The country in the neighbourhood of Bathurst has been described as beautiful, fertile, open, and eminently fit for all the purposes of a settlement. The object was to find a river; and such an one has been found, the description of which it is impossible to read without the most lively interest. The intelligence is contained in a despatch from Mr Oxley, Surveyor-General of the settlement, to the Governor, dated 30th August 1817.

“ On the 19th, we were gratified by falling in with a river running through a most beautiful country, and which I would have been well contented to have believed the river we were in search of. Accident led us down this stream about a mile, when we were surprised by its junction with a river coming from the south, of such width and magnitude, as to dispel all doubts as to this last being the river we had so long anxiously looked for. Short as our resources were, we could not resist the temptation this beautiful country offered us, to remain two days on the junction of the river, for the purpose of examining the vicinity, to as great an extent as possible.

“ Our examination increased the satisfaction we had previously felt. As far as the eye could reach in every direction, a rich and picturesque country extended, abounding in limestone, slate, good timber, and every other requisite that could render an *uncultivated* country desirable. The soil cannot be excelled; whilst a noble river of the *first magnitude* affords the means of conveying its productions from one part to the other. Where I quitted it, its course was northerly; and we were then north of the parallel of Port Stevens, being in latitude 32° 45' south, and 148° 58' east longitude.

“ It appeared to me that the Macquarrie had taken a north north-west course from Bathurst, and that it must have received immense accessions of water in its course from that place. We viewed it at a period best calculated to form an accurate judgment of its importance, when it was neither swelled by floods beyond its natural and usual height, nor contracted within its limits by summer droughts. Of its magnitude when it should have received the streams we had crossed, independent of any it may receive from the east, which, from the boldness and height of the country, I presume, must be at least as many, some idea may be formed, when at this point it exceeded, in breadth and apparent depth, the Hawkesbury at Windsor. Many of the branches were of grander and more extended proportion than the admired one on the Nepean River from the Warragambia to Emu plains.

“ Resolving to keep as near the river as possible during the remainder of our course to Bathurst, and endeavour to ascertain, at least on the west side, what waters fell into it, on the 22d we proceeded up the river; and, between the point quitted and Bathurst, crossed the sources of numberless streams, all running into the Macquarrie. Two of them were nearly as large as that river itself at Bathurst. The country from whence all these streams derive their source, was mountainous and irregular, and appeared equally so on the east side of the Macquarrie. This description of country extended to the immediate vicinity of Bathurst; but to the west of those lofty ranges, the country was broken into low grassy hills, and fine valleys watered by rivulets rising on the west side of the mountains, which, on their eastern side, pour their waters directly into the Macquarrie.

“ These westerly streams appeared to me to join that which I had at first sight taken for the Macquarrie; and, when united, fall into it at the point at which it was first discovered on the 19th inst.

“ We reached this place last evening, without a single accident having occurred during the whole progress of the expedition, which, from this point, has encircled within the parallels of  $34^{\circ} 30'$  south, and  $32^{\circ}$  south, and between the meridians of  $149^{\circ} 43'$  and  $143^{\circ} 40'$  east, a space of nearly one thousand miles.” —*Wentworth*, p. 72-75.

The nearest distance from the point at which Mr Oxley left off, to any part of the western coast, is very little short of 2000 miles. The Hawkesbury, at Windsor, (to which he compares his new river in magnitude), is 250 yards in breadth, and of sufficient depth to float a 74 gun ship. At this point it has 2000 miles in a straight line to reach the ocean; and if it winds as rivers commonly do wind, it has a space to flow over of between 5 and 6000 miles. The course and direction of the river has since become the object of two expeditions, one by land under Mr Oxley, the other by sea under Lieutenant King, to the results of which we look forward with great interest. Enough of the coun-

try on the western side of the Blue Mountains has been discovered, to show that the settlement has been made on the wrong side. The space between the Mountains and the Eastern Sea is not above 40 miles in breadth, and the five or six miles nearest the coast are of very barren land. The country, on the other side, is boundless, fertile, well watered, and of very great beauty. The importance of such a river as the Macquarrie, is incalculable. We cannot help remarking here, the courtly appellations in which Geography delights;—the River *Hawkesbury*; the Town of *Windsor* on its banks; *Bathurst* Plains; *Nepean* River. Shall we never hear of the Gulph of *Tierney*; *Brougham* Point; or the Straights of *Mackintosh* on the River *Grey*?

The mistakes which have been made in settling this fine colony are of considerable importance, and such as must very seriously retard its progress to power and opulence. The first we shall mention, is the settlement on the Hawkesbury. Every work of nature has its characteristic defects. Marshes should be suspected of engendering disease—a volcanic country of eruptions—rivers of overflowing. A very little portion of this kind of reflection would have induced the disposers of land in New South Wales to have become a little better acquainted with the Hawkesbury before they granted land on its banks, and gave that direction to the tide of settlement and cultivation. It turns out that the Hawkesbury is the embouchure through which all the rain that falls on the eastern side of the Blue Mountains makes its way to the sea; and accordingly, without any warning, or any fall of rain on the settled part of the river, the stream has often risen from 70 to 90 feet above its common level.

‘ These inundations often rise seventy or eighty feet above low water mark; and, in the instance of what is still emphatically termed “the great flood,” attained an elevation of ninety-three feet. The chaos of confusion and distress that presents itself on these occasions, cannot be easily conceived by any one who has not been a witness of its horrors. An immense expanse of water, of which the eye cannot in many directions discover the limits, everywhere interspersed with growing timber, and crowded with poultry, pigs, horses, cattle, stacks and houses, having frequently men, women, and children, clinging to them for protection, and shrieking out in an agony of despair for assistance:—such are the principal objects by which these scenes of death and devastation are characterized.

‘ These inundations are not periodical, but they most generally happen in the month of March. Within the last two years there have been no fewer than four of them, one of which was nearly as high as the great flood. In the six years preceding, there had not been one. Since the establishment of the colony, they have happened, upon an average, about once in three years.

‘ The principal cause of them is the contiguity of this river to the Blue Mountains. The Grose and Warragambia rivers, from which two sources it derives its principal supply, issue direct from these mountains; and the Nepean river, the other principal branch of it, runs along the base of them for fifty or sixty miles; and receives in its progress, from the innumerable mountain torrents connected with it, the whole of the rain which these mountains collect in that great extent. That this is the principal cause of these calamitous inundations has been fully proved; for shortly after the plantation of this colony, the Hawkesbury overflowed its banks, (which are in general about thirty feet in height), in the midst of harvest, when not a single drop of rain had fallen on the Port Jackson side of the mountains. Another great cause of the inundations which take place in this and the other rivers in the colony, is the small fall that is in them, and the consequent slowness of their currents. The current in the Hawkesbury, even when the tide is in full ebb, does not exceed two miles an hour. The water therefore, which, during the rains, rushes in torrents from the mountains, cannot escape with sufficient rapidity; and from its immense accumulation, soon overtops the banks of the river, and covers the whole of the low country.’ *Wentworth*, pp. 24–26.

It appears to have been a great oversight not to have built the town of Sydney upon a regular plan. Ground was granted, in the first instance, without the least attention to this circumstance; and a chaos of pigstyes and houses was produced, which subsequent Governors have found it extremely difficult to reduce to a state of order and regularity.

Regularity is of consequence in planning a metropolis; but fine buildings are absurd in the infant state of any country. The various Governors have unfortunately displayed rather too strong a taste for architecture—forgetting that the real Palladio for Botany Bay, in its present circumstances, is he who keeps out the sun, wind and rain, with the smallest quantity of bricks and mortar.

The appointment of Governor Bligh appears to have been a very serious misfortune to the colony—at such an immense distance from the mother country, with such an uncertainty of communication, and with a population so peculiarly circumstanced. In these extraordinary circumstances, the usual jobbing of the Treasury should really be laid aside, and some little attention paid to the selection of a proper person. It is common, we know, to send a person who is somebody’s cousin; but, when a new empire is to be founded, the Treasury should send out, into some other part of the town, for a man of sense and character.

Another very great absurdity which has been committed at Botany Bay, is the diminution of their strength and resources

by the foundation of so many subordinate settlements. No sooner had the settlers unpacked their boxes at Port Jackson, than a fresh colony was settled in Norfolk Island under Lieutenant King, which was afterwards abandoned, after considerable labour and expense, from the want of an harbour: Besides four or five settlements on the Main Land, two or three thousand persons under a Lieutenant-Governor, and regular officers, are settled in Van Dieman's Land. The difficulties of a new colony are such, that the exertions of all the arms and legs is wanted merely to cover their bodies and fill their bellies: The passage from one settlement to another, necessary for common intercourse, is a great waste of strength: Ten thousand men, within a given compass, will do much more for the improvement of a country, than the same numbers spread over three times the space;—will make more miles of road, clear more acres of wood, and build more bridges. The judge, the windmill and the school are more accessible;—and one judge, one windmill, and one school may do instead of two;—there is less waste of labour. We do not of course object to the natural expansion of a colony over uncultivated lands—the more rapidly that takes place, the greater is the prosperity of the settlement; but we reprobate the practice of breaking the first population of a colony, by the interposition of Government, into small detached portions, placed at great intervals. It is a bad economy of their resources; and, as such, is very properly objected to by the Committee of the House of Commons.

This colony appears to have suffered a good deal from the tyranny, as well as the ignorance of its Governors. On the 7th of December 1816, Governor Macquarrie issued the following order.

‘His Excellency is also pleased further to declare, order and direct, that, in consideration of the premises, the undermentioned sums, amounts and charges, and no more, with regard to and upon the various denominations of work, labour and services, described and set forth, shall be allowed, claimed, or demandable within this territory and its dependencies in respect thereof.’—*Wentworth*, pp. 105, 106.

And then follows a schedule of every species of labour, to each of which a maximum is affixed. We have only to observe, that a good stout inundation of the Hawkesbury would be far less pernicious to the industry of the colony, than such gross ignorance and absurdity as this order evinces. Young surgeons are examined in Surgeons' Hall on the methods of cutting off legs and arms before they are allowed to practise surgery. An examination on the principles of Adam Smith, and a license from Mr Ricardo, seem to be almost a necessary preliminary for the appointment of Governors. We must give another spe-

cimen of Governor Macquarrie's acquaintance with the principles of political economy.

*General Orders.*

‘ His Excellency has observed, with much concern, that, at the present time of scarcity, most of the garden ground attached to the allotments, whereon different descriptions of persons have been allowed to build huts, are totally neglected, and no vegetable growing thereon :—As such neglect in the occupiers, points them out as unfit to profit by such indulgence, those who do not put the garden ground attached to the allotments they occupy, in cultivation, on or before the 10th day of July next, will be dispossessed, (except in cases wherein ground is held by lease), and more industrious persons put in possession of them, as the present necessities of the settlement require every exertion being used, to supply the wants of families, by the ground attached to their dwellings being made as productive as possible.—By command of his Excellency, G. BLAYWELL, Sec. Government House, Sydney, June 21st, 1806.’—O’Hara, p. 275.

This compulsion to enjoy,—this despotic benevolence, is something quite new in the science of government.

The sale of spirits was first of all monopolized by the Government,—and then let out to individuals, for the purpose of building an hospital. Upon this subject, Mr Bennet observes,

‘ Heretofore all ardent spirits brought to the colony were purchased by the government, and served out at fixed prices to the officers, civil and military, according to their ranks : hence arose a discreditable and gainful trade on the part of these officers, their wives and mistresses. The price of spirits at times was so high, that one and two guineas have been given for a single bottle. The thirst after ardent spirits became a mania among the settlers : All the writers on the state of the colony, and all who have resided there, and have given testimony concerning it, describe this rage and passion for drunkenness as prevailing in all classes, and as being the principal foundation of all the crimes committed there. This extravagant propensity to drunkenness was taken advantage of by the Governor, to aid him in the building of the hospital. Mr Wentworth, the surgeon, Messrs Riley and Blaxwell, obtained permission to enter a certain quantity of spirits ;—they were to pay a duty of five or seven shillings a gallon on the quantity they introduced, which duty was to be set apart for the erection of the hospital. To prevent any other spirits from being landed, a monopoly was given to these contractors. As soon as the agreement was signed, these gentlemen sent off to Rio Janeiro, the Mauritius, and the East Indies, for a large quantity of rum and arrack, which they could purchase at about the rate of 2s. or 2s. 6d. per gallon, and disembarked it at Sydney. From there being but few houses that were before permitted to sell this poison, they abounded in every street ; and such was the enormous consumption of spirits, that money was soon raised to build the hospital,



which was finished in 1814. Mr Marsden informs us, that in the small town of Paramatta, thirteen houses were licensed to deal in spirits; though he should think five at the utmost would be amply sufficient for the accommodation of the public.' *Bennet*, pp. 77-79.

The whole coast of Botany Bay and Van Dieman's Land abounds with whales; and accordingly the duty levied upon train oil procured by the subjects in New South Wales, or imported there, is twenty times greater than that paid by the inhabitants of this country; the duty on spermaceti oil, imported, is *sixty times greater*. The duty levied on train oil, spermaceti and head matter, procured by the inhabitants of Newfoundland, is only three times the amount of that which is levied on the same substance procured by British subjects residing in the United Kingdom. The duty levied on oil procured by British subjects residing in the Bahama or Bermuda islands, or in the plantations of North America, is only eight times the amount on train oil, and twelve times the amount on spermaceti, of that which is levied on the same substances taken by British subjects within the United Kingdom. The duty, therefore, which is payable on train oil in vessels belonging to this colony, is nearly seven times greater than that which is payable on the same description of oil taken in vessels belonging to the island of Newfoundland, and considerably more than double of that which is payable on the same commodity taken in vessels belonging to the Bahama or Bermuda islands, or to the plantations in North America; while the duty which is levied on spermaceti oil, procured in vessels belonging to this colony, is five times the amount of that which is levied on vessels belonging to the above mentioned places, and twenty times the amount of that which is levied on vessels belonging to Newfoundland. The injustice of this seems to us to be quite enormous. The statements are taken from Mr Wentworth's book.

The inhabitants of New South Wales have no trial by Jury; —the Governor has not even a Council to restrain him. There is imposed in this country a very heavy duty on timber and coals exported; but for which, says Mr Wentworth, some hundred tons of these valuable productions would have been sent annually to the Cape of Good Hope and India, since the vessels which have been in the habit of trading between those countries and the colony, have always returned in ballast. The owners and consignees would gladly have shipped cargoes of timber and coals, if they could have derived the most minute profit from the freight of them.

The Australasians grow corn; and it is necessarily their staple. The Cape is their rival in the corn trade. The food of the in-

habitants of the East Indies is rice: the voyage to Europe is too distant for so bulky an article as corn. The supply to the Government stores furnished the cultivators of New South Wales with a market in the first instance, which is now become too insignificant for the great excess of the supply above the consumption: Population goes on with immense rapidity; but while so much new and fertile land is before them, the supply continues in the same proportion greater than the demand. The most obvious method of affording a market for this redundant corn, is by encouraging distilleries within the colony; a measure repeatedly pressed upon the Government at home, but hitherto as constantly refused. It is a measure of still greater importance to the colony, because its agriculture is subjected to the effects both of severe drought and extensive inundations, and the corn raised for the distillers would be a magazine in times of famine. A recommendation to this effect was long since made by a Committee of the House of Commons; but, as it was merely a measure for the increase of human comforts, was stuffed into the improvement baskets, and forgotten. There has been in all governments a great deal of absurd canting about the consumption of spirits. We believe the best plan is to let people drink what they like, and wear what they like; to make no sumptuary laws either for the belly or the back. In the first place, laws against rum and rum water, are made by men who can change a wet coat for a dry one whenever they chuse, and who do not often work up to their knees in mud and water; and, in the next place, if this stimulus did all the mischief it is thought to do by the wise men of claret, its cheapness and plenty would rather lessen than increase the avidity with which it is at present sought for. Again, human life is subject to such manifold wretchedness, that all nations have invented a something liquid or solid, to produce a brief oblivion. Poppies, barley, grasses, sugar, pepper, and a thousand other things, have been squeezed, pressed, pounded, and purified, to produce this temporary happiness. Noblemen, and Members of Parliament, have large cellars full of sealed bottles, to enable them the better to endure the wretchedness of life. The poor man seeks the same end by expending three halfpence in gin;—but no moralist can endure the idea of gin.

The Governors of Botany Bay have taken the liberty of imposing what taxes they deemed proper, without any other authority than their own; and it seemed very frivolous and vexatious, not to allow this small effusion of despotism in so remote a corner of the globe:—but it was noticed by the Opposition in the House of Commons, and reluctantly confessed and given up by the Administration. This great portion of the earth begins

civil life with noble principles of freedom : May God grant to its inhabitants that wisdom and courage which are necessary for the preservation of so great a good!

Mr Wentworth enumerates, among the evils to which the colony is subjected, that clause in the last settlement of the East India Company's charter, which prevents vessels of less than 200 tons burden from navigating the Indian Seas ; a restriction, from which the Cape of Good Hope has been lately liberated, and which ought, in the same manner, to be removed from New South Wales, where there cannot be, for many years to come, sufficient capital to build vessels of so large a burden.

'The disability,' says Mr Wentworth, 'might be removed by a simple Order in Council. Whenever his Majesty's Government shall have freed the colonists from this useless and cruel prohibition, the following branches of commerce would then be opened to them. First, they would be enabled to transport, in their own vessels, their coals, timber, spars, flour, meat, &c. to the Cape of Good Hope, the Isle of France, Calcutta, and many other places in the Indian seas ; in all of which, markets, more or less extensive, exist for those various other productions which the colony might furnish : Secondly, they would be enabled to carry directly to Canton the sandal wood, beche la mer, dried seal-skins, and in fact all the numerous productions which the surrounding seas and islands afford for the China market, and return freighted with cargoes of tea, silks, nankeens, &c. ; all of which commodities are in great demand in the colony, and are at present altogether furnished by East India or American merchants, to the great detriment and dissatisfaction of the colonial. And, lastly, they would be enabled, in a short time, from the great increase of capital which these important privileges would of themselves occasion, as well as attract from other countries, to open the fur trade with the north-west coast of America, and dispose of the cargoes procured in China ;—a trade which has hitherto been exclusively carried on by the Americans and Russians, although the colonists possess a local superiority for the prosecution of this valuable branch of commerce, which would ensure them at least a successful competition with the subjects of those two nations.' *Wentworth*, pp. 317, 318.

The means which Mr Wentworth proposes for improving the condition of Botany Bay, are—Trial by Jury—Colonial Assemblies, with whom the right of taxation should rest—the establishment of distilleries, and the exclusion of foreign spirits—alteration of duties, so as to place New South Wales upon the same footing as other colonies—removal of the restriction to navigate the Indian Seas in vessels of a small burthen—improvements in the Courts of Justice—encouragement for the growth of hemp, flax, tobacco and wine ; and, if a colonial assembly cannot be granted, that there should be no taxation without the authority of Parliament.

In general, we agree with Mr Wentworth in his statement of evils, and in the remedies he has proposed for them. Many of the restrictions upon the commerce of New South Wales are so absurd, that they require only to be stated in Parliament to be corrected. The fertility of the colony so far exceeds its increase of population, and the difficulty of finding a market for corn is so great,—or rather the impossibility so clear,—that the measure of encouraging domestic distilleries ought to be had recourse to. The colony, with a soil fit for every thing, must, as Mr Wentworth proposes, grow other things besides corn,—and excite that market in the interior which it does not enjoy from without. The want of demand, indeed, for the excess of corn, will soon effect this without the intervention of Government. Government, we believe, have already given up the right of taxation without the sanction of Parliament; and there is an end probably, by this time, to that grievance. A Council and a Colonial Secretary, they have also expressed their willingness to concede. Of Trial by Jury, and a Colonial Assembly, we confess that we have great doubts. At some future time they must come, and ought to come. The only question is, Is the colony fit for such institutions at present? Are there a sufficient number of respectable persons to serve that office in the various settlements? If the English law is to be followed exactly—to compose a jury of twelve persons, a pannel of forty-eight must be summoned. Could forty-eight intelligent, unconvicted men, be found in every settlement of New South Wales? or must they not be fetched from great distances, at an enormous expense and inconvenience? Is such an institution calculated for so very young a colony? A good government is an excellent thing; but it is not the first in the order of human wants. The first want is to subsist; the next, to subsist in freedom and comfort; first to live at all, then to live well. A Parliament is still a greater demand upon the wisdom and intelligence and opulence of a colony, than Trial by Jury. Among the twenty thousand inhabitants of New South Wales, are there ten persons out of the employ of Government, whose wisdom and prudence could reasonably be expected to advance the interests of the colony, without embroiling it with the mother country? Who has leisure, in such a state of affairs, to attend such a Parliament? Where wisdom and conduct are so rare, every man of character, we will venture to say, has, like strolling players in a barn, six or seven important parts to perform. Mr Macarthur, who, from his character and understanding, would probably be among the first persons elected to the colonial legislature, besides being a very spirited agriculturist, is, we have no doubt, justice of

the peace, curator and director of a thousand plans, charities, and associations, to which his presence is essentially necessary. If he could be cut into as many pieces as a tree is into planks, all his subdivisions would be eminently useful. When a member of Parliament, and what is called a really respectable country gentleman, sets off to attend his duty in our Parliament, such diminution of intelligence as is produced by his absence, is (God knows) easily supplied; but in a colony of 20,000 persons, it is impossible this should be the case. Some time hence, the institution of a Colonial Assembly will be a very wise and proper measure, and so clearly called for, that the most profligate members of Administration will neither be able to ridicule nor refuse it. At present we are afraid that a Botany Bay parliament would give rise to jokes; and jokes at present have a great agency in human affairs.

Mr Bennet concerns himself with the settlement of New Holland, as it is a school for criminals; and, upon this subject, has written a very humane, enlightened, and vigorous pamphlet. The objections made to this settlement by Mr Bennet are, in the first place, its enormous expense. The colony of New South Wales, from 1788 to 1815 inclusive, has cost this country the enormous sum of 3,465,983*l*. In the evidence before the Transportation Committee, the annual expense of each convict from 1791 to 1797, is calculated at 33*l*. 9*s*. 5½*d*. per annum, and the profits of his labour are stated to be 20*l*. The price paid for the transport of convicts has been, on an average, 37*l*. exclusive of food and clothing. It appears, however, says Mr Bennet, by an account laid before Parliament, that in the year 1814, 109,746*l*. were paid for the transport, food and clothing of 1016 convicts, which will make the cost amount to about 108*l*. per man. In 1812, the expenses of the colony were 176,000*l*.; in 1813, 235,000*l*.; in 1814, 231,362*l*.; but in 1815 they had fallen to 150,000*l*.

The cruelty and neglect in the transportation of convicts, has been very great—and in this way a punishment inflicted which it never was in the contemplation of law to enact. During the first eight years, according to Mr Bennet's statements, one-tenth of the convicts died on the passage; on the arrival of three of the ships, 200 sick were landed, 281 persons having died on board:—These instances, however, of criminal inattention to the health of the convicts, no longer take place; and it is mentioned rather as an history of what is past, than a censure upon any existing evil.

In addition to the expense of Botany Bay, Mr Bennet con-

tends that it wants the very essence of punishment, terror;—that the common people do not dread it;—that instead of preventing crimes, it rather excites the people to their commission, by the hopes it affords of bettering their condition in a new country.

All those who have had an opportunity of witnessing the effect of this system of transportation, agree in opinion, that it is no longer an object of dread; it has, in fact, generally ceased to be a punishment:—true it is, to a father of a family, to the mother who leaves her children, this perpetual separation from those whom they love and whom they support, is a cruel blow, and, when I consider the merciless character of the law which inflicts it, a severe penalty; but by far the greater number of persons who suffer this punishment, regard it in quite a different light. Mr Cotton, the Ordinary of Newgate, informed the Police Committee last year, “that the generality of those who are transported consider it as a party of pleasure—as going out to see the world; they evince no penitence, no contrition, but seem to rejoice in the thing,—many of them to court it. I have heard them, when the sentence of transportation has been passed by the Recorder, return thanks for it, and seem overjoyed at their sentence: the very last party that went off, when they were put into the caravan, shouted and huzzaed, and were very joyous; several of them called out to the keepers who were there in the yard, the first fine Sunday we will have a glorious Kangaroo hunt at the Bay, seeming to anticipate a great deal of pleasure.” He was asked if those persons were married or single, and his answer was, “by far the greater number of them were unmarried. Some of them are anxious that their wives and children should follow them; others care nothing about either wives or children, and are glad to get rid of them.” *Bennet*, pp. 60, 61.

It is a scandalous injustice in this colony, that persons transported for seven years, have no power of returning when that period is expired. A strong active man may sometimes work his passage home; but what is an old man or an aged female to do? Suppose a convict were to be confined in prison for seven years, and then told he might get out if he could climb over the walls, or break open the locks, what in general will be his chance of liberation? But no lock nor doors can be as secure a means of detention as the distance of Botany Bay. This is a downright trick and fraud in the administration of criminal justice. A poor wretch who is banished from his country for seven years, should be furnished with the means of returning to his country when these seven years are expired.—If it is intended he should never return, his sentence should have been banishment for life.

The most serious charge against the colony, as a place for transportation, and an experiment in criminal justice, is the

extreme profligacy of manners which prevails there, and the total want of reformation among the convicts. Upon this subject, except in the regular letters, officially varnished and filled with fraudulent beatitudes for the public eye, there is, and there can be but one opinion: New South Wales is a sink of wickedness, in which the great majority of convicts of both sexes become infinitely more depraved than at the period of their arrival. How, as Mr Bennet very justly observes, can it be otherwise? The felon transported to the American plantations, became an insulated rogue among honest men. He lived for years in the family of some industrious planter, without seeing a picklock, or indulging in pleasant dialogues on the delicious burglaries of his youth. He imperceptibly glided into honest habits, and lost not only the tact for pockets, but the wish to investigate their contents. But in Botany Bay, the felon, as soon as he gets out of the ship, meets with his ancient trull, with the footpad of his heart, the convict of his affections,—the man whose hand he has often met in the same gentleman's pocket—the being whom he would chuse from the whole world to take to the road, or to disentangle the locks of Bramah. It is impossible that vice should not become more intense in such society.

Upon the horrid state of morals now prevalent in Botany Bay, we would counsel our readers to cast their eyes upon the account given by Mr Marsden, in a letter, dated July 1815, to Governor Macquarrie. It is given at length in the Appendix to Mr Bennet's book. A more horrid picture of the state of any settlement was never penned. It carries with it an air of truth and sincerity, and is free from all enthusiastic cant.

'I now appeal to your Excellency,' (he says at the conclusion of his Letter), 'whether, under such circumstances, any man of common feeling, possessed of the least spark of humanity or religion, who stood in the same official relation that I do to these people, as their spiritual pastor and magistrate, could enjoy one happy moment from the beginning to the end of the week ?

'I humbly conceive that it is incompatible with the character and wish of the British nation, that her own exiles should be exposed to such privations and dangerous temptations, when she is daily feeding the hungry and clothing the naked, and receiving into her friendly, and I may add pious bosom, the stranger, whether savage or civilized, of every nation under Heaven. There are, in the whole, under the two principal superintendants, Messrs Rouse and Oakes, one hundred and eight men, and one hundred and fifty women, and several children; and nearly the whole of them have to find lodgings for themselves when they have performed their government tasks.

'I trust that your Excellency will be fully persuaded, that it is

totally impossible for the magistrate to support his necessary authority, and to establish a regular police, under such a weight of accumulated and accumulating evils. I am as sensible as any one can be, that the difficulty of removing these evils will be very great; at the same time, their number and influence may be greatly lessened, if the abandoned male and female convicts are lodged in barracks, and placed under the eye of the police, and the number of licensed houses is reduced: Till something of this kind is done, all attempts of the magistrate, and the public administration of religion, will be attended with little benefit to the general good. I have the honour to be, Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant, SAMUEL MARSDEN — *Benet*, p. 134.

Thus much for Botany Bay. As a mere colony, it is too distant and too expensive; and, in future, will of course involve us in many of those just and necessary wars, which deprive Englishmen so rapidly of their comforts, and make England scarcely worth living in. If considered as a place of reform for criminals, its distance, expense, and the society to which it dooms the objects of the experiment, are insuperable objections to it. It is in vain to say, that the honest people in New South Wales will soon bear a greater proportion to the regues, and the contamination of bad society will be less fatal: This only proves that it may be a good place for reform hereafter, not that it is a good one now. One of the principal reasons for peopling Botany Bay at all, was, that it would be an admirable receptacle, and a school of reform, for our convicts. It turns out, that for the first half century, it will make them worse than they were before, and that, after that period, they may probably begin to improve. A marsh, to be sure, may be drained and cultivated; but no man who has his choice, would select it in the mean time for his dwelling-place.

The three books are all books of merit. Mr O'Hara's is a bookseller's compilation, done in an useful and pleasing manner. Mr Wentworth is full of information on the present state of Botany Bay. The humanity, the exertions, and the genuine benevolence of Mr Bennet, are too well known to need our commendation.

All persons who have a few guineas in their pocket, are now running away from Mr Nicholas Vansittart to settle in every quarter of the globe. Upon the subject of emigration to Botany Bay, Mr Wentworth observes, 1st, that any respectable person emigrating to that colony, receives as much land gratis as would cost him 400*l.* in the United States; 2dly, he is allowed as many servants as he may require; at one-third of the wages paid for labour in America; 3dly, himself and family are victualled at the expense of Government for six months. He calculates that



a man, wife, and two children, with an allowance of five tons for themselves and baggage, could emigrate to Botany Bay for 100*l.*, including every expense, provided a whole ship could be freighted; and that a single man could be taken out thither for 30*l.* These points are worthy of serious attention to those who are shedding their country.

ART. III. *A Free Trade Essential to the Welfare of Great Britain, &c.* By JOHN CLAY, Esq. London, 1819.

THE comparative prosperity enjoyed by the industrious classes in this country during the late war, notwithstanding the enormous taxation to which they were then subjected, forms a striking contrast with the unexampled distress in which they have been involved since the peace. But although the evils of war are generally felt more severely during its continuance than after, it is impossible for any country to pass through such an ordeal with impunity. War is universally a losing game; and *must*, sooner or later, be followed by disastrous consequences. A particular combination of circumstances, though it may for a time render the inevitable destruction of capitals and misdirection of national industry less sensible, is sure, in the end, to aggravate all those evils. A time must come, when this factitious stimulus can no longer be applied;—and when it is withdrawn, the various evils which it had glossed over, or partially concealed, not only appear more alarming than if they had occurred in the natural course of events, but are really increased both in number and virulence.

Much of the present embarrassment was at first ascribed to the shock occasioned by the transition from a state of war to a state of peace, and although its effects, in this particular instance, have been greatly exaggerated, it is certain, that such a transition must always be attended with more or less inconvenience. A sudden cessation of the demand for any class of commodities, necessarily subjects the persons engaged in their manufacture to considerable distress and difficulty; the duration of which will very much depend on the previous condition of society, and especially on the circumstance, whether the commodities, for which the demand has ceased, were principally produced by *circulating* or *fixed* capitals. In poor countries, a change of employments is generally effected with very little trouble. The circulating capital, such as the food, clothing, and wages of one

set of labourers, can be easily diverted to the support of another set. But fixed capital cannot be transferred with equal facility. It is often quite impossible to apply machinery, buildings, &c., constructed for one branch of trade, to the purposes of another; and there are but very few cases where they can be so applied without great trouble and expense. Revulsions in the ordinary channels of trade, therefore, are always more injurious in a rich than in a poor country; as in the latter, the new direction which is given to the national industry, is not attended with that destruction of capital, or of the funds necessary for the maintenance of labour, which is always experienced to a greater or less extent in the other.

Were the derangement and revulsion occasioned by passing from a state of war to a state of peace, limited to the effects produced by the mere cessation of the demand on account of fleets and armies, it would be of comparatively trifling importance. But a long protracted contest necessarily influences the employment of a much greater portion of the national capital than is directly devoted to the providing of warlike stores. War may increase or diminish foreign trade—it may give unusual advantages to the producers of one country, and equally depress those of another—it may throw the commerce of the world into the hands of one of the belligerents—or, by breaking down existing monopolies, it may distribute it more equally;—and hence a great deal of the inconvenience experienced in passing from a state of war to a state of peace, must obviously depend on the previous political situation of the country making the transition. A state whose industry has been cramped and restricted, and whose capital has been forced into disadvantageous employments during war, will experience but a comparatively slight inconvenience on the return of peace.—Only a very small proportion of the capital of a great nation can ever be engaged in the production of military stores; and, although they were entirely lost, it would speedily be compensated by the extraordinary stimulus that would be given to every other branch of industry. During the late war, France maintained immense armaments; and the military profession ultimately attracted by far the greater portion of the talent and industry of the country, and was universally considered as the surest and the shortest road to wealth and honours. But this was not so much a consequence either of the illusion occasioned by the success of the French arms, or of the extraordinary encouragement held out by Government, as of the impossibility of otherwise attaining the ordinary objects of ambition. The war an-

annihilated the foreign and colonial trade of France; and her agriculture and internal commerce were exposed to heavy exactions and suffered severely. Besides this, much of her capital was sacrificed in absurd attempts to raise those commodities which are the natural growth of the tropical climates; and large stocks were unprofitably invested in the preparation of substitutes for other articles which could no longer be imported from abroad. But, notwithstanding the faulty direction which had thus been given to so great a portion of her capital and skill, France experienced but little inconvenience from the transition from war to peace. As soon as external restraints upon her industry were removed, such portions of capital as could be conveniently disengaged from the factitious channels into which it had been forced, were naturally attracted to other and more lucrative employments. New markets were opened for the staple produce of the country. Agricultural and commercial industry, emancipated from feudal restrictions and servitudes, resumed more than their former activity; and afforded the means of acquiring a comfortable subsistence, not only to that portion of the population which had previously been taken off by the army, but also for the disbanded soldiers. The renewed importation of foreign commodities, has certainly caused considerable loss to those who had unwarily vested their capital in branches of industry which could only be carried on in the absence of all competition; but the same circumstances which occasioned this partial and comparatively trifling loss, have proportionably augmented the wealth and comforts of the great body of the people.

The state of Great Britain, during the war, was precisely the reverse of that of France, or indeed of any other country engaged in hostilities. Her industry, far from being unnaturally depressed, was stimulated and encouraged to an extent altogether unknown in any former period of history. From being the greatest, we became the *only* commercial nation in the world. The colonies of France, Spain and Holland, either fell into our hands, or hoisted the standard of independence, and the whole produce of Asia and of America was at our disposal; and, although the demand for foreign commodities on the Continent was much diminished, yet, such as it was, we alone had the power of supplying it. It was to no purpose that Napoleon prohibited the introduction of British merchandise. After the carrying trade of the Americans had been put an end to, the Continental nations could neither procure colonial produce, nor raw cotton for the purpose of manufacturing, except directly from this country. It appears, from the evidence annexed to the Report of the Bul-

lion Committee, that, in 1810, cotton, which was selling in London and Manchester for 2s., sold at Amsterdam for 6s., and at Paris for 6s. per pound;—and that the principal articles of export from this country to the Continent, brought prices there from 50 to 200 and even 300 per cent. higher than they brought at home. The gain on exportation was therefore so enormous, or, which is the same thing in its effects, the demand for British commodities was so great, that no vigilance on the part of the customhouse officers could possibly prevent their introduction in immense quantities into the Continent. †

This monopoly of the trade and commerce of the world, by enabling our merchants and manufacturers to employ a much greater number of labourers, occasioned a corresponding increase of population, and of the demand for agricultural produce. The difficulties which the war threw in the way of importing grain, and the partial monopoly given to the farmers by the Corn-Law of 1804, having in a great measure relieved them from foreign competition, the prices of agricultural produce rapidly rose. Vast sums were expended in the improvement of the poorest soils; and lands were brought under tillage, the cultivation of which, it was afterwards ascertained, could not be carried on, unless the price of corn, in this country, was forcibly kept up to about double its price in every other country in Europe.

Had the Currency continued in its natural state, the immense additions made to the public burdens, would probably have more than counterbalanced the factitious advantages conferred on us by the war. But the depreciation of our paper currency was an effect equivalent to a proportionable diminution of taxation,—while the facilities which it afforded for getting the command of capital, powerfully excited the industry and enterprise of all classes.

Such appear to have been the principal causes of the extraordinary prosperity enjoyed by this country, while engaged in a contest which threatened its very existence as an independent State. There were doubtless many others of an inferior and subordinate description, which we leave to the sagacity of our readers to discover and appreciate; but the monopoly of the commerce of the world, and the consequent increase of popula-

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† Bull. Rep. Min. of Evid. p. 63, 8vo. Ed. This evidence was given in 1810; and yet, in the preceding year (1809), we had exported a much greater quantity of produce to the Continent, than we had ever done before.

tion and of the demand for raw produce, combined with the continued fall in the value of the medium in which taxes were paid, were chiefly instrumental in enabling us to maintain, without much difficulty or inconvenience, the most sanguinary and expensive war, of which history has preserved any account.

But the restoration of tranquillity disclosed the brittle and insecure nature of the foundations on which the imposing fabric of our prosperity had been raised. As soon as the artificial stimulus, which, for twenty years, had been unceasingly applied to the industry of this country, and which had occasioned so prodigious a development of its powers and resources, was withdrawn, an immediate paralysis was felt in all its branches. The exclusive advantages which our merchants and manufacturers enjoyed during the war, being at an end, although the restrictions on the importation of British produce into other countries had been done away, we should in future have obtained a market for such commodities only as we could naturally produce cheaper than foreigners; and, of course, much of that reproductive power, which, in the absence of all competition, had been forced into a state of action, must have either been rendered useless, or sought employment in some other manner. But the anticommercial system of the Ex-emperor, instead of being modified or repealed, has in fact been adopted, in all its extent, by his legitimate successors; and, in their hands, it has become doubly efficient. Nor is this any thing but what might have been foreseen and expected. It was obvious to the whole world, that the wealth and power of the British nation—their capability to support the enormous expense of twenty years' incessant hostilities, to subsidise all Europe, and to make those astonishing exertions which effected the overthrow of the colossal despotism of France—had been entirely owing to her superiority in arts and industry. The restored sovereigns were naturally desirous of securing similar advantages to their subjects, and consequently to themselves; and having been taught, by our practical politicians and statesmen, to consider the excess of exports over imports as the only true criterion of an advantageous commerce, and our Navigation law as the greatest effort of legislative wisdom, they immediately set about throwing additional obstacles in the way of importation. It is probable, indeed, that our negotiators at Paris and Vienna might have had it in their power to induce the Allies to enter into commercial treaties, on the footing of reciprocal concessions; but they seem to have considered the interests of the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain as below their

notice; and most unaccountably missed an opportunity for striking a decisive blow at the restrictive system,—which may not again present itself.

During the war, the people of the Continent had no other alternative but to purchase cotton goods, colonial produce, &c. from British merchants, or to submit to be deprived of them altogether. Now the case is widely different. Raw cotton, coffee, indigo, &c. must, in a season of peace, be as cheap in Hamburgh, Amsterdam, or Bourdeaux, as in London or Liverpool. A prohibition against importing English merchandise no longer compels a Frenchman or a Prussian to dispense with the use of cottons or of sugar, or to set about devising schemes, in order to defeat the vigilance of the customhouse officers. He can now be supplied by the merchants and manufacturers of his own country: And although he may not obtain the commodities of which he stands in need on equally advantageous terms as if the trade were free; yet, unless when the difference of price is sufficient to compensate the risk attending their clandestine importation, none will be smuggled from abroad.

A variety of other reasons might be adduced to strengthen the inference, that the extreme difficulty of finding a market for our surplus produce, which, with some slight variations, has been experienced ever since the peace, and which has undoubtedly formed the principal, as well as the immediate cause \* of the distresses of the manufacturing and commercial classes, is chiefly to be ascribed to a falling off in the Continental demand. The demand for British manufactures has increased in the United States; and it is probable, notwithstanding the commotions in South America, that the demand for them in that important quarter of the globe, is now greater than at any former period. New markets have also been opened in the East; and even the fall of price occasioned by the overloading the Indian markets, ruinous as it unquestionably has been to many individuals engaged in the trade, will contribute to render the taste for them more generally and more speedily diffused.

Besides the diminished demand of the Continent, part of the regorgement now felt in all those departments in which, during the war, capital had been invested, must be ascribed to our losing our former monopoly of the Shipping trade, and to the revulsion in Agricultural industry. Great Britain has ceased to be the *entrepôt* of the commerce of the world; and no inconsiderable share of the carrying trade has been transferred to a

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\* Malthus, *Essay on Population*, 5th Ed. vol. ii. p. 365

hands. To crown the whole, the fall in the price of raw produce subsequent to the opening of the Dutch ports in autumn 1813, not only put an immediate stop to every species of agricultural improvement, and occasioned the ruin of many farmers, and the destruction of much farming capital, but, by spreading an alarm among the country banks, was the primary cause of that sudden reduction of the quantity of the circulating medium, which, in less than two years, increased its value 30 per cent., and, of course, really increased the public burdens and depressed prices in the same proportion.

But the productive powers of both fixed and circulating capital, have not merely been paralyzed by the sudden transition from a state of extraordinary and artificial excitement to one of comparative exhaustion and depression. As we observed at the outset, a considerable amount of fixed capital must undoubtedly have been lost by the difficulty, and sometimes the impossibility, attending its transfer from those employments to which it had been appropriated during the war, to those in which it will now yield a revenue. Neither is this the only circumstance which has conspired to diminish the capital of the country, or to lessen the amount of that fund, by the extent of which, the extent of the productive industry of every nation must always be regulated. During the war, Britain not only monopolized the commerce, but also attracted a great part of the floating capital of Europe. The principal merchants of the Continent, unable to employ their stock at home, and dreading the systems as well as the exactions of Bonaparte, transported themselves and their property to England. Some of these refugees continue perhaps to reside in this country; but far the greater number have returned, and have taken along with them those funds which had momentarily served to swell the amount of our stock. We do not, however, lay much stress on this circumstance; but it cannot be denied, that the low rate of profit in this country has already had, and must necessarily continue to have, a powerful effect in forcing British capital abroad.\* It is here, in fact, that the principal difficulty and danger of our situation consists. Notwithstanding the natural repugnance which every person feels

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\* "The difference in the rate of interest in this country and in foreign countries, has undoubtedly occasioned considerable transfers of capital abroad. Nor do I think that it is likely to discontinue, whether new loans are made there or not, as long as the same disproportion continues to exist between the value of capital in this and other countries."—*Mr Baring's Evidence, p. 103. of the Lords' Report on the Expediency of the Bank resuming Cash Payments.*

against quitting his native country, and the universal desire to have one's capital employed under their own inspection, still it is certain, that a comparatively low rate of profit, whether it arises from a relatively high price of raw produce, or an oppressive taxation, must always occasion an efflux of capital. It is admitted on all hands, that the rate of profit has a constant tendency to equalize itself throughout the different provinces of the same kingdom; and the same principle holds good among the various nations composing the commercial commonwealth. Previous to the French Revolution, the greater part of the capital of the Dutch was invested in foreign countries; though, as has been remarked by Dr Smith, the circumstance of almost all the great merchants being more or less connected with the Government of the Republic, held out inducements to them to reside in Holland, and consequently to retain their stock in that country, greater than any which could operate on the merchants of most of the other countries of Europe. That a much greater amount of British capital has not been transferred to the Continent, is owing infinitely more to its unsettled and disturbed condition, than to any reluctance to withdraw it from its employments here. In proportion, however, as the governments of France and Belgium become better consolidated, the risk attending foreign investments will be diminished, and, of course, there will be a greater inducement to remit capital abroad. An extensive merchant becomes in some measure a citizen of the world; and it may be laid down as a general proposition, that he will uniformly employ his capital in that country, and in that trade, in which, all things considered, it will yield him the largest profit.

It is much easier, however, to trace the principal causes of our present embarrassments, than to point out the means by which they may be either partially or entirely removed. Parliament, by raising the price when foreign corn can be imported for the purpose of home consumption from 68s. to 80s. per quarter, has endeavoured to alleviate the pressure on the agricultural classes. But there is great reason to apprehend, that, in doing so, they have only diminished its intensity: by diffusing it over a greater surface—that they have only shifted the burden from the shoulders of one particular class, who ought to have submitted to the consequences of their own improvident speculations, to those of the public at large—and that, in order to avoid a temporary inconvenience, a system has been adopted, subversive of the progress of real opulence and lasting improvement. At present, however, we shall abstain from any parti-



cular discussion of the policy of the Corn Laws. || This is an inquiry into which we may probably enter on another occasion; but we shall now confine ourselves to a short examination of the effects which the restrictions on the trade with France exert on the industry of the country, and shall endeavour to ascertain whether their gradual abolition would not have a powerful tendency to improve our condition—to increase the foreign demand for British manufactured produce—and to lessen the frequency and the violence of those revulsions which, in a populous and manufacturing country, are always pregnant with the most disastrous consequences.

It is not our intention, nor do we conceive it to be at all necessary, to premise any elaborate statement of first principles, for the purpose of showing the superior advantages which must always result from an unrestricted freedom of intercourse among commercial nations. It cannot be denied, that, in matters relative to public economy, the great object of all legislative enactments ought to be, to procure the greatest amount of produce with the least possible expenditure of capital and labour. Now it has been demonstrated, with all the power which it is possible to give to political reasoning, that this would be most effectually attained by permitting, in every quarter, the most unrestricted freedom of exportation and importation. The capital and industry of every nation would then be employed exclusively, in those pursuits in which, from the peculiarities of its soil and climate, or of its political institutions, its inhabitants were particularly fitted to excel. Those countries which were best suited for the raising of corn, would naturally devote themselves to agriculture; while those, whom the abundance of coal, the possession of improved machinery, or the superior skill and genius of their artisans, enabled to work up raw produce with greater facility than others, would bestow their principal attention on manufactures. Capital would thus be everywhere employed to the greatest possible advantage; the principle of the division of labour would be carried to its full extent; and nations, like individuals, would renounce every attempt to raise at home, what could be imported cheaper from abroad.

These principles appear to us to apply with peculiar force to

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|| Our readers will find a very able discussion of the comparative effects of a free and a restricted corn trade on the subsistence, the agriculture, the commerce, and the finances of the country, in Major Forrean's Essay on the External Corn Trade. This is one of the most valuable contributions that has of late years been made to the science of political economy.

the policy of those restrictions which have almost entirely annihilated the trade between this country and its nearest and most opulent neighbour. The diversity of the soil and climate, of the natural and artificial productions, and of the national character of the people of Great Britain and France, will always enable the one to produce innumerable articles of raw and manufactured produce, at a much cheaper rate than they could possibly be produced by the other. If we were allowed freely to purchase the silks, the wines, the brandies, and the laces of France, those commodities which we can produce with less expense than our ingenious neighbours, would be taken in payment. An extensive market would thus be created for many branches of our manufactures, and a natural and powerful stimulus would be applied to the industry of both countries. It should be clearly understood, that we have it completely in our power to add indefinitely to the number of the consumers of British produce—to open a trade with a wealthy nation possessing thirty millions of active, industrious, and enterprising inhabitants—abounding in various products which are not the growth of Britain, and at the same time destitute of many species of our manufactures. To accomplish this most desirable object, we have only to relinquish a few of the worst and most contemptible of our prejudices—to admit that claret may be as palatable as port, brandy as English gin—and that a Frenchman may be quite as honest as a Portuguese. By merely consenting to purchase such commodities from the French as they can furnish us cheaper than we are able to obtain in any other manner, we shall compel them to become our best customers.

Such was the view of this subject taken by Mr Pitt, in his excellent speech in support of the commercial treaty with France, concluded in 1786—a speech which we would especially recommend to the attentive perusal of those statesmen who are so very fond of proclaiming their adherence to the principles and the policy of that distinguished person.—“ Mr Pitt believed he might venture to assert it as a fact generally admitted, that France had the advantage in the gift of soil and climate, and in the amount of her natural produce; that, on the contrary, Great Britain was, on her part, as confessedly superior in her manufactures and artificial productions. The wines, the brandies, the oils, and the vinegars of France, particularly the two former, were articles of such importance and value, as completely to destroy all idea of reciprocity as to natural produce,—we perhaps having nothing of that kind to put into competition except the article of beer. But, on the other hand, was it not a fact as demonstrably clear, that Great Bri-

tain, in its turn, possessed some manufactures exclusively her own, and that, in others, she had so completely the advantage of her neighbour, as to put competition at defiance? This then was the relative condition; and this the precise ground, on which it was imagined that a valuable correspondence and connexion between the two might be established. Having each its own distinct staple—having each that which the other wanted, and not clashing in the great and leading lines of their respective riches; they were like two great traders in different branches, they might enter into a traffic which would prove mutually and greatly beneficial.—When, in addition to all these benefits, we include the richness of the country with which we were to trade; with its superior population of twenty (*thirty*) millions to eight (*twelve*), and of course a proportionate consumption, together with its vicinity to us, and the advantages of quick and regular returns,—who could hesitate for a moment to applaud the system, and look forward with ardour and impatience for its speedy ratification? The possession of so extensive and so safe a market, must improve our commerce; while the duties transferred from the hands of the smugglers to their proper channel, would benefit our revenue—the two sources of British opulence and British power."

It is to no purpose to contend, that, before such a liberal system could be adopted by any particular country, it should also be adopted by all those with whom it has any intercourse. Although France should persist in refusing to purchase our cottons and woollens, that surely is no good reason why we should refuse to import her corn, silk, or wine, provided we can obtain them cheaper from her than from any other country. Because the French government absurdly obliges its subjects to incur an expense of 110*l.* or 120*l.* in manufacturing a commodity which they might obtain from England for 100*l.*, will that afford any apology for our acting in a similar manner? Would it not be much better to endeavour to profit by the errors into which others have fallen, than, by imitating them, to forego the many advantages we should infallibly reap, by gradually reverting to the principle of a free trade?

It has, we know, been strenuously contended, that, by repealing the existing prohibition against the importation of French silks, cambrics, &c. without having previously secured, as was partially done by the treaty of 1786, the free importation into France of such of our commodities as are now excluded, we should only expose ourselves to a drain for Bullion, and that the market for our manufactured produce would not be at all extended. Now supposing, for a moment, the fact to be as is

here stated, we should like to know what possible evil could result from maintaining a commercial intercourse with *France* by means of bullion, any more than with *China*? If it be advantageous to exchange our cottons and woollens with the South Americans and the Portuguese for bullion, and then to exchange that bullion with the Chinese for tea, why should it not be equally advantageous to extend this traffic—to export a larger quantity of cottons and woollens—and to exchange the bullion, thus obtained, with the French for silk? Our practical politicians and statesmen, from Mr Thomas Mun and Sir Josiah Child down to Messrs George Rose and Nicholas Vansittart, have all joined in considering the trade with the East Indies as an extremely lucrative one; though, as our readers are aware, gold and silver have always constituted the most advantageous articles of export from Europe to the East. Now, really it puzzles us to imagine how the country should be enriched, as it unquestionably has been, by exchanging the precious metals for the teas and muslins of the Chinese and the Hindoos, and impoverished by exchanging them for the corn, wine, and silks of the French! What are the advantages derived from our trade with the former, that might not be realized, and in a tenfold proportion, by maintaining a similar intercourse with the latter?

It is, however, a gross error to suppose, that the French would only exchange their commodities for gold and silver. No gold or silver can ever be exported from one country to another, unless their value is lower in the exporting country than in that to which they are exported. But, among countries situated in the immediate vicinity of each other, and without mines, the value of bullion is always extremely near a par; and it is therefore, of all commodities, the least likely to be made the subject of mercantile speculations. The demand for the precious metals is comparatively steady; and only a very small extra quantity could be imported into any particular country without sinking their value, or exported from another without raising their value. The bullion of Great Britain, therefore, could not be imported into France without reducing the value of French below that of British currency, and, consequently, without causing such a rise in the price of French commodities, and such a fall in the price of those belonging to this country, as would, by checking the importation of the former, and encouraging the exportation of the latter, throw the balance of payments in our favour, and prevent our being deprived of a due proportion of the precious metals. Bullion, it must always be recollected, is a commodity, and nothing but a commodity. It is never exported ex-

cept when its exportation is most advantageous; that is, when it is less valuable at home, and more valuable abroad, than any other commodity. The balance of payments might be a thousand millions against this country, without causing the exportation of a single ounce of bullion. The merchant who deals in the precious metals is, we may depend upon it, as much under the influence of self-interest, as the merchant who deals in coffee or indigo: But what merchant would export these commodities to Paris, to be sold for 100*l.* or 1000*l.*, if he could dispose of them at home for 110*l.*, or 1100*l.*? Bullion, in short, like every other commodity, is exported *to find its level, not to destroy it*. When our merchants export the precious metals in preference to other commodities, it is a decisive proof that they are cheaper here than in the foreign market, and consequently, that their exportation must be advantageous.

The profit on our transactions with foreigners, consists not in the quantity of gold and silver imported from abroad, but in the excess of the entire value of the imports over the entire value of the exports. If, in return for an exportation of commodities worth *ten or twenty* millions, we import commodities worth *fifteen or thirty*, we shall gain 50 per cent. by the transaction, and that although the exports should have consisted entirely of bullion, and the imports of corn, sugar, wine, &c. It is a ridiculous prejudice that would induce us to import bullion, rather than any other commodity, or that would stimulate us to fetter its exportation. But, whatever the partisans of the exclusive system may say about its being a *preferable product, a marchandise par excellence*, we may be assured that it will never appear in the list of exports or imports, while there is any other commodity with which to carry on trade that will yield a larger profit. 'To import,' says Dr Smith, 'the gold and silver which may be wanted, into the countries which have no mines, is, no doubt, a part of the business of foreign commerce. It is, however, a most insignificant part of it. A country which carried on foreign trade merely upon this account, could scarcely have occasion to freight a ship in a century.'

Nor is this all. A nation which is in want of money, must also be in want of other commodities, inasmuch as men only desire money because it is the readiest means of increasing their command over the necessities and luxuries of life. Until the cost of production shall have been equalized, there must always be a demand in one country for those commodities which can be produced cheaper in another. And, until the desire to accumulate shall have been banished from the human breast, there must always be an inclination to export commodi-

ties from those countries where their unexchangeable value is least, to where it is greatest.

We admit, that, were it not for restrictions on importation, several manufactures which are now carried on in Great Britain, such, for example, as that of silk, could never have had any existence among us. Instead, however, of engaging indiscriminately in every possible employment, we ought plainly to confine ourselves to those in which we have acquired a superiority over other nations, and to obtain those commodities which they are enabled to raise with comparative facility, in exchange for our surplus products. It is by this means only that we can fully avail ourselves of the peculiar advantages of our situation, and that the capital and industry of the country can be turned to the greatest account. We would not, however, be understood as meaning to deny, that the repeal of the prohibition against the importation of foreign silks, laces, &c. or of such commodities as could be manufactured cheaper abroad, would, in the first instance, be attended with some little embarrassment. But the inconveniences which must always follow the exchange of an exclusive for a liberal system of commercial intercourse, have been studiously and greatly exaggerated. The persons engaged in those branches of industry, which could not be carried on in the event of an unrestricted foreign competition being allowed, form but a very small proportion of our manufacturing population; but it is those only who derive any advantage from the restrictive system, and, consequently, they only who would sustain any injury from its abolition. Dr Colquhoun estimates the total value of all the silk goods annually manufactured in Great Britain, exclusive of the raw material, at about two millions Sterling. Now, if we suppose the manufacturers' profits, and the interest on capital, to amount together to 18 per cent., we shall have 1,640,000*l.* as the gross amount of wages; and, assuming that each workman earns 20*l.*, the total number employed in the silk manufacture will be about 82,000. This, we believe, is a third more than the truth; but supposing the number correct, it is about *one-sixtieth* part of the five millions of individuals which the census of 1811 showed were directly supported by trade, manufactures, handicraft, &c. Although, therefore, the abolition of the restriction on the importation of foreign silks were to be attended with all the pernicious consequences which the apologists of the exclusive system predict, it would only make a very inconsiderable addition to the public distress. The silk manufacture, as must always be the case with every forced and exotic species of production, is generally in a state of the greatest depression; and the comparatively small number of artisans

which it employs, are at present dependent on the poor's funds for more than one half of their scanty subsistence; and, admitting that the abolition of the prohibitory system were to throw them entirely on the parish, that circumstance would not make any material addition to the rates.

It is impossible, however, that the importation of foreign silks could really reduce the demand for labour. The repeal of the restriction certainly would not lessen the consumption of silks. On the contrary, the fall of price which it must necessarily occasion, by enabling a much greater proportion of our fair countrywomen to clothe themselves in this splendid and showy dress, and otherwise, would undoubtedly occasion an increased consumption. But foreign commodities are never obtained except in exchange for the produce of our land, capital or labour. Neither the French nor the Italians would send us their silks gratis.—They would require, in payment, our cottons, woollens, hardware, &c. or such other commodities as we could produce cheaper than themselves.—And hence the reduction in the price of silks caused by their importation from abroad, would not only add considerably to the comforts and enjoyments of the consumers; but an additional demand would in consequence be created for the produce of those manufactures in which we have acquired a superiority; which can only be endangered by unwisely fettering our intercourse with other countries, and forcing them to engage in the same employments. As long as we cooperate with nature, we cannot be undersold by foreigners; while, from the reciprocity of commerce, every increase in the productive powers of labour, which should enable us to consume, or, which is the same thing, to furnish an equivalent for, an increased quantity of foreign commodities, would occasion a proportionable enlargement of the market.\* Under a liberal commercial system, the workmen who are now employed in the manufacture of silks, laces, cambrics, &c. would be employed in those departments in which the advantage is on the side of this country; and in which, as foreigners could not enter into competition with us, there would be infinitely less risk of overloading the market. How ridiculous then to attempt to increase the national industry, by having recourse to prohibitory enactments! If we will not buy from foreigners, foreigners cannot buy from us.—The restrictive system, if carried to its full extent, would shut us out of every market.—It would not merely diminish, but totally annihilate the commerce of the world.

By consenting to import such commodities as could be obtained from abroad for less than would suffice to raise them at

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\* Torrens on the External Corn Trade, p. 106.

home, we should not only employ our capital and industry to greater advantage than at present, but would also render ourselves comparatively secure against the pernicious effects of sudden fluctuations in the demand. Such manufactures as can only be carried on by means of a monopoly, are necessarily limited by the extent of the home market. When the demands of the domestic consumer are satisfied, we have reached the utmost limits to which such branches of industry can be carried; for those who are enabled to produce the same commodities with less expense, are sure to beat us out of the foreign market. Steadiness of demand, however, is generally in proportion to its extent. When a change of fashion occasions an increased demand for silk goods, the supply being comparatively limited, prices are suddenly advanced, and the silk trade presents unusual attractions for the profitable investment of capital. But the natural, and indeed the necessary effect of a rise in the rate of profit, even in those departments of industry in which the market is most extended, is to attract such a quantity of stock as not merely to reduce the rate of profit to its ordinary level, but to cause a reaction of an opposite kind. Now, it is obvious that the more limited the market, the sooner will this reaction be brought about. Where the demand for a particular commodity is necessarily very contracted, a sudden rise of price, though it may be productive of immediate advantage to the producers, is sure, by attracting too much capital to that employment, to be in the end decidedly injurious. The history of the silk trade sufficiently establishes the truth of this principle; every increase of prices having been invariably followed by an overloading of the market, and a fall of prices and wages.

But if such are the effects of a rise in the price of commodities manufactured under a monopoly, a fall of price must be still more injurious. A change of fashion totally ruined the lustring manufacture; and the least falling off in the ordinary demand for silks, never fails to involve both manufacturers and workmen in the greatest distress. The reason is obvious.—Silk goods manufactured in this country must fall 20 or 30 per cent. below prime cost, before they can be advantageously exported to any other market; and hence a fall of prices, instead of leading to an increased exportation, as would be the case with cottons or woollens, occasions a cessation of production, and throws the labourers on the parish for support. This is the real cause why the lower classes in Spitalfields, Coventry, and other principal seats of the silk manufacture, are almost uniformly in a state of extreme wretchedness and poverty.

Such capitalists as have employed their stock in the manufac-



ture of those commodities which might be more advantageously imported from abroad, are the only persons who would be exposed to any serious injury from the abolition of the restrictive system. It is fortunate, however, that only a very small part of the national capital is thus employed; and of this no inconsiderable portion might be withdrawn without loss. Supposing, however, that it could not—what then? Are the whole of the consumers, that is, the whole people of Britain, to be obliged to pay a monopoly price for their corn, silks, cambrics, &c. merely that the profits of a particular class of producers may be thereby increased? It might just as reasonably be contended, that the State ought to prevent the construction of improved machinery, because it would throw the inferior sort out of employment, as that it ought to prevent the introduction of comparatively cheap foreign commodities, because it would be prejudicial to the interest of such and such manufacturers. Laws either are, or ought to be, framed entirely with a view to the public advantage. Government should in no case interfere to adjust the gains and losses of its subjects. Its business is to remove every obstacle which may stand in the way of the accumulation of wealth and the development of the powers and resources of talent and industry,—not certainly to pamper and enrich one class of producers at the expense of the community.

Besides, it does not necessarily follow that the free introduction of such commodities as are now prohibited, would occasion the loss of any portion of capital.—An individual who has invested his stock in machinery for the purpose of carrying on the silk manufacture, would, in the event of the trade being thrown open, continue his employment, unless that portion of his capital which could be withdrawn, might be otherwise employed, so as to yield a greater nett profit than could be derived from continuing to employ the whole in the silk trade.—If this is the case, he will consent to sink that portion of his capital which cannot be appropriated to a different species of production; but, if not, he will continue as formerly to manufacture silks. However low the price of silk might fall, if capital could not be withdrawn from its manufacture, and if the demand did not increase, none would be imported from abroad. The same quantity of home-made silks would still be brought to market. Though the stock of the manufacturers would not yield them so large a return as before the fall of prices, it could not possibly be their interest to produce less; for, by the supposition, they could not employ their capital to equal advantage in any other manner; and, unless they continued the production of silks, it would not yield them any return whatever. ‘Who,’ asks Mr Ricardo,

who has illustrated this subject with his usual ability, ‘who would exhort a manufacturer to forego the use of better machinery, because it would deteriorate or annihilate the value of the old? Yet this is the argument of those who would wish us to prohibit the importation of corn, silks, &c. because it will deteriorate or annihilate that part of the capital of the farmer and the manufacturer, which is for ever sunk in land or machinery. They do not see that the end of all commerce is to increase production, and that, by increasing production, though you may occasion partial loss, you increase the general happiness. To be consistent, they should endeavour to arrest all improvements in agriculture and manufactures, and all inventions of machinery; for though these contribute to general abundance, and therefore to the general happiness, they never fail, at the moment of their introduction, to deteriorate or annihilate a part of the existing capital of farmers and manufacturers.’

But instead of the apprehension of such embarrassments operating as any inducement to delay entering on a thorough revision of the whole of our commercial system, it seems to point out the present as the most appropriate period for accomplishing so desirable an object. Occurrences, beyond the reach of control, have paved the way for the introduction of a more liberal system. Much of that revulsion and derangement which must have been occasioned by the sudden breaking up of the restrictive system, has already taken place. The distress and embarrassment consequent on a transition from a state of extraordinary artificial excitement, to one of positive pressure and difficulty, has not only increased the natural reluctance which most men feel to abandon that employment to which they have been accustomed, even when it is less advantageous than others, but has also prevented the investment of much of the capital which has been disengaged since the peace. The Legislature may therefore, with comparative facility, and without occasioning much loss to any particular class of producers, gradually divert the greater part of the unemployed capital into those channels in which it will be most productive. It is impossible, indeed, to conceive a more favourable opportunity for breaking down, or modifying the exclusive system. After the present embarrassments shall have subsided, and that capital which is now either wholly or partially unemployed shall have been transferred to other countries, or invested in such branches of industry as it is now permitted to carry on, it will be impossible to retrace our steps, or to get rid of our prohibitions and restrictions, without subjecting ourselves to fresh inconvenience.

But although we should absurdly persist in excluding from our markets all these French manufactures to which we either have or can have any thing parallel among ourselves, it is nevertheless in our power to maintain an extensive intercourse with that country, in articles as to which all idea of rivalry is excluded. A rich, populous, and highly civilized nation, must necessarily prove an infinitely better customer than one that is comparatively poor and miserable. Yet our practical politicians have, in their wisdom, imposed exorbitantly high duties on French wines, for the avowed purpose of preventing their consumption, and of forcing the importation of those of our dear ally, Portugal! Such pitiful drivelling admits of no excuse. It has not merely prevented our maintaining an extensive and highly beneficial intercourse with France, and vexatiously forced the consumers of wines to have recourse to those of an inferior quality, but, by lessening their consumption, it has occasioned a positive diminution of that very revenue which is still dearer in our eyes than our old and natural ally! ‘*La nation Anglaise,*’ to use the words of the ablest of the French Economists, ‘*pourrait jouir des vins de France presque à aussi bon compte que les Français; c’est-à-dire, se procurer une boisson naturelle, salubre, fortifiante, moyennant quelques sous par bouteille. L’énorme impôt mis sur les vins de France en réduit l’importation à presque rien; les droits à peu de chose; et il ne résulte guère de ce droit qu’une privation totale, pour les Anglais, d’un produit excellent et peu coûteux.*’ \*

The duties on foreign wines, which at present amount to the enormous sum of 143*l.* 18*s.* per ton on those of France, and to 95*l.* 11*s.* per ton on those of Portugal and Spain, have been trebled since 1792. The last increase took place in 1815, when 30*l.* per ton was added to the former duty on French, and 20*l.* per ton to that on Portuguese wine. The consequences of this increase afford a striking illustration of the truth of Dr Swift’s maxim, that in the arithmetic of the Customs, two and two, instead of making four, frequently make only *one*. In 1816, notwithstanding the advance, the wine duties collected in the port of London were deficient, as compared with the previous year, to the extent of 338,329*l.*! Perhaps, however, it may be thought that, owing to the extraordinary convulsions in the commercial world in 1815 and 1816, neither of these years affords a proper ground of comparison to ascertain the effects of the new duty; but any other year will give nearly the same result. In 1814, for example, when the duty on French wine amounted to about

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\* Say, *Traité d’Economie Politique*, 3me Ed. Tom. 2. p. 310.

114*l.*, and the duty on Portuguese to about 75*l.* per ton, the total nett produce of the revenue derived from their importation into Great Britain, amounted to 1,038,866*l.*; but in 1818, three years after the duties had been raised about 26 per cent., their total aggregate nett produce amounted to no more than 1,049,305*l.*, being only a rise of about *one* per cent. on what they had yielded with the low duties; showing that the consumption must have declined *one-fourth*, or 25 per cent., and consequently, that a proportionable diminution must have taken place in the comforts of the consumers, and in the exports of the produce which had previously been taken as an equivalent for the wine. In Ireland, the effect of the increase of the duty in diminishing the consumption, and reducing the revenue, was still more apparent; the imports of foreign wine, which in 1815 had amounted to 3169 tons, having, in 1816, been reduced to 1804 tons!

It is in vain, then, to attempt to apologize for the high duties, on the ground of their increasing the revenue. Their effect is distinctly and completely the reverse. But, supposing them to have this effect, it still remains to be shown, why the duties on French should be higher than those on Portuguese wines. Mr Vansittart indeed, when proposing the last addition to the duty on French wines, candidly acknowledged that he did so, not so much with a view of increasing the revenue, as of discouraging their use! But why discourage the use of claret, any more than of port? Besides, Mr Vansittart should have known, that, by discouraging the use of French wines and other commodities in Britain, he was, at the same time, and to the very same extent, discouraging the use of British commodities in France. From whatever point of the political compass we may set out, this is the principle to which we must come at last. No country ever refuses to import the produce of another, without inflicting a much more serious injury on its own inhabitants, than on those of the nation against which the restriction is intended to operate. By refusing to import French wines, we no doubt partially check the progress of the vine culture in France; but we cannot accomplish this without preventing the extension of our own foreign trade—without preventing the extension of those manufactures which would have been exchanged for the wine—and without materially abridging the comforts and enjoyments of a great proportion of the middle and upper classes. Commerce is nothing but an exchange of equivalents; and those who will not *buy*, need not flatter themselves with the delusive idea that they shall, notwithstanding, be able to *sell*.

The factitious encouragement which Ministers continue to

bestow on the trade with Portugal, is the more extraordinary, inasmuch as it is now only by means of the trade with South America that we are able to obtain those supplies of bullion which first recommended the Portuguese trade to the especial favour and protection of our practical Statesmen,—and as it is in direct contradiction to the policy of Mr Pitt, who, in 1786, by a wise and politic measure, reduced the duties on French, to the same level with those on Portuguese wines. How comes it that the politicians of the Pitt school never refer to the example of their great prototype, except when they are about to make some inroad on our liberties, or to add to the pressure of the public burdens? We are humbly of opinion, that it would not be less creditable to themselves, nor less advantageous to the country, were they to imitate his conduct in other respects, and to propose a reduction of the duties on French wines, brandies, &c. ‘for great commercial purposes,’ and when, as Mr Pitt justly observed on the occasion alluded to, *‘they would be returned in a threefold proportion, by extending and legalizing the importation of the articles.’*

It is impossible to estimate the extent of the trade which would be carried on between this country and France, were the prohibitions against the importation of French silks, laces, &c. repealed, and the duties on French wine reduced to 45*l.* per ton, as fixed by Mr Pitt in 1786; but there can be no question that it would be very great. Arnauld, Chaptal, and other French writers, estimate the value of the commodities imported into France, under the operation of Mr Pitt’s treaty in 1789, at 60,912,000 francs, or about 2,437,000*l.*: The prohibition against the importation of French silks was not repealed by the act 1786, otherwise the equivalent which the French must have taken in exchange for their silks imported into this country, would, at the very least, have added other *two* millions to the amount of British commodities imported into France. The taste for French wines, laces, silks, &c. has not declined in Britain since the era of the Revolution; and we may, therefore, by merely relaxing our prohibitory system, and consenting to purchase from the French those commodities with which they can supply us cheaper and better than any other country, obtain a market for five or six millions worth of our manufactured products, in a country to which we do not at present export to the value of *half a million*. Perhaps we should not be able immediately to export this amount of produce *directly* to France: But that, as we have already shown, is of no importance. The French must take an equivalent for the articles we buy from them; and that equivalent, whether it be in the shape of money or of goods, must have

been furnished by the capital and industry of this country:—To whatever extent we purchase from the French, they must inevitably be compelled, directly or indirectly, to purchase a corresponding quantity of our commodities.

In our present situation, and when, in consequence of the manufacturers being unable to dispose of their commodities, the labouring class is so very generally thrown out of employment, and reduced to the extreme of misery and wretchedness, it is the bounden duty of Government to interfere, and to adopt every practicable measure for relieving the public distresses, and for restoring that prosperity which has been so long banished from the country. If it were impossible to extend the demand for British manufactured produce, our situation would be extremely discouraging. But this is not the case. On the contrary, it is plainly in our power to increase that demand to an unlimited extent, and to relieve our manufacturers of that surplus produce for which they are at present unable to obtain a market. Nothing but the most pitiful and unmeaning prejudices stand in the way of our opening a trade with the richest, most civilized, and most powerful nation in Europe. It is no exaggeration to say, that we may immediately *double* the number of the foreign consumers of British produce in Europe, and lay the foundations of a commerce of which it is impossible to estimate the future extent, and which, being founded on the gratification of reciprocal and real wants, would not be exposed to injurious fluctuations.

We are unwilling to believe that Ministers can be insensible to the distresses and sufferings of the manufacturing classes. But if this be not really the fact, if Ministers be not determined to turn a deaf ear to those complaints which are now echoed from every part of the Empire, and to despise the evidence deduced from the clearest and most obvious principles of economical science, they will hasten to acknowledge the impolicy and the absurdity of the restrictions on the trade with France; and cease voluntarily to exclude the people of Britain from all intercourse with a nation which, by its situation, by the variety of its products, and by its wealth, is, above all others, fitted to carry on an extensive and mutually beneficial intercourse with this country. Nor is this all. An intercourse with France would be productive of other and still more beneficial effects. By bringing the people of Britain and France more into contact—by rendering them mutually serviceable—and by showing that the wealth and riches of the one could not be increased without necessarily contributing to increase those of the other, it would have a strong tendency to weaken the force of those illiberal

prejudices which have been the cause of so much bloodshed, and which have for centuries preserved two nations who, in reality have only one common interest—in the frowning attitude of mutual defiance.—“ France,” said Mr Pitt, in the admirable speech to which we have already so often referred, “ was, by the peculiar dispensation of Providence, gifted, perhaps more than any other country upon earth, with what made life desirable, in point of soil, climate, and natural productions.— It had the most fertile vineyards, and the richest harvests : The greatest luxuries of man were produced in it with little cost, and with moderate labour. Britain was not thus blessed by nature; but, on the other hand, it possessed, through the happy freedom of its constitution, and the equal security of its laws, an energy in its enterprise, and a stability in its exertions, which had gradually raised it to a state of commercial grandeur; and, not being so bountifully gifted by Heaven, it had recourse to labour and art, by which it had acquired the ability of supplying its neighbours with all the necessary embellishments of life, in exchange for the natural luxuries. Thus standing with regard to each other, a friendly connexion seemed to be pointed out between them, instead of that state of unalterable enmity which was falsely said to be their true political feeling towards one another.”

The length to which our remarks on the impolicy of the restrictions on the trade with France have extended, precludes our entering into any detailed examination of the restrictions on our intercourse with other countries. We cannot, however, forbear adverting to the state of the Baltic trade. Until very lately, we carried on an extremely advantageous intercourse with the Northern nations—vast quantities of our cotton and woollen goods, and of our hardware, were taken by them in exchange for the wood and iron imported into this country. Instead, however, of fostering and encouraging this trade—a trade which, considering the small progress hitherto made by the Northern nations in manufacturing industry, and the extent and fertility of their uncultivated lands, must have increased for centuries to come—we have done all in our power to destroy it. In order to have Canada put into as good condition as possible, previous to its being delivered up to the Americans, we determined to allow no more wood to be brought from the Baltic, but to compel our builders to pay about double the price for the inferior timber of Miramichi and Montreal, that would have procured the superior timber of Memel and Bergen; and, in order to attract an undue proportion of the national capital to the hazardous and unproductive trade of mining, we laid

exorbitant duties on the importation of foreign iron ! But the Northern nations, and Sweden and Norway especially, had no other commodity except timber and iron to exchange for our manufactures ; and as we refused to take either, they could no longer carry on any intercourse with us ; and the demand for our goods in these countries has in consequence nearly ceased ! —It is thus that the evils of the restrictive system constantly recoil, and with tenfold effect, on the heads of its supporters.

We are aware, that in order to set the industry of this country on a proper footing, and to enable us permanently to bear up against the competition of foreigners, measures must be adopted for effectually lightening the pressure of taxation, and for striking at the principle of that erroneous system which has so powerfully contributed to give a factitious stimulus to the increase of population in England. But, without modifying our restrictive system, or, which is the same thing, without extending the demand for the productions of British industry, no reduction of taxation, and no limitation of the poor rates, will be sufficient to restore prosperity to the country, or to enable us to give full scope to the productive powers of capital and industry. In this opinion we are supported by the authority of Mr Malthus, who, in the late edition of his celebrated Essay, has remarked, that ‘ the distress among the mercantile and manufacturing classes, obviously arises, not so much from the want of capital and the means of production, as from the want of a market for their commodities when produced— a want, for which the removal of taxes, however proper, and indeed absolutely necessary as a permanent measure, is certainly not the immediate and specific remedy.’

Before concluding, we shall avail ourselves of this opportunity to offer a very few remarks on Dr Smith’s theory relative to the superior advantages derived from the employment of capital in the home trade. If it can be shown that Dr Smith has here fallen into an error, and that capital, whether employed in the home or foreign trade, is equally productive, the only scientific argument by which it has been endeavoured to defend the restrictive system, will fall to the ground.

‘ The capital,’ Dr Smith observes, ‘ which sends Scots manufactures to London, and brings back English corn and manufactures to Edinburgh, necessarily replaces, by every such operation, two British capitals which had both been employed in the agriculture or manufactures of Great Britain. The capital employed in purchasing foreign goods for home consumption, when this purchase is made with the produce of domestic industry, replaces too, by every such operation, two distinct



capitals; but one of them only is employed in supporting domestic industry. The capital which sends British goods to Portugal, and brings back Portuguese goods to Great Britain, replaces, by every such operation, only one British capital,—the other is a Portuguese one. Though the returns, therefore, of the foreign trade of consumption should be as quick as the home trade, the capital employed in it will give but one half the encouragement to the industry or productive labour of the country. '\* Now, in making this statement, Dr Smith appears to us to have lost sight of the principle which he had himself established, and which shows, that the amount of the "productive industry of any particular country must always be proportionable to the amount of its capital; and hence, unless it could be made out that the importation of foreign commodities has a tendency, which most certainly it has not, to force capital abroad, the consequences here pointed out by Dr Smith would not follow. Supposing, for the sake of illustration, that the Scots manufactures are all sent to Lisbon; then it is obvious, provided the same demand continues in London for the Scots manufactures as before they began to be exported to Portugal, that an *additional* capital, and an increased number of labourers will be required to furnish commodities for *both* the London and Lisbon markets. In this case, therefore, instead of the industry of the country sustaining any diminution from the export of the Scots manufactures abroad, it would evidently be augmented, and a new field would be discovered for the profitable employment of stock. But if, at the same time that the Edinburgh merchants began to export their manufactures to Lisbon, the London merchants also found out a market where they could purchase, at a cheaper rate, the commodities formerly imported from Edinburgh, or, which is the same thing, where they could sell, at a dearer rate, the commodities they had exchanged for them, all intercourse between these two cities would immediately cease, and the home trade of consumption would be changed for a foreign trade of consumption. It is obvious, however, that this change could not occasion the least embarrassment. On the contrary, a fresh stimulus would be given to the manufactures of both London and Edinburgh, inasmuch as nothing but the being able to dispose of their produce to greater advantage, could have induced them to change the home for a foreign market. When a home trade is changed for a foreign trade, an additional capital, belonging to the nation with whom it is carried on, enters into it; but there is

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\* Wealth of Nations, vol. ii. p. 60.

no diminution whatever, either of the capital or the industry of the nation which has made the change; \* on the contrary, they are both employed under more advantageous circumstances, and with greater effect. Neither can it be contended that the home traders realize greater profits on the capital they employ, than the merchants who carry on an intercourse with other countries; for, if such was really the fact, every farthing of capital would very soon be abstracted from the comparatively disadvantageous employment.

In reality, however, not merely this particular part, but the whole of Dr Smith's theory respecting the more or less advantageous employment of capital, appears to us to rest on a very insecure foundation. That employment of capital is certainly the best which yields the greatest nett profit to the capitalist: And hence, if two capitals yield equal profits, the departments of industry in which they are respectively invested, however much they may differ in other respects, are equally beneficial to the State. It is obviously by the amount of the *nett* profit and rent of a country, and not, as Dr Smith seems to have supposed, by the amount of its *gross* revenue, that its power is to be estimated, and its capacity of happiness determined. Profit and rent constitute the only fund from which capital can be formed, and from which taxes and other public burdens can, for any considerable period, be paid. Besides, every increase of profits, by increasing the power to accumulate, has a direct tendency to increase capital; and it is acknowledged, on all hands, that capital cannot be augmented, without setting a greater quantity of productive labour in motion. Those only who are desirous of attaining the stationary state of society, ought to recommend the investment of capital in those employments in which it would yield a large *gross*, rather than a large *nett* revenue. Supposing the ordinary rate of profit to be 10 per cent., an individual possessed of 20,000*l.* would consider it a matter of perfect indifference, whether his capital employed 100 or 1000 men, or whether the commodities it produced sold for 10,000*l.* or 20,000*l.*, provided he always realized the same unvarying sum of 2000*l.* of profit. But if the State, by fettering the employment of capital, should oblige this capitalist to invest his stock in a department of industry, in which, though it might give employment to 1500 workmen, it would only yield 1000*l.* or 1500*l.* instead of 2000*l.* of profit, it is obvious that the power to accumulate capital, and, consequently, to add to the wealth and power of the country, would be proportionably diminished. Such a measure might

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\* Ricardo, *Principles of Political Economy*, &c. p. 497. 1st Ed.

perhaps enable us to afford a temporary subsistence to an ex-crescent and redundant population; but it would effectually check our future progress, and lessen our means of afterwards adding to that fund, whose extent will always measure the extent of the productive industry of the country. It is impossible, therefore, that the utmost freedom of industry should ever attract capital to a comparatively disadvantageous employment. In this respect, public and private interests are always in unison. If capital flows to foreign trade rather than to agriculture or the home trade, it can only be because it has been found to yield larger profits to the individual, and, consequently, to the State.

As the real price of every species of commodities must always be proportionable, not only to the expense of their production, but also to the expense necessarily incurred in conveying them from the places where they have been produced to those where they are to be consumed, it is certain that a nation which prohibits trading with countries in her immediate vicinity, must pay a higher price for her imported commodities, and be obliged to exact a higher price for those which she exports, than would have been necessary had she been able to procure the one, or to dispose of the other, in her immediate neighbourhood. If wine of the same intrinsic worth could be bought at Nantes or Bourdeaux equally cheap as at Lisbon or Madeira, the difference of freight, &c. would enable it to be sold much cheaper in Britain. It is in this, and not in the occasioning a large gross revenue, that the whole peculiar advantage of the home trade seems to consist. The parties who interchange products live near each other; and, consequently, each obtains the commodity of which he stands in need at its cheapest rate, and without being obliged to pay any great additional sum on account of carriage. When, therefore, we restrict the trade with countries in our immediate vicinity, such as France, we act in the teeth of that very principle which is, in every other case, admitted to be advantageous. We compel the purchasers of foreign commodities to pay a higher price for them than would otherwise have been necessary; while, by raising the price of our own exported commodities, the market for them is unnaturally and injuriously contracted.

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ART. IV. *Political and Literary Anecdotes of his own Times.*

By DR WILLIAM KING, Principal of St Mary Hall, Oxon.  
Second Edition. 8vo. pp. 268. London, Murray, 1819.

**F**ROM the Revolution to the accession of his present Majesty, with the exception of a very few years, the Tories were in

active and steady opposition not only to the ministers of the Crown, but in reality also to the individuals who had been called to wear it. At the same time, when we consider them as a party, whatever we may think of their principles, we must allow their conduct to have been, generally speaking, able, honourable and steady; nor did the slavish nature of their doctrines at all engender, as long as they were kept out of place, that paltry and timeserving spirit which has too uniformly distinguished their demeanour, since the termination of the disputes respecting the succession restored them to their natural situation. The learned person whose posthumous work now lies before us, was a Tory of the old school, having passed his whole life exactly in the evil days of exclusion from office; for he was born in 1685, and died in 1763. The liberality and independent feelings which appear in many of his remarks, are probably to be traced to this source; but they are not the less deserving of praise from us, and of attention from the partisans of the same school, who now combine with Toryism the mean propensities of mere place-hunters, which the older Tories despised. ‘At no time of my life, either in England or Ireland, either from the present or any former government, have I asked, or endeavoured by any means to obtain, a place, pension, or employment of any kind. I could assign many reasons for my conduct; but one answer I have always ready: I inherited a patrimony, which I found sufficient to supply all my wants, and to leave me at liberty to pursue those liberal studies which afforded me the most solid pleasures in my youth, and are the delight and enjoyment of my old age. Besides, I always conceived a secret horror of a state of servility and dependence: and I never yet saw a placeman or a courtier, whether in a higher or lower class, whether a priest or a layman, who was his own master.’ *Advert.* ix. x.

We are informed that the manuscript from which this work is printed, has been compared with the unquestionable handwriting of the Doctor, in the account-books of his College; that it was in the possession of two ladies, his relations; and that ‘from some minute additions and corrections of the language,’ (and the editor might have added, from the existence of a preface), little doubt can be entertained of the author having intended it for publication. The preface is written in his seventy-sixth year, and informs us, that the anecdotes were set down during hours of confinement from the infirmities of old age; that most of them were within his own knowledge, and the rest derived from sources to which he could trust. They are related in an easy and agreeable manner, and follow each other like a

table-talk, without any regard to order, or merely with that kind of connexion which arises from one story suggesting another.

The first anecdote in the volume relates to Bishop Atterbury, of whom, from similarity of principles, our author is a great admirer; and the reader will immediately detect a slight inaccuracy in it.

'In 1715 I dined with the DUKE of ORMONDE at Richmond. We were fourteen at table. There was my Lord MARR, my Lord JERSEY, my Lord ARRAN, my Lord LANDSDOWN, Sir WILLIAM WYNDHAM, Sir REDMOND EVERARD, and ATTERBURY Bishop of Rochester. The rest of the company I do not exactly remember. During the dinner there was a jocular dispute (I forget how it was introduced) concerning short prayers. Sir WILLIAM WYNDHAM told us, that the shortest prayer he had ever heard was the prayer of a common soldier just before the battle of *Blenheim*, "*O God, if there be a God, save my soul, if I have a soul!*" This was followed by a general laugh. I immediately reflected that such a treatment of the subject was too ludicrous, at least very improper, where a learned and religious prelate was one of the company. But I had soon an opportunity of making a different reflection. ATTERBURY, seeming to join in the conversation, and applying himself to Sir WILLIAM WYNDHAM, said, "Your prayer, Sir WILLIAM, is indeed very short: but I remember another as short, but much better, offered up likewise by a poor soldier in the same circumstances, "*O God, if in the day of battle I forget thee, do thou not forget me!*" This, as ATTERBURY pronounced it, with his usual grace and dignity, was a very gentle and polite reproof, and was immediately felt by the whole company. And the Duke of ORMONDE, who was the best bred man of his age, suddenly turned the discourse to another subject.' pp. 7-9.

Now, the second prayer was not 'one offered up by a poor soldier' without a name, but by Lord Astley, a distinguished cavalier, before he charged at the battle of Edgehill; and the words of the prayer, as given by Hume, after Warwick, are materially different. 'O Lord! thou knowest how busy I must be this day. If I forget thee,' &c. Upon this the freethinking historian remarks, with his accustomed *naïveté*, 'there were certainly much longer prayers in the Parliamentary army; but I doubt if there was so good a one.'

The good Doctor having always been a water-drinker himself, is extremely severe upon any indulgence in strong liquors; and we cannot help thinking, that this austerity has made him greatly exaggerate what he terms 'the pernicious habit of drinking drams,' which he plainly insinuates that Pope had contracted. The following is the anecdote which he couples with the remark.

\* POPE and I, with my Lord ORRERY and Sir HARRY BEDING-

FIELD, dined with the late Earl of BURLINGTON. After the first course, POPE grew sick, and went out of the room. When dinner was ended, and the cloth removed, my Lord BURLINGTON said he would go out, and see what was become of POPE. And soon after they returned together. But POPE, who had been casting up his dinner, looked very pale, and complained much. My Lord asked him if he would have some mulled wine or a glass of old sack, which POPE refused. I told my Lord BURLINGTON that he wanted a dram. Upon which the little man expressed some resentment against me, and said he would not taste any spirits, and that he abhorred drams as much as I did. However I persisted, and assured my Lord BURLINGTON that he could not oblige our friend more at that instant than by ordering a large glass of cherry-brandy to be set before him. This was done, and in less than half an hour, while my Lord was acquainting us with an affair which engaged our attention, POPE had sipped up all the brandy. POPE's frame of body did not promise long life; but he certainly hastened his death by feeding much on high-seasoned dishes, and drinking spirits.' pp. 12, 13.—He also blames Swift for drinking too much wine, although he allows that he did not exceed a pint of claret.

It may easily be imagined that our author's pen is dipped in gall when he speaks of Sir Robert Walpole; yet the only specific charge which he makes against him, is the old one of governing by corruption, and injuring publick morality by his undisguised manner of deriding all publick virtue. That these things are founded in fact, we apprehend must now be admitted; yet there seems hardly any doubt that this able and most useful statesman only differed from his predecessors, and his immediate successors, in the greater frankness with which he avowed practices common to them all, from the time when the plan of ruling by parliamentary influence was substituted for the older scheme of government by prerogative. He recounts a whimsical instance of the plain and downright manner in which the grossest bribery was practised in those clumsy times. 'I am here' (he says, after speaking of *Æolus* having been bribed by Juno with a nymph, to which present he makes no allusion in his reply), 'I am here put in mind of something similar, which happened in Sir ROBERT WALPOLE's administration. He wanted to carry a question in the House of Commons, to which he knew there would be great opposition, and which was disliked by some of his own dependants. As he was passing through the Court of Requests, he met a member of the contrary party, whose avarice he imagined would not reject a large bribe. He took him aside, and said, "Such a question comes on this day; give me your vote, and here is a bank bill of 2000*l*."—which he put into his hands. The member

made him this answer. " Sir ROBERT, you have lately served some of my particular friends; and when my wife was last at court, the King was very gracious to her, which must have happened at your instance. I should therefore think myself very ungrateful (*putting the bank bill into his pocket*) if I were to refuse the favour you are now pleased to ask me." pp. 27, 28.

The rash saying ascribed so currently to Walpole, that every man had his price, is brought home to him upon very satisfactory evidence, in one instance at least, by Dr King, who had it from William Leveson, Lord Gower's brother. Leveson happened to be standing next Sir Robert in the House of Lords during a warm debate; when the latter observed—' You see with what zeal and vehemence these gentlemen oppose, and yet I know the price of every man in this House except three, and your brother is one of them.' Our author adds, that Lord Gower afterwards showed he was quite unworthy of a place in this triumvirate—and gives a very bitter account of his well known defection, to the consequences of which he unhesitatingly ascribes his death. The bitterness which ever and anon breaks out against the Whigs, makes an amusing part of these anecdotes. He is inveighing, for instance, against avarice, and he gives his examples; but almost all from that party. Thus, Lord Hardwicke, ' who is said to be worth 800,000*l.*, sets the same value on half a crown now as he did when he was worth only one hundred.'—And then he runs on with more great Whig worthies of that age.

' That great captain, the DUKE of MARLBOROUGH, when he was in the last stage of life, and very infirm, would walk from the public rooms in Bath to his lodgings, in a cold dark night, to save sixpence in chair hire. If the Duke, who left at his death more than a million and a half sterling, could have foreseen that all his wealth and honours were to be inherited by a grandson of my lord Trevor's, who had been one of his enemies, would he have been so careful to save sixpence for the sake of his heir? Not for the sake of his heir; but he would always have saved a sixpence. Sir JAMES LOWTHER, after changing a piece of silver in George's coffee house, and paying twopence for his dish of coffee, was helped into his chariot (for he was then very lame and infirm), and went home: Some little time after, he returned to the same coffee-house on purpose to acquaint the woman who kept it that she had given him a bad halfpenny, and demanded another in exchange for it. Sir JAMES had about 40,000*l.* per annum, and was at a loss whom to appoint his heir.'—pp. 101–103.

He gives a long dissertation on men mistaking their talents; and his first example is Addison, with whom he is somewhat

wroth, upon the old score of the tye-wig. ' If he had entered ' into holy orders, (and he had made divinity his chief study), ' he might have placed himself as high as he pleased on the ' bench of Bishops.' Instead of which, he tried to be Secretary of State; and, failing, was obliged to retire upon a Teller-ship. After an instance of a similar mistake (we presume among the Tories, for it was Lord Marr's brother) in a Lord of Session, who would go into the House of Commons to discourse of *multiplepointing*, he indulges in the following sally, which has more than the learned author's usual proportion of drollery. The noble person principally mentioned, is of course the Duke of Newcastle.

' It is indeed the peculiar happiness of this country, that all who have any share in the administration of public affairs, are equally fit for all employment. His Grace of N. was first Chamberlain, then Secretary of State, and is now First Commissioner of the Treasury and Chancellor of Cambridge; and all these high employments he hath executed with equal capacity and judgment, without being indebted to age or experience for the least improvement; and if he had been pleased to accept the Archbishopric of Canterbury, when it was lately vacant, he would have proved himself as great an orator in the pulpit as he is in the senate, and as able a divine as he is a politician. As often as I hear this nobleman named, he puts me in mind of a certain Irish baronet, a man of some interest in his country, who, when the Duke of ORMONDE was appointed Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* in the beginning of Queen ANNE's reign, desired his Grace to give him a bishopric, or a regiment of horse, or to make him Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench.' pp. 115-117.—So very clear-sighted were the Tories, when they enjoyed the leisure of retirement, and could calmly, and from the convenient shade, look upon the qualifications of men for the offices which Court favour bestowed, and parliamentary management retained! Are there no personages in the present day, who, without even the slender pretensions to high office which unquestionably belonged to the head of the Pelhams,—the highest rank, and most profuse expenditure of a princely fortune,—have nevertheless contrived to lead long lives of place, patronage, honours and emoluments—nay, to pass through every one of the most exalted, if not the most powerful stations under each successive administration, with one exception, during the last forty years? We believe there are few readers whose memory cannot at once answer this question.

The extraordinary tenderness towards the national Establishment manifested by the Tories of the present day, is matter of hourly observation. So far, indeed, is this carried, that they will suffer none but themselves to take any care of its interests. They exhibit signs of disquiet, and even uneasiness, if any one



else presumes to defend it; and if they perceive that any one entertains that sincere good will to it, which is shown by endeavours to correct its abuses, or to free it from the dangerous contamination of unworthy members, forthwith they sound the alarm—they cry out that the Church is attacked—is in jeopardy;—their maxim in reality being, that there can be nothing like an abuse connected with it, and that its members never can do wrong. We shall be told, that this doctrine never has been held; and we believe that it has never been avowed in terms; but it is the deeply-rooted feeling which actuates those of whom we are speaking: And they would hate much less (though they might more openly express their detestation) the man who should at once attack the fundamentals of the orthodox faith, or even raise a question about the right to tithe, than him who should unadvisedly call for the correction of some practical abuse, the removal of an admitted corruption, or the reformation of some particular in the private life or official conduct of any portion of its dignitaries. Nothing, it seems, must ever be admitted to be wrong, either in the theory or in the practice of any part of the established order of things. All must be taken for perfect in the system; and they who act under it, must be deemed partakers of its nature and attributes. Such at least are the notions of Tories, when in the enjoyment of place and power. But let the sourness of disappointment once seize them, and they complain as openly as any Whig who has spent his whole life in opposition: They throw all the wonted decorum of their opinions aside; and find every thing wrong. The following passage respecting the English Bishops, strongly illustrates these remarks. Wo betide the hapless Presbyterian, or Low Churchman, who should have given vent to such murmurs against the right reverend pillars of the Hierarchy. We almost shut the book, and fear to transcribe; we tremble even at being the channel through which such things are to be disseminated; but we entreat the reader to recollect, that the words are spoken by an Oxford Dignitary, the Head of a House, a man of principles highly Monarchical, and devoted to the highest Church party.

‘BUTLER, who was predecessor to the present Bishop of Durham, being applied to on some occasion for a charitable subscription, asked his steward what money he had in the house. The steward informed him, ‘there was five hundred pounds.’ Five hundred pounds!’ said the Bishop: ‘what a shame for a Bishop to have such a sum in his possession!’ and ordered it all to be immediately given to the poor. That spirit of charity and benevolence which possessed this excellent man hath not appeared in any other part of the hierarchy since the beginning of the present century. His successor, Dr TREVOR, possessed of a large estate, besides the revenue of his rich

bishopric, has a different turn of mind, but in common with many of his own order. To speak freely, I know nothing that has brought so great a reproach on the Church of England as the avarice and ambition of our bishops. CHANDLER, Bishop of Durham, WILLIS, Bishop of Winchester, POTTER, Archbishop of Canterbury, GIBSON and SHERLOCK, Bishops of London, all died *shamefully rich*, some of them worth more than 100,000*l*. I must add to these my old antagonist GILBERT, predecessor to DRUMMOND, the present Archbishop of York. Some of these prelates were esteemed great divines (and I know they were learned men), but *they could not be called good Christians*. The great wealth which they heaped up, the fruits of their bishoprics, and which they left to enrich their families, was not their own: it was due to God, to the Church, to their poor brethren. The history of the good *Samaritan*, which was so particularly explained by Christ himself to his disciples, ought to be a monitory to all their successors. I knew BURNETT, Bishop of Salisbury: he was a furious party-man, and easily imposed on by any lying spirit of his own faction; but he was a better pastor than any man who is now seated on the bishops' bench. Although he left a large family when he died, three sons and two daughters (if I rightly remember), yet he left them nothing more than their mother's fortune. He always declared, that he should think himself guilty of the greatest crime, if he were to raise fortunes for his children out of the revenue of his bishopric. It was no small misfortune to the cause of Christianity in this kingdom, that when we reformed from popery, our clergy were permitted to marry; from that period their only care (which was natural, and must have been foreseen) was to provide for their wives and children: This the dignitaries, who had ample revenues, could easily effect, with the loss, however, of that respect and veneration which they formerly received on account of their hospitality\* and numerous charities: But the greatest part of the inferior clergy were incapable of making a provision for sons and daughters, and soon left families of beggars in every part of the kingdom. I do not inquire whether chastity ought to be a requisite in those who are ordained to serve at the altar (it certainly adds a grace and dignity to their function); but I cannot help observing that our Government makes no difference between a bishop's wife and his concubine: The wife has no place or precedence, she does not share in her husband's honours; although the creation of a simple knight, whose honours, like the bishop's, are for life only, gives a rank and title to his wife. Moreover, as an academician, and friend to the republic of letters, I have

\* 'In the epistle which is read at the consecration of our bishops, it is required of them, amongst other injunctions, that they *should be given to hospitality, not given to filthy lucre, not covetous*. They likewise solemnly promise to assist the indigent, and all strangers who are destitute of help.'

often wished that the canons which forbid priests to marry were still in force. To the celibacy of the bishops we owe almost all those noble foundations which are established in both our Universities; but since the *Reformation*, we can boast of few of the episcopal order as benefactors to those seats of learning. The munificent donations of *LARO* and *SHELDON*, in the last century, will, indeed, ever be remembered; but let it likewise be remembered, that these two prelates were unmarried. Since the commencement of the present century, I do not recollect one of our Right Reverends who ought to be recorded as an eminent patron of learning, or learned men; but this will not appear very wonderful, if we consider by what spirit they were dignified—*haud equidem Spiritu Sancto*. And yet in the consecration of these *conge d'élire* bishops, they are said to be called to this work by the Holy Ghost; and in their answer to the archbishop, they seem to affirm it of themselves.' pp. 183–188.

We have given one anecdote of Bishop Atterbury; and must add the following repartee of his in the House of Lords, as exceedingly perfect in its kind. He happened to say, upon a certain bill then in discussion, that “*he had prophesied last winter this bill would be attempted in the present session; and he was sorry to find that he had proved a true prophet.*” My Lord COXINGSBY, who spoke after the Bishop, and always spoke in a passion, desired the House to remark, “*that one of the Right Reverend had set himself forth as a prophet; but for his part, he did not know what prophet to liken him to, unless to that furious prophet BALAAM, who was reprov'd by his own ass.*” The Bishop, in a reply, with great wit and calmness, exposed this rude attack, concluding thus—“*since the noble Lord hath discovered in our manners such a similitude, I am well content to be compared to the prophet BALAAM: but, my Lords, I am at a loss how to make out the other part of the parallel: I am sure that I have been reprov'd by nobody but his Lordship.*” pp. 129, 130.

Dr King gives some just observations upon the neglect of the study of our own language, in those seminaries of education where all other tongues are so elaborately taught. To this defect he ascribes the undoubted fact, that Englishmen, however learned, express themselves in their mother tongue with much less ease, elegance, and correctness, than foreigners.

‘I have been acquainted,’ he says, ‘with three persons only who spoke English with that elegance and propriety, that if all they said had been immediately committed to writing, they judge of the English language would have pronounced it an excellent and very

<sup>1</sup> ATTERBURY, the exiled Bishop of Rochester.

<sup>2</sup> DR GOWER, Provost of Worcester College.

<sup>3</sup> JOHNSON, the author of the English Dictionary,—of the *Ram-  
bler*, &c.

beautiful style. And yet among the *French* and *Italians*, we meet with few learned men who are not able to express themselves with ease and elegance in their own language; and if the same freedom of speech were allowed in the Parliament of *Paris*, or senate of *Rome*, which may be used in an English House of Commons, their orators would be more numerous and eminent than we can boast of. Observing this defect so universal in the English nation, I have always advised the young gentlemen who were under my care in the University, or with whom I had any connexion or acquaintance, (especially those who had parts, and discovered an inclination to improve themselves), to get by heart a page in one of our English classics every morning, in order to speak their own tongue with facility, and acquire a good style in writing.' pp. 174-176.

We suspect that the Doctor overlooks another circumstance, which has a great share in making foreigners, particularly the *French* and *Italians*, more eloquent in common conversation than our countrymen; we mean the freedom from that shyness which distinguishes us, that mixture of timidity and pride about trifling matters, which the *French* call *mauvaise honte*. We do not put forth our force in conversation; we are ashamed of turning sentences; we dislike attracting the attention of others to our manner of speech, by seeming to make it the object of our own. An *Italian* is hurried on by his passions, the spring of all eloquence; and he forgets all such personal feelings. A *Frenchman* has none to encumber him; he always speaks his best, as if every auditor were a critic; and he appeals for our admiration at the close of a sentence, with a look that amply testifies his having secured his own. In this way it is, that one nation is eloquent, and the other rhetorical.—But, to continue our good Doctor's remarks on oratory. He differs from *Cicero* in the estimate which he forms of the accomplishments necessary to an orator. The *Roman* held it essential that he should be skilled in all arts and sciences.

'For a century and an half, we have had only two High Chancellors who could be called learned men, though many of them have been reputed excellent orators: and in our days, the man who enjoyed this great office for twenty years, and during that time dictated to the House of Peers, did not learn Latin, as I am well assured, until after he was made Lord Chancellor. Sir ROBERT WALPOLE, who by his oratory raised himself from a small estate to the height of power, and disposed of all employments in the British dominions for many years, had not any great stock of learning. He was indeed not unskilled in the classics; some knowledge of those authors he could not but retain, as he had been formerly a fellow of a College in Cambridge. I knew Sir William Wyndham, who was allowed to

be the best and most graceful speaker in the House of Commons for many years before he died, but he was not eminent in any branch of literature. Mr Pitt, who has acquired such a great reputation for his eloquence, and a greater still for his administration, and the success which has attended it, has not much learning to boast of, unless it be some little acquaintance with the *Latin* classics. I could name several others, in both Houses of Parliament, who are busy speakers, and harangue on all occasions, who would be greatly puzzled in reading one of *Tully's* orations. The truth is, that not only all philosophical studies, and the abstruser sciences, are of little use to our parliament orators; but, even without a tincture of what we call polite literature, they are many of them able to talk themselves into esteem and good employments. Every age produces men (\* very few indeed) who seem to be orators born, who, not only without the aid of learning, but without use and exercise, which are so necessary to the formation of an orator, are endowed with a talent of speaking and replying readily and fluently.' pp. 178-181.

Towards the close of his life, it appears that our author fell into bad repute with his own party. The principal cause of this seems to have been his going to Court in 1761, with the Chancellor and other dignitaries of the University, when they went up with an address upon the King's marriage. The fury of the Jacobite faction instantly burst forth against him as an apostate from the cause; and he, in his turn, begins very bitterly to inveigh against its more zealous and steady adherents. He remarks, among other things, the low ebb to which the Jacobite interest was reduced, and ascribes this, not more to the successful administration of the Whigs, than to the weak and violent conduct held by the chiefs of the exiled family's party. He thinks, indeed, that he is himself possessed of information which may at once account for the defection among its votaries, and render that desertion more general. He conceives that 'he shall render an acceptable service to many of his countrymen, and satisfy the inquiries of posterity, by publishing an anecdote which he is now under no obligation to conceal, and which, as the *affairs of Britain* are at present circumstanced, it would, in his opinion, be criminal to suppress.' After observing, by the way, how frequently the '*affairs of Britain*' are found to justify, and indeed to demand, certain sacrifices of party connexion—how repeatedly we see them requiring once

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\* Two or three perhaps in a century. Such men may properly be called geniuses. Indeed our *Methodists* and our enthusiasts of all denominations pretend to the gift of speaking; and it must be acknowledged they speak with great fluency and volubility: but it is always a flow of absurdities, blasphemy, and nonsense.

zealous partisans to oppose, not to say betray, their former friends—how apt those same ‘*affairs of Britain*’ are to compel men’s acceptance of high and lucrative situations—we may go on with the anecdote. It seems that, in September 1750, the Doctor received a message from Lady Primrose, desiring to see him, and, upon his obeying the summons, was suddenly introduced to the Pretender, who had come over at the instigation of his intemperate and thoughtless friends, to make an attempt, for which, even if the occasion had been at all favourable, no sort of preparation had been undertaken. He remained only five days in London, during which time our worthy author had some long conversations with him. He also corresponded with him constantly for some years, not by letter, but through honourable and distinguished gentlemen, who passed backwards and forwards for the purpose of maintaining this difficult and hazardous intercourse between the exiled Court and their friends in this country. Having, in the course of this connexion, ‘informed himself of all particulars relating to him, and of his whole conduct both in publick and private life,’ he deems himself as well qualified as any man in England to draw a just character of the Pretender, and to undeceive ‘many worthy gentlemen attached to his name.’ We shall transcribe this sketch, which there is no reason to believe at all an unfair one, of the very contemptible person in question.

‘As to his person, he is tall and well-made, but stoops a little, owing perhaps to the great fatigue which he underwent in his northern expedition. He has an handsome face and good eyes; (I think his busts, which about this time were commonly sold in London, are more like him than any of his pictures which I have yet seen); *but in a polite company he would not pass for a genteel man.* He hath a quick apprehension, and speaks *French, Italian, and English*, the last with a little of a foreign accent. As to the rest, very little care seems to have been taken of his education. He had not made the belles lettres or any of the finer arts his study, which surprised me much, considering his preceptors, and the noble opportunities he must have always had in that nursery \* of all the elegant and liberal arts and sciences. But I was still more astonished, when I found him unacquainted with the history and constitution of *England*, in which he ought to have been very early instructed. I never heard him express

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\* ‘ROME. His governor was a protestant, and I am apt to believe purposely neglected his education, of which it is surmised he made a merit to the English ministry; for he was always supposed to be their pensioner. The Chevalier Ramsay, the author of *Cyrus*, was Prince Charles’s preceptor for about a year; but a court faction removed him.’

any noble or benevolent sentiments, the certain indications of a great soul and a good heart; or discover any sorrow or compassion for the misfortunes of so many worthy men who had suffered in his cause. † But the worst part of his character is his love of money, a vice which I do not remember to have been imputed by our historians to any of his ancestors, and is the certain index of a base and little mind. I know it may be urged in his vindication, that a prince in exile ought to be an economist. And so he ought; but nevertheless his purse should be always open, as long as there is any thing in it, to relieve the necessities of his friends and adherents. King Charles the Second, during his banishment, would have shared the last pistole in his pocket with his little family. But I have known this gentleman with two thousand louis-d'ors in his strong box pretend he was in great distress, and borrow money from a lady in Paris, who was not in affluent circumstances. His most faithful servants, who had closely attended him in all his difficulties, were ill rewarded. Two Frenchmen, who had left every thing to follow his fortune, who had been sent as couriers through half Europe, and executed their commissions with great punctuality and exactness, were suddenly discharged, without any faults imputed to them, or any recompense for their past service. To this spirit of avarice may be added his insolent manner of treating his immediate dependants, very unbecoming a great prince, and a sure prognostic of what might be expected from him if ever he acquired sovereign power. Sir J. HARRINGTON, † and ‡ Col. GORING, who suffered themselves to be imprisoned with him, rather than desert him, when the rest of his family and attendants fled, were afterwards obliged to quit his service on account of his illiberal behaviour. But there is one part of his character, which I must particularly insist on, since it occasioned the defection of the most powerful of his friends and adherents in England, and by some

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† As to his religion, he is certainly free from all bigotry and superstition, and would readily conform to the religion of the country. With the catholics he is a catholic; with the protestants he is a protestant: and, to convince the latter of his sincerity, he often carried an English Common Prayer-book in his pocket, and sent to Gordon (whom I have mentioned before), a nonjuring clergyman, to christen the first child he had by Mrs W.

‡ Sir J. HARRINGTON remained in banishment till the accession of the present King George III. No man is better acquainted with the private history and character of Prince Charles; and, if ever he reads what I have here written, I am confident that he will readily vouch the truth of my narrative.

§ GORING, upon quitting his service, was recommended by my Lord MARSHAL to the King of Prussia, who immediately gave him a command in his army, equal to his pretensions. GORING died soon after, and his loss was greatly lamented by his PRUSSIAN Majesty, who honoured him with a character in a letter to my Lord MARSHAL.

concurring accidents totally blasted all his hopes and pretensions. When he was in Scotland, he had a mistress, whose name is Walkenshaw, and whose sister was at that time, and is still, housekeeper at Leicester House. Some years after he was released from his prison, and conducted out of France, he sent for this girl, who soon acquired such a dominion over him, that she was acquainted with all his schemes, and trusted with his most secret correspondence. As soon as this was known in England, all those persons of distinction, who were attached to him, were greatly alarmed; they imagined that this wench had been placed in his family by the English ministers; and, considering her sister's situation, they seemed to have some ground for their suspicion; wherefore they despatched a gentleman to *Paris*, where the Prince then was, who had instructions to insist that Mrs Walkenshaw should be removed to a convent for a certain term; but her gallant absolutely refused to comply with this demand: And although Mr M'Namara, the gentleman who was sent to him, who has a natural eloquence, and an excellent understanding, urged the most cogent reasons, and used all the arts of persuasion to induce him to part with his mistress, and even proceeded so far as to assure him, according to his instructions, that an immediate interruption of all correspondence with his most powerful friends in England, and in short that the ruin of his interest, which was now daily increasing, would be the infallible consequence of his refusal; yet he continued inflexible, and all M'Namara's intreaties and remonstrances were ineffectual. M'Namara staid in *Paris* some days beyond the time prescribed him, endeavouring to reason the Prince into a better temper; but finding him obstinately persevere in his first answer, he took his leave with concern and indignation, saying, as he passed out, "What has your family done, Sir, thus to draw down the vengeance of Heaven on every branch of it through so many ages?" It is worthy of remark, that in all the conferences which M'Namara had with the Prince on this occasion, the latter declared, that it was not a violent passion, or indeed any particular regard,\* which attached him to Mrs Walkenshaw, and that he could see her removed from him without any concern; but he would not receive directions, in respect to his private conduct, from any man alive.—When M'Namara returned to London, and reported the Prince's answer to the gentlemen who had employed him, they were astonished and confounded. However, they soon resolved on the measures

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\* 'I believe he spoke truth when he declared he had no esteem for his northern mistress, although she has been his companion for so many years. She had no elegance of manners: and as they had both contracted an odious habit of drinking, so they exposed themselves, very frequently, not only to their own family, but to all their neighbours. They often quarrelled, and sometimes fought: They were some of these drunken scenes which, probably, occasioned the report of his madness.'



which they were to pursue for the future, and determined no longer to serve a man who could not be persuaded to serve himself, and chose rather to endanger the lives of his best and most faithful friends, than part with an harlot, whom, as he often declared, he neither loved nor esteemed. If ever that old adage, *Quos Jupiter vult perdere*, &c. could be properly applied to any person, whom could it so well fit as the gentleman of whom I have been speaking? for it is difficult by any other means to account for such a sudden infatuation.† He was, indeed, soon afterwards made sensible of his misconduct, when it was too late to repair it: for from this era may truly be dated the ruin of his cause; which, for the future, can only subsist in the Non-juring congregations, which are generally formed of the meanest people, from whom no danger to the present government need ever be apprehended.' pp. 199—211.

With this passage we close our account of the Doctor's volume; aware that our review has partaken much of the desultory and gossiping nature of the work itself—which is, on the whole, more trifling than might have been expected. It is but fair, however, towards the author's memory to add, that his defection from the Jacobite party was wholly disinterested—that it consisted rather in despairing of success, in opening his eyes to the real state of their affairs, and in discouraging, by his neutrality, any mad projects of a criminal description, than in supporting their adversaries with activity. The more sober view which he took, was justified by the real aspect of matters, and was extremely natural in a man turned of seventy-four; but the free remarks in which he indulges upon the cause, and its adherents, and especially its chief, can only be accounted for by reflecting on the violent abuse to which a slight and occasional conformity had exposed him;—abuse, which we know often converts partial into thorough-paced renegadoes, and always occasions, either directly or from being dreaded, the proverbial bitterness of apostasy.

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† 'He was soon made acquainted with the defection which immediately followed upon the report of his answer. He endeavoured to excuse himself by blaming the gentleman who had been sent to him: He pretended the message had not been properly delivered; that he had been treated rudely and insolently, &c. But this was not the case. Mr M'Namara addressed him in the most respectful manner; and though he spoke firmly, as he knew the consequence of the Prince's refusal, yet he could not have treated him with more deference if he had been on the throne. The Prince's accusation of M'Namara was very unjust, as well as ungrateful; for M'Namara had been often with him, and had served him with great zeal and fidelity on many important occasions, both at home and abroad.'

ART. V. 1. *A Letter to H. Brougham, Esq. M. P., on Grammar Schools, (from the Pamphleteer, No. )* 1818.

2. *Thoughts on the Increase of Crimes—the Education of the Poor—and the National Schools, in a Letter to Sir J. Mackintosh.*

By the Rev. W. L. BOWLES, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Wilts, and Chaplain to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent. 8vo. pp. 62. Salisbury, Drodie, 1819.

THE momentous subject of Charity Abuses which we discussed at great length in our last Number, has received such important illustrations in the short time that has since elapsed, that we are already under the necessity of returning to it, and adding the present article by way of a supplement to the former. The whole controversy forms, as we have already remarked, an episode to the larger question of general education, out of which it arose; and although, for very obvious reasons, it has proved so interesting, as to throw the main subject itself into the shade, yet this effect can only be temporary; and it is on every account of the utmost consequence that the discussion should be brought to a close, in order that the public attention may be fixed, undivided, upon the grand object of effectually educating the poor. Although what we have at present to lay before the reader refers to the same controversy upon which we formerly dwelt at length, yet several particulars will come under consideration, materially affecting the general subject of education; and having thus cleared the ground, we shall be enabled to proceed with that subject at a very early opportunity.

And first of all, we must take leave to express our unfeigned compassion for those zealous partisans of the Ministers, who having stepped forward to oppose the Inquiry, and to defend the conduct of their patrons last year, now find themselves wholly deserted by those patrons and exposed to the derision of the vulgar. Alas, how little did the correspondent of Sir W. Scott, the very reverend Dr Ireland, and the Quarterly retailers of other men's facts, mixed with their own blunders, and seasoned with the jokes of their reviser, dream of the sad fate which has befallen them! When the letter-writer deemed that it would be a good speculation to run down the plan of Inquiry as originally propounded by the Education Committee; when the Dean scolded Mr Brougham for *not* having attacked him, and affected to be seriously injured, in order to heighten the clamour against the authors of the obnoxious measure; when the Reviewer drew out

the endless length of his hot and heavy matter, to bear down the hated investigation by mere weight, and borrowed a friend's jibes to raise the laugh against it, and flung in the doctrines of the Morning Post about danger to private property, clothed in the choice language of that classical publication;—little in truth did these worthies foresee the fate that awaited them—the sorry plight in which they were so soon to be exhibited by their pitiless employers—of having exhausted all their means in running down the very measures which those employers, in about one calendar month, were to adopt as their own! It may at once serve to illustrate this particular question, and to show the danger of overmuch zeal in underling partisans, if we pursue the history of the Inquiry during the Session which has just closed.

The reader may remember how loud a clamour was raised some few months ago by the laborious persons to whom we have been alluding. The object of the outcry, was Mr Brougham's proposal to carry on an unsparing investigation of abuses in charity funds of every description. The extent of the field of inquiry, and the powers required for pursuing it, were the topics of unceasing vituperation:—Such a work can have no end, it was said, nor can it be carried on without shaking the titles to almost all private property. The proposed system was ridiculed as inconsistent and absurd; it was attacked as inquisitorial; and was only not despised as visionary, because there seemed more chance of producing an impression against it, by dwelling upon its practical dangers, and broadly charging its author with affecting dictatorial power by its means. But, strange to tell! Ministers themselves took it up, and have actually carried through the measure, which was, last year, by their influence, rejected.

The principal changes which the supporters of Mr Brougham's bill had complained of, were, the confining its operation to charities connected with education—the exemption of all foundations having special visitors—and the refusal of compulsory process to the Commissioners. The measures of this year extend the inquiry to all charities, whether connected with education or not, and giving the Commissioners a power of applying to the Court of King's Bench or Exchequer, who are authorized to impose an *unlimited* fine upon all persons disobeying the order of the Commissioners to answer questions or produce papers. All the fears of an eternal inquiry; all the calculations by the rule of three, that so many thousand charities would take so many Commissioners so many years to examine; all the risk of shaking private titles, and the *insuperable* difficulties of separat-

ing the part of a proprietor's deed which related to a charity from that which related to his own estate—all were overlooked, or surmounted in a trice; and the two new acts extending the powers of the Commission, have come forth as the law of the land, exposed to every one of the long and ponderous criticisms which were pronounced upon the bill of last year. Nay, what must be still more mortifying to the vanity of the objectors—those acts passed through all their stages in both Houses of Parliament UNANIMOUSLY; not an individual being found to risk his reputation for sound sense, knowledge of law, and practical acquaintance with affairs, by urging a single one of the many objections which the learned labours of angry Deans, and of pert Professors, had so kindly supplied.

It being the object of the whole Inquiry to examine permanent funds or endowments, and to interfere as little as possible with the charities supported by occasional gifts, and other voluntary contributions, an exemption was very properly introduced into the new bill, to exclude the jurisdiction of the Commissioners, in cases where the institution is principally maintained by subscriptions from time to time, and where its concerns are managed by committees of the subscribers. But as such institutions may have acquired more permanent property by savings on their income, or by endowment, the exemption was narrowed so as to allow all their real property possessed for more than twenty years before the examination, to fall under the powers of the act. Thus, while all chance of giving umbrage to charitable persons by interfering with their gifts, will be avoided,—any abuse of endowments under colour of managing annual funds, will be prevented, even where those annual contributions greatly exceed the income from more permanent sources. Where the permanent income exceeds the occasional receipts, then the whole affairs of the institution will come within the scope of the act, and *may* be examined by the Commissioners; who will of course exercise, even here, sound discretion. Every one who has visited the metropolis, must be aware, how important a consideration this forms in the practical application of the law. The funds raised there, as well as in several of the larger towns of England, by yearly subscription, occasional gifts, and collections at charity sermons, are very large. To those who have not had an opportunity of witnessing the noble and generous spirit of charity which animates our wealthier neighbours, it may convey some idea of its operation, if we state, from the first Report of the Commissioners under the act of last year, the funds of thirty-six institutions connected with Education, in the county of Middlesex. We must premise, that these are all charities of

a minor description,—not one of the names of which are probably known at a distance, hardly even out of their immediate neighbourhood. Their united income, from all sources, is 21,000*l.* of which no less than 9000*l.* annually, is raised by voluntary subscriptions; the remaining 12,000*l.* a year being income from permanent sources. In the Report of the Education Committee for 1816, thirty charity schools of the same obscure description, in London, Westminster, and Southwark, are specified among other establishments;—their revenues, derived wholly from annual contributions, amount to 22,000*l.* So that sixty-six of these institutions in the metropolis alone, derive the large income of 31,000*l.* a year from this source.

The measure of last year having thus been restored to nearly its original condition in regard to its principles, the new acts\* next removed the complaints which had so justly been urged against the alteration of its details. Our readers may recollect that the *quorum* had originally been fixed at two; so as to allow the eight stipendiary Commissioners to divide themselves into four boards, and proceed at the same time in different parts of the country. The Ministers, however, thought fit, last year, in the House of Lords, to change the *quorum* to three; thus reducing the number of boards to two, and leaving two Commissioners unemployed. The acts of this year restore the *quorum* to two; and, regardless of all the asperity displayed towards the number of the paid Commissioners by the zealous enemies of the Inquiry, they add two to their number, so as to have five effective boards always in full operation. Here then, again, those who innocently imagined they were doing the work of their employers and patrons, by putting forth ingenious calculations of the costliness of Mr Brougham's plan, and sneering at his '*large and liberal economy*,' will be edified to find the bed of torture which they had been industriously preparing for him, occupied by those dignitaries of the Church and State, whom they regard with the deepest awe and fondest expectations. In like manner, the original measure of last year gave the Commissioners a power of proceeding in the Courts of Equity, summarily;—this was cut out then by the Ministers, to the great exultation of their zealous adherents, who were lost in wonder how any persons could be hardy enough to propose such a short-hand road to redress. Their admiration must now be doubly excited, when they find this process restored in the new acts;

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\* At first, the whole extension was contained in one bill; but a trivial alteration in a money clause by the House of Lords, made it necessary to pass a second act, providing for the levying of penalties.

may, with considerable additions; for, in the passage of the bill through Parliament, the patrons of the former measure procured the insertion of a clause enlarging the jurisdiction of Courts of Equity in charities, where the original endowment is defective for securing the due administration of the funds.

There remained now only one of the grounds of complaint, the exemption of charities having Special Visitors. And upon this the Ministers appeared resolved to make a stand. But this resistance was very little calculated to save the honour of their violent partisans out of doors; for so little had these persons been in the secret of their patrons, that they did not happen to have argued the question of Special Visitors at all. Then, the Commissioners had adopted a construction of the former act which greatly narrowed the exemption. They had resolved, that where the Special Visitors were also trustees of any funds or property belonging to the charity, its whole affairs might be examined as if it were not specially visited. To such a construction, agreeing, as we do, with those who oppose the exemption altogether, we can of course have no objection but this,—that it is much better to legislate directly and plainly, than to enact one thing by the law, and change it into another thing by construction. The act of last year distinctly provides, that ‘*none of the provisions therein contained shall be construed to extend to any college, hospital, or free school, which have Special Visitors appointed them by their founders.*’\* The Commissioners say, that ‘*adopting the rule of construction which has been applied to a similar provision in the statute of Charitable Uses, they are of opinion that this clause does not extend to such Special Visitors, governors and overseers, as have themselves the administration of any funds;*’ and that, acting upon this construction, they have pursued their inquiries concerning all foundations which they found with Visitors thus circumstanced. Did we not see the names of such eminent lawyers affixed to the Report, we should feel it extremely difficult to adopt this construction. The proviso in the statute of Elizabeth has certainly never been so dealt with. The cases on that provision (see particularly *Sutton Coldfield Case*, Duke, 68. 124.) merely show that a commission may issue, notwithstanding the appointment of visitors, for the examination of the money concerns of a charity where the visitors are trustees. And the Court of Chancery has deemed its jurisdiction ousted

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\* The bad grammar of the statute of Elizabeth, (of Charitable Uses), appears here to have been carefully copied. So it stands at least in the bill.

by the appointment, in every thing but the account of the funds; so much so, that the present Chancellor in the Berkhamstead School case, held himself prevented from interposing, although it appeared clearly that the Master and Usher did nothing but receive the salary and reside in distant counties. However, this strained construction of the clause undoubtedly removes a very considerable part of the objection to it; as one or two of the worst instances of abuse, brought to light by the labours of the Education Committee, were cases of visitors being themselves trustees. A provision was also inserted in the new bill, which had a tendency still further to narrow the objection. The Commissioners were directed to report specially the names of all charities having visitors; so that the attention of Parliament and the publick may be fixed upon them, and an apprehension of future inquiry may put the visitatorial power in motion. Beside these concessions, it was undoubtedly to be considered that the original bill of last year contained this very exemption. Its framers had most reluctantly agreed to it,—but still it formed a part of their measure; because they were aware that its insertion was necessary to the passing of the act in the Upper House.

We have, upon a former occasion, discussed the question respecting Visitors at some length; and we have shown, that all the worst cases of abuse were to be found in visited charities. The debate upon this point, during the progress of the new bills, only confirmed the arguments formerly urged; and the strong division against the exemption, clearly proved that it might have been got rid of in the House of Commons, had there not been reason to believe that the Lords would have restored it. All men seem now to be convinced, that the exemption is not maintainable. The only ground on which it is supported has been removed by the construction put upon it. For surely nothing can be more glaring, than the inconsistency of exempting a charity from inquiry, from tenderness towards the will of the founder, and reluctance to interfere with the visitor, in whom he has reposed a limited confidence, while you inquire, without any scruple, into the same charity, provided the founder has reposed a far greater, nay, an unlimited confidence in the visitor, by investing him with the management of the funds, as well as giving him the general superintendence. Indeed there is no reason for thinking that visitors would in general object to the examination by Commissioners, whose labours are to begin and end in obtaining information, and making a Report of it. Accordingly, it was proposed to authorize the Inquiry, in all cases where the visitors did not resist it. But this

was objected to from motives of delicacy; and it was said to be invidious towards the visitors, by putting upon them the odium of opposing examination. Then a proposal was made, that the Commissioners might be authorized to inquire where the special visitors themselves expressly desired their assistance as auxiliary to their own jurisdiction. But even this was refused, upon the same grounds of delicacy, invidiousness and odium: And here, for the present, we leave the subject,—quite convinced, that, in the course of a very short time, this last hold, the most interesting of all, will be abandoned by the enemies of the Inquiry. It may naturally be asked, whether the visited charities which fall within the proviso form a large proportion of the whole?—nor is it easy to answer this question very precisely. The First Report of the Commissioners states the result of their inquiry respecting 265 charities; and we find about twelve or thirteen of these withdrawn from their jurisdiction by the appointment of visitors. This is in the proportion of *five per cent.*; but there is every reason to believe that the proportion is greater for the whole country. If, however, we should reckon it only five per cent., it would follow, that about 240 institutions connected with education in England are exempted from inquiry—the total number of these endowments having been lately stated by Mr Brougham, in the House of Commons, to be 4800; and, if there is any truth in the estimate, that there are 40,000 charities altogether, it would follow, that 2000 fall within the proviso. It ought, however, to be remarked, that the same gentleman expressed his opinion against the accuracy of this calculation, which he conceived to be greatly above the truth. But if only nine hundred or a thousand establishments are thus protected from examination, it must be remembered, that these, in point of magnitude, are by far the most considerable; and, from their having always been free from investigation by the proviso in the statute of Elizabeth, there can be no doubt that the abuses prevalent among them are proportionably great.

Before closing the history of the New Bills, it may be deemed necessary to take notice of the well known attack made upon the Education Committee during their progress. From the signal discomfiture of that attempt, and the universal acknowledgment of all parties in Parliament, as well as of men who belong to none, that never yet was failure witnessed more complete or overwhelming, an argument may by some be drawn in favour of the Committee; and we may be tempted to avail ourselves of it, in confirmation of the statements contained in our last Number upon the same topics. But it must, in justice, be at the same time admitted, that the great want of skill and judgment shown



in the attack, to say nothing of the revolting unfairness displayed in the manner and season of making it, render the lamentable fate of this ill-advised enterprise, a test by no means unequivocal, of the strength of the positions against which it was directed; though it may leave very little doubt as to the capacity of those by whom it was planned and conducted.\* Upon this passage, therefore, we dwell no longer than to remark, that the united testimony of members wholly unconnected with political party, amply confirmed the assertion which we made in our last Number, that the reports so industriously propagated of harsh and tyrannical proceedings in the Committee, were entirely unfounded. We think no one can have read them, and considered the statements which we then made respecting them, without being persuaded that the injustice and groundlessness of the charges, were in some particulars known to those who brought them forward.

It is now fit that we should turn our attention to the proceedings under the first act, while the plan, limited in its objects, was carried into effect with crippled powers of execution. According to the exigency of the statute, there have already been two Reports by the Commissioners; and the first has been printed, and now lies before us. It consists of 241 folios, with an Appendix of 401. The Report contains a summary of the results of the examination in each of the 265 cases, or rather 252, the rest being within the proviso. The Appendix gives the evidence, parole and documentary, at large. This is the fruit of the first four months of the Commission; for the dates of the proceedings, we find, are all between the middle of September and the middle of January, excepting a single sitting in February. In order to correct the error of numbering the quorum three, the Honorary Commissioners were obliged to lend their assistance, and form a Board for conducting the Inquiry in London. We find that the three Boards, thus completed, sat for the examination of evidence 141 days, making, on an average, about eight weeks for each; and investigated about 250 charities, or 83 each. Little seems to have been done in Michaelmas term. In Berks, only one question is put during that period; in Kent the Board sat six days,—in London nine days. Almost nothing was done during the Christmas recess; only four sittings are recorded; and, in Hilary term, no sitting

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\* It is only an act of candour, however, to allow, that the prevailing opinion exempts from any share in this luckless adventure, the learned University whose representative embarked in it. That body is generally supposed to disclaim it—at least since its miscarriage.

at all is mentioned, the Commissioners being probably in London preparing the Report. The Board which proceeded into Kent, merits very great commendation for having sat during term time; it also despatched above 90 cases in 36 days of sitting. The Board which went into Berkshire, examined above 80 cases in 46 days; but they were more controverted; and the labour was of necessity considerably greater. In Sussex, 23 cases were examined in ten days, probably by the same Board that went into Kent; at least the dates do not make this impossible. It will thus appear, that, by those two Boards, about 200 cases were examined in eight weeks. If, therefore, the quorum had been two, and a third Board had been in active operation the whole time, above 300 instead of 250 cases would have been despatched. Thus it appears, that if we allow half the time consumed in examining evidence, for preparing the Reports, for needful relaxation, and for journeys, the five Boards, under the New Acts, may be expected to get through 2000 cases in a year; and as the first proceedings must be the slowest, we may expect somewhere about this average, even allowing a considerably greater proportion of time for relaxation. It is quite manifest, that the multiplication of Boards is in every way a great gain to the country. If a greater number only performed the same work in a shorter time, the expense would be no heavier, and time would be saved; but five Boards will actually do more work in three years, than three could do in five years; and the effect produced by the larger number working at once, is incalculably greater in correcting the abuses, and stimulating the exertions of trustees, by the apprehension of exposure.

The Report, with its Appendix, now before us, contains a great body of important matter; to some parts of which we shall call the reader's attention.

It may, in the first place, be remarked, that a very subdued tone is taken by the Commissioners, in the blame which they express of any practices contrary to the interests of the charities examined by them. But, considering the authority with which they are speaking, and the high quarters to which they are addressing themselves, we really think that they have followed at once the fairest and the easiest course. In so voluminous a mass of details, it is not easy to state precisely the number of instances which seem to have called for observation; but we think that there are about forty matters noted in Berkshire, and above thirty in Kent, 175 charities having been investigated in those two counties. By far the most important case, and indeed one of the greatest instances of injury done to

a charity which has come to light since these inquiries began, is that of Trowbridge Free Grammar School.

This Institution was founded in the 7th year of Edward VI., by Sir A. Judd, under the authority of the King's letters patent, appointing him Governor for life; and, after his decease, the Skinners' Company of London were to succeed as a Corporation, by the name of 'Governors of the Possessions, Revenues, and Goods of the School.' It was further ordered, 'that all the rents and profits of the lands, tenements, and possessions to be thereafter given from time to time towards the support of the school, should be converted to the support of the Master and Usher, and to the reparation of the lands and tenements, and not otherwise, nor to any other uses or intents.' Judd, by his will, gave certain estates, chiefly situated in London, to the Company, 'for the maintenance of the Trowbridge School;' and he directed the money payments to be made to the Master, Usher and others, and the sum to be vested by the Company for their trouble in yearly visiting the school; bequeathing over the surplus or residue to the Company, 'to order or dispose at their wills and pleasures.'\* In the 4th of Elizabeth, Henry Fisher gave certain estates in the city of London to the same Company (as Governors of the School), 'for the better support of the Trowbridge School, and of a Scholar at Oxford;' and, in the *habendum* of the deed, he annexes, as a condition, 'the performance of certain good works, uses, and intents, set forth in a schedule annexed;' which is only found to contain the foundation of the Oxford scholarship and its endowment with five pounds a year. Fisher's son having attempted, after his decease, to set up a deed in his favour of a prior date, an act was passed in the 4th Elizabeth, 'for the further and better assurance of certain lands and tenements to the maintenance of the Free Grammar School of Trowbridge.' This act recites the foundation of the school; the appointment of the Skinners' Company as Governors; a conveyance of estates to Judd and Fisher (for money paid by Judd), in trust for the Company; a conveyance by Fisher, after Judd's decease, according to his intent, 'for the support of the Trowbridge School, and Oxford Scholarship;' and the conveyance also of certain estates of his own to the same uses: And it further recites, that the deed set up by Fisher's son was destructive of the said uses, and was 'to the utter decay and overthrow of the said School.' It then, for avoiding all am-

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\* See Appendix, p. 241. The words are not accurately given in the Report, p. 150.

biguity respecting the validity of the conveyances, and ‘for the better and further assurance of the premises unto the Skinners’ Company, unto the godly uses, intents, and purposes above expressed,’ enacts, that the pretended deed of prior date shall be utterly void, ‘for and concerning all lands, &c. assured for the maintenance of the School; and that all lands, &c. assured or conveyed unto the Company as aforesaid, shall from henceforth ever continue and remain, and be unto the said Company, to the godly uses and intents abovesaid.’ It further appears, from the Journals of the House of Commons, 15 Eliz. 1572, that the deed set up by Fisher’s son had been referred to the Chancellor and others, who had reported that they believed it to be a forgery, but were willing to let Fisher escape on account of his submission; and that the bill, omitting the charge of forgery, was passed by consent of both parties, ‘as well to help Trowbridge School,’ as to quiet the titles of others who had purchased *bonâ fide* of Henry Fisher. It likewise appears, that another son of Fisher’s renewed the opposition to the bill in the Lords, where, after great deliberation, it likewise passed. A subsequent act, 31 Eliz., declares all the conveyances formerly recited for the benefit of the school, to be good to the Governors of the Possessions, &c. of the School, in order to prevent evils raised by Fisher’s son as to the style and name of the Company. In the reign of James I., Sir Thomas Smythe gave, by his will, to the Company, certain estates in London, \* in trust, for charitable uses, to be therein expressed; and he directs certain money payments to the Master and Usher of Trowbridge school, and founds six exhibitions at Oxford from the school, with fixed emoluments—giving also a fixed sum yearly to the Company for their visitation.

The whole money payments specially directed to be made by these several conveyances, amount to 172*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* The repairs, on an average of twenty-two years, amount to 206*l.*; the taxes are 75*l.*; and there have been various compositions made with respect to the Fisher Scholarship, on account of the arrears during its vacancy, which have raised it about 13*l.* beyond the sum directed in the will; so that the whole payments which the Company hold themselves obliged to make, amount to about 466*l.*

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\* There is some inaccuracy in the Report, p. 153, where it is said, that the date of Smythe’s will does not appear. In Appendix, p. 241, it is, 18th April 1619. The description of the premises devised, also differs completely in the Report and Appendix. In p. 151 of the Report; another error is observable, as to Judd’s being alive, 9 Eliz.

3s. ; whereunto they generously add forty-three guineas, as gratuities to the Master, Usher, and an Examiner; making the clear outgoings, in respect of the school, 511*l.* 6s. The money payments specially directed to be made to themselves, amount to exactly 8*l.* 13s. 4d. ; but, under this head, the Worshipful the Company are considerably more liberal ; for they are pleased to take, for their own use, beside the 8*l.* 13s. 4d., exactly *four thousand and fifty eight pounds, one shilling and tenpence, a year*, being the whole residue of the rents and profits of the three estates given and devised to them in trust for the Charity. That such was the nature of the conveyance, their Worshipships may no doubt be inclined to dispute ; but we believe few persons who have attended to the foregoing deduction of the title, will be disposed to doubt it. The Commissioners express themselves with a caution becoming their situation, upon a matter which must be speedily put in a train of decision before a Court of Equity. But the following passage of the Report, containing their whole remarks upon the case, can leave very little difficulty in any reader's mind as to the opinions of those learned and honourable personages.

' The Master's salary does not appear to have been raised since the year 1759 ; the amount was fixed by the will of Sir Andrew Judd, but additions have since been made to it in the way of gratuity ; and if we look to the charter as the foundation, these salaries must be considered as capable of increase at the discretion of the Company. How far the Company of Skinners are right in treating the surplus, after paying these salaries and repairs, as their own, is a question which can only be resolved by a judicial decision. A difficulty in the investigation of this point may arise, from the want of the deed of conveyance to the Company by Henry Fisher, recited in the acts 14 and 31 Elizabeth, but which the Skinners' Company declare themselves, by their clerk, unable to produce. As to the state of facts, however, it may be collected with some certainty, from the recital in the said acts of Parliament, that Henry Fisher survived Sir Andrew Judd, and, as surviving joint tenant, became solely seised of all the hereditaments which Judd had intended to pass to the Company ; and that he conveyed the same expressly in furtherance of the charitable objects of Sir Andrew Judd, whose confidential servant he was, to the same Company ; which conveyance by Henry Fisher, and the objects of it, the statutes of the 14 and 31 Elizabeth appear, by their titles and contents, to have been designed to establish and confirm, *for the maintenance and benefit of the school*. Nor can it escape observation, that all the transactions, subsequent to the will of Sir Andrew Judd, treat the conveyance to the Company as meaning to pass the property to them in their corporate capacity as " governors of the possessions, revenues and goods of the free grammar school of Trowbridge."

It is most probable that legal proceedings have been already commenced in consequence of the Report; and if, as is to be expected, these shall end in a decree against the Company, an estate of 4000*l.* a year, with arrears to the amount of 24,000*l.*, beside the further arrears during the progress of the suit, will be recovered for charitable purposes connected with education. To employ this in augmenting the school at Trowbridge, already sufficiently provided for, would manifestly be absurd. But there can be no doubt of the propriety of Parliament disposing of it, as it has always done when applied to in similar cases: And when we here find a fund capable of educating four or five thousand children, and at once supplying the present deficiency of instruction over above a third part of the county of Kent, it is difficult to see what objection could be urged against employing it in this most useful service.

Beside the part of the Report on the Trowbridge school, relating to the Skinners' Company, there is further matter of observation upon the number of free scholars; which has never exceeded ten for the last sixty years. This is one of the cases (by no means very numerous) where the founder of a grammar school has expressly excluded the teaching of any thing but learned languages; nay, he requires, as the qualification for admittance, a competent knowledge of Latin, as well as English and writing. Thus, a school is maintained at an expense of 370*l.* a year, and it teaches ten day-scholars only. The usual reason is assigned, that the inhabitants of the place do not prize a merely classical education; and the Master charges four guineas a year for reading and writing, &c. the endowment only being for the classics. If, however, the question were asked, why those common branches might not also be taught for nothing to day-scholars, the Master having the benefit of taking thirty-two boarders, and enjoying premises so extensive as to cost 280*l.* a year in repairs and taxes; the answer might not be so easy. The statutes do not prohibit him to do so, any more than they prohibit admitting boys who are not competent Latin scholars; and yet no such qualification is demanded. The boarders whom he is allowed to take are required to have that qualification as well as the day-scholars; but he takes *them* without regard to it. The statutes set forth the founder's 'desire to benefit the inhabitants in boarding of scholars;' and, towards this end, they limit to twelve the number of boarders to be taken by the Master in his house, unless the Company, on consideration, deem it convenient that he should take more;—but the Company fix no limit, and allow him to take as many as he pleases. Indeed, although the statutes are said by the Master not to provide for any boarders on the foundation, the

only extract given from them appears to contemplate boarding some boys (Rep. p. 151); and the great extent of the premises seems to prove the same thing. But how little regard soever may be paid to the statutes in other respects, they are most scrupulously observed where the question arises upon the education to be given. Now, we are very far from blaming the admitted departure from their letter in those other respects; we only desire to know why the same relaxation might not have been allowed in this particular, in order to prevent that which has happened—the conversion of a school where two or three hundred children might have been educated, into one where sometimes six, and never more than ten, are instructed.

The next matter to which we shall advert, as presented to our notice by this Report, is the general amount of the Funds in the possession of the charities which the Commissioners examined. It appears, that eighty-two charities in Berkshire have an income of 6382*l.*, exclusive of houses and small pieces of land possessed by many of them. The income of ninety Berkshire endowments has been stated by Mr Brougham, from the Parochial Returns, as only 3481*l.* The Report enumerates ninety-two charities in Kent, which have an income of 7545*l.*, exclusive of the balance claimed by the Skinners' Company; a revenue exceeding that given by the parish returns, in nearly an equal proportion. Thus, then, the more strict scrutiny of the Commissioners has shown, that not above one half the funds of these endowments were known in the neighbourhood to belong to them. The parish returns are quite accurate as to the number of the endowments; indeed they mention several more than the Commissioners examined; but they give a very different account of the funds. The returns under Mr Gilbert's Act are still more deficient. Thus, the Berkshire education charities are stated at 91, the same number with the parish returns; but their income is only said to be 1782*l.* Nor can this be ascribed to the land being let lower at that time (1786); for the returns under the 55 Geo. III. respecting the poor, make the income of the Berkshire education charities only 1725*l.*, and those of Bedfordshire also less than they were returned in 1786. The total income of the endowments of the nine first counties, as stated in the House of Commons, was 26,500*l.*, belonging to 780 charities. The returns under Mr Gilbert's Act give 9116*l.*, belonging to 712 charities; the deficiency in the numbers is principally in Cumberland, where only one fourth are returned; so that adding a sum in proportion to the above, we shall have about 9500*l.* as the whole income of the 780 charities stated in the parish returns. In Middlesex, 151 charities are returned in 1786 as having about 5000*l.* a year.

The Report now before us states the permanent income of 36 charities at 12,577*l.*; and it appears, from the Report of the Education Committee in 1816, that four schools in London, —St Paul's, the Charter House, Christ's Hospital, and the Foundling,—have together about 84,000*l.* a year, almost the whole of which arises from permanent sources. In taking these totals from the Report, we ought to observe, that an oversight may here and there have been made, from the necessity of going through a troublesome process in order to pick the sums out of the body of the voluminous statements where they lie scattered.\* But we are confident that the sums are here given pretty near the truth.

The result of the inquiry to be gathered from this Report, as to the relative magnitude of the Berkshire, Kentish and Middlesex foundations, is, that the two former average 78*l.* each, and the latter 350*l.*, exclusive of voluntary contributions: or, including these, 582*l.* By the parochial returns, the Cumberland charities average only one half those of Berkshire, which would make their real amount, one with another, under 40*l.* Those of Cornwall are little more than one third of the Berkshire endowments. The average of the nine counties, so often referred to, is about 34*l.*, which may be corrected, by the result of the inquiries of the Commissioners, to 68*l.* And this multiplied by 4400, the number of endowments in England, exclusive of Middlesex, gives about 300,000*l.* for the united income of those endowments. If we take the number of endowments in Middlesex at 150, from the returns in 1786, their united income will be about 52,000*l.*, and to this must be added 84,000*l.* of the four great charities; so that, according to these data, the whole revenue for England should amount to between 4 and 400,000*l.* Whether the number of education charities in Middlesex is accurately stated in the returns of 1786, we have no means of judging. The average for the rest of England, in proportion to the population, would make it about 470 instead of 150; but that is evidently above the truth.

Another important subject upon which this Report furnishes valuable information, is the manner of applying the funds destined for education—the different efficacy of those funds, according to the different plans pursued in the use of them. In London, where the system of boarding and clothing, as well as instructing the children, is established to a far greater extent than any where else, we find that 36 charities, having an income of 21,000*l.*, only educate 2260 children; the expense therefore is 9*l.* 10*s.* each. In Kent, 3760 children are educated for 7545*l.*, or at the rate of only 2*l.* each; and the expense



in Berkshire is nearly the same. The parish returns give 25,800 as the number of children educated in the nine counties, and 26,500*l.* as the expense; which, admitting those funds to be understated in the proportion of one to two, makes the average rate about the same. But if the 36 obscure charities in London exceed so considerably in the cost of education, chiefly from the expense of boarding and clothing, how much more costly are the four great endowments, as described in the Report of 1816! Their vast revenues of 84,000*l.* a year only educate 1630 children, an expense of 51*l.* 10*s.* each child—although 580 of those children are not educated in the magnificent buildings belonging to the establishments, and 153 (those of St Paul's school) are only day-scholars. Even if we make deductions for such parts of the income as are not expended directly upon education, we shall find that the children cost between 30*l.* and 40*l.* each; that at St Paul's school they cost 33*l.*, without board or clothing; that at the Foundling, where the expense should be the most moderate, the vast establishment in London only maintains 195, at an expense of 45*l.* each, while the out-door infants, 180 in number, cost about 11*l.* each; and that 400 of the Christ's Hospital boys are kept twenty miles from the great seat of expense in London.

It appears, from the evidence in the same Report, that most of the institutions supported by occasional contributions have fallen into the error of clothing and maintaining, as well as educating the objects of their bounty; and that, in many of them, considerable extravagance and even abuses prevail, from the practices of interested tradesmen acting as managers. Such matters are clearly placed beyond the reach of Legislative control; but the discussions to which the Reports of the Committee and the additional facts now laid before Parliament by the Commission, may give rise, will in all probability improve the system of management in establishments conducted by contributors; while the same diffusion of sound views and accurate information may lead to a sound and temperate exercise of Legislative authority for the more speedy correction of similar mistakes in the administration, and even in the original plan of other charities, endowed with permanent funds. For such interference, there are abundance of precedents in particular cases; the desideratum is a more compendious measure, which may save the expense and delay of particular acts of the Legislature, without trenching upon the rights of property, or putting a certain present good to hazard, in pursuit of a contingent increase of it. Upon this important question, we forbear now to enter further, trusting that we shall, before long, have an opportunity of resuming it.

The Commissioners having examined two of the charities reported upon by the Education Committee, it will naturally be asked, how far the results of these different inquiries coincide. With respect to the Lewisham schools, it will be recollected, that the Committee did not finish its investigation, owing to the absence of material witnesses; and the Commissioners, who went through the whole, have found nothing either to impeach the evidence taken by the Committee, or to charge the trustees with abuse. The grammar school, however, has been converted into one for reading, writing, and accounts; although the founder endowed both a reading and a grammar school, very distinctly specifying that there were to be these two. The Master of the reading school teaches in person, and receives the salary as directed. The Master of the other school receives the salary, and enjoys the house and premises; but employs an usher to teach, devoting himself to his boarders. The salary destined to a grammatical usher is not paid. With these deviations from the letter of the endowment, we find no fault; the school is rendered more useful to the neighbourhood; and the Commissioners approve of the change. But surely this is a justification of the doctrines respecting grammar schools which the Education Committee support, and a complete denial of those maintained by the adversaries of the Inquiry. For, according to them, Lewisham school was in the same situation with the Croydon hospital; and the Master, instead of teaching reading and writing, ought to receive the salary and enjoy the premises for doing nothing—upon the pretext, that a grammar school only was founded, and the inhabitants do not wish to learn the dead languages. We may add, that it would be no greater departure from the founder's intention in this case, to enlarge the number of boys fixed by him, than to substitute English for Latin. At present only 31 are taught—because the grammar school was founded for 31; but the parish of Lewisham, with a population of 6000 or 7000 inhabitants, must have occasion for a free school ten times as large.

The Reading Charities, though not the subjects of so much controversy as others, have nevertheless produced remarks upon the conduct of the Inquiry by the Education Committee. These have been investigated by the Commissioners; and their Report affords ample confirmation to that of the Committee, and indeed supports the comments to which that Report gave rise. The principal charge against the Reading Corporation was, the having for many years underlet charity estates; and one of above 320 acres was specified, which had cost 3900*l.* in 1660, which was let for 196*l.* immediately after, and brought

no higher rent till 1811, when it was raised to 400*l*. All this is fully confirmed by the inquiries of the Commissioners; indeed the Committee had ascertained it, by examining the officers and books of the Corporation themselves. But the Commissioners say, they have reason to believe the 400*l*. a fair rent at present. If it is so, we can only say, that 3900*l*. laid out in land any where else, fetches a much larger rent, after the lapse of above a century and a half. We may add, too, that no surveyor is examined by the Commissioners upon this point; they resting satisfied with the assertion of the Corporation, that the letting was by tender; but it appears that the condition of the open letter was a rise of 100*l*. after three years, which has since been abandoned, on the alleged ground of 400*l*. being enough: To this, then, the argument from the competition does not apply. The Report before us brings to light other instances of underletting by the same body. A fifty years' lease, for 54*l*. a year, was granted of land, which rose to 260*l*. in 1811, when the term expired; and houses in Reading have been let on leases for lives renewable for ever, on payment of a price of 2*l*. 12*s*., and at a rent of 2*l*. 12*s*., which a surveyor estimates as worth 39*l*. 10*s*. a year; a value considerably higher, he it observed, than the one put upon the same property by the Corporation witnesses. Another small parcel of these estates was, in 1729, let upon a 99 years' lease, at less than half its present value. A sum of 1200*l*. directed to be laid out in land early in the last century, was kept in stock till 1815, and then transferred into other stock. The Commissioners also report, that the number of children on one of the foundations has been for some years deficient, although there were ample funds for completing it; and that the Corporation, until this Inquiry began, were not aware that those funds arose from rents, but believed it to be a rent charge, although it was doubled in 1811, a circumstance for which they could not account. They likewise blame a transference which has been made of one charity with a revenue of 167*l*. to another, whereby a considerable loss has been sustained. More particulars of the same import might be added: but it will probably be thought that we have already given sufficient proofs of the confirmation derived from this Report to all that has been urged by the Education Committee, upon the subject of the Berkshire charities; and have shown, that all is not so very right in every quarter as the enemies of the Inquiry are fond, not indeed of asserting, but of insinuating.

But there is a case reported by the Commissioners, to which we beg the especial attention of the reader, after premising, that he should bear in mind the clamour raised against the Education Committee for a supposed attack upon what was termed

ecclesiastical property in the affair of the Lincoln Charities. There is, in Canterbury, an hospital, with a school annexed, of very ancient foundation. Neither the date nor the precise tenor of the first endowment appears; but Archbishop Whitgift, in 1584, by virtue of special powers vested in him as Visitor, made an ordinance (which was confirmed by Parliament), for the government of the charity. It fixed the number of children to be taught at twenty, and directed the money payments to the schoolmaster, people, and two exhibitions at Cambridge; amounting, in the whole, to about 40*l.* a year, beside the expense of books and stationery. The revenues of the charity amount to 33*l.* 15*s.* exclusive of fines. The fines arise from two estates; and they average, upon the larger, about 1100*l.* once in seven years; and upon the smaller 300*l.* Now, from time immemorial, the Master of the hospital had received the whole of these fines; and the surplus of the revenues, after paying the above mentioned stipends, and the expenses of the building, had also been enjoyed by him; and, in particular, he had enjoyed all these emoluments ever since the ordinance of Archbishop Whitgift, no augmentation having been since then made of the pensions. In 1790, however, there being a sum of about 2200*l.* in hand from fines upon the larger estate, the late Archbishop Moore, regardless, it should seem, of the 'sacred rights' of this species of church property, issued an ordinance, appropriating the whole fine to increase the pensions of the alms-people and schoolmaster, augmenting at the same time the number of scholars to thirty; and, ever since, the fines from that estate have been disposed of in a similar way by the Archbishop, except that, in 1810, a sum of 300*l.* was given to the Master. Let it be observed, that the Master must be a clergyman; that he might have enjoyed enjoyment of the whole fines from time immemorial; that, for above two hundred years, no change had ever been made in his emoluments; and that he still enjoys the fines of the lesser estate. How then can it be pretended, that, in the Mere and Spital Hospitals, there is a right of property in the Master, which excludes the claims of the poor brethren? How can any one imagine that those are more cases of ecclesiastical property than the Canterbury Hospital? If the metropolitan interfered with the fines in the latter instance—directly in the exercise of his undoubted right, it is true, (see App. 136)—But, in the face of an uninterrupted usage of centuries, might not the suffragan and his chapter have taken, in the former cases, those steps which were necessary to rectify the similar abuse which had crept in, and was sanctioned by no longer usage, that of the Master and Warden receiving almost the

whole emoluments, to the exclusion of the poor brethren, the equal, if not the principal, objects of the founder's bounty? Indeed this Report abounds in cases of endowments, where, though the founder only fixed certain payments and pensions, yet the just and honest practice has been to augment these, in a proper ratio, to the increase made from time to time in the emoluments of the superiors. (See particularly p. 118.)

We shall close these remarks with one other instance of the gross misrepresentations which have industriously been propagated respecting the Education Committee, by those who are enemies to the free instruction of the poor, as well as to the detection of charity abuses. It may be remembered, that the Report of 1818, strongly recommended such a system of education as should open to all sects the doors of free schools; but, at the same time, a system in close connexion with the National Establishment, and in strict subordination to the Ecclesiastical powers that be. But they stated, that Dissenters could not conscientiously send their children to schools where the Church Catechism is taught, and attendance at the established place of worship required. Upon this a prodigious clamour is raised; and the Committee are accused of mistating the evidence, which is asserted to contain no warrant for such an inference, but, on the contrary, to show that the Dissenters freely send their children to those seminaries, notwithstanding the religious instruction given, and observances required.

Now, any one who reads the passage in the Report, may perceive that it refers, not so much to any particular facts stated in evidence, as to what every man who knows the difference between Churchman and Dissenter, must at once feel to be a necessary consequence of it. To say that any body of Dissenters have no objection to their children going to church and learning the Church Catechism, is only to say, that those men are not really Dissenters; and accordingly, the facts mentioned by some witnesses only prove, that, in several parts of the metropolis chiefly, persons calling themselves Dissenters, but who know nothing at all about the matter, will send their children to a good free school, without inquiring about either church-going or catechising. But is this the case with the great body of religious men, who most conscientiously differ from the Establishment, and firmly believe in the great importance of the points upon which they differ? The great number of seminaries supported by that respectable class of the community—the considerable number of endowments expressly for their use, (instances of which are to be found in the Report of the Commissioners)—at once demonstrate the contrary. But it is *not true* that the evidence

of 1818 contained no warrant for the opinion expressed by the Committee; and those who rashly and presumptuously made this assertion, deserve the severest blame for having hazarded such a random charge, without having read the evidence which they pretend to cite. We entreat the reader's best attention to this matter—let him recollect who the personages are from whom this accusation proceeded—let him call to mind the tone of petulant self-sufficiency, of flippant confidence, with which it was brought forward—let him reflect on the insolent dogmatism of those pretenders to superior accuracy of citation, as well as larger extent of information—and now let him look, while we shortly and simply refer to one or two passages which must 'flash intolerable day' upon those men.

The opinion in question, is stated by the Committee in page 58th of the Third Report, 1818.—Turn over a single leaf, and you come to the evidence of Mr William Allen, a man to be praised as often as he is named, for every good quality of the head and of the heart, but one whose testimony on this point is, beyond every other, conclusive, from the rank which he holds among sectaries, and his habits of intercourse with them. In page 62, we see these words printed.

'Could those sectaries, of different kinds, send their children to a school where the Catechism was taught, or religious observances, according to the Established Church, required?—Certainly not.

'Do you know instances of Protestant Dissenters, as well as Roman Catholics, being prevented sending their children to schools on that plan, because of the plan being adopted?—I cannot recollect particular instances; but the strong impression upon my mind is, that they could not in any one instance permit it conscientiously, and that, in a great number of instances, they certainly would not.

'Supposing it is found, that in London, and one or two other very great towns, Dissenters do send their children to such schools, should you impute that to their approving of the system taught at those schools, or to their not caring much for their own religious differences from the Church?—I impute it totally to their indifference for all religion. In my experience of the accounts given by the parents of poor children, in reference to the religious sect to which they belonged, in order that they might be properly classed on entering our schools, it did appear, that a very large proportion could not decidedly say what religious system they preferred; in very many instances they have answered, that they were of no religion.

'Do you apprehend that such persons, though not belonging to the Established Church, would have sent their children to a school on the national principle?—I believe many of them would.'

And the remainder of Mr Allen's evidence goes to show the difficulties which conscientious Dissenters might feel, even in the plan suggested by the Committee, from the connexion of

the schools with the Establishment, although Catechism and compulsory attendance at church were excluded.

But what will these men, so wise in their own conceit, say to the evidence which follows? It is from the Report of 1816; and some of these correct persons might have been aware of it, without having that document before their eyes.

‘Do you apprehend that any material difficulty would have occurred’ (in getting the Dissenters to send their children to a certain national school) ‘from recommending the children to attend the church?—Some difficulty, certainly; but more with respect to the teaching of the Church Catechism within the walls of the school.’ p. 149.

‘Do you, from your observation, think that there is any insuperable obstacle in the way of such accommodation as has just been alluded to?’ (viz. allowing children of Dissenters to attend their own chapels, and not teaching them those parts of the Catechism which the Church and Sects differ upon.) *Ans.* ‘Considering both parties together, I think there is an insuperable objection; I mean, considering the principles and prejudices of both.’

‘In what do you take that objection to consist?—In the unwillingness of Churchmen to part with the general teaching of their Catechism within the walls of the school; and the unwillingness of Dissenters, generally speaking, to partake in the education of such schools without such accommodation.’ p. 150.

Now, these, we beg leave to add, are the words of *The Very Reverend Dr Ireland, Dean of Westminster*, (p. 145); to whose profound contempt we beg leave to deliver over the pert, shallow, and dogmatical persons who have denied that there is a single tittle of evidence on this matter.

It is fortunate, when the virulent and interested adversaries of any great improvement in the condition of mankind, are at variance with each other, (or with themselves), and even when united are not found very formidable. There are few questions in which this felicity has more signally attended the right side, from the beginning of the controversy, than that respecting the Education of the Poor; and we gladly draw from hence the augury of a decision favourable to the best interests of the species.

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ART. VI. *A Voyage up the Persian Gulph, and a Journey overland from India to England, in 1817, containing Notices of Arabia Felix, Arabia Deserta, Persia, Mesopotamia, the Garden of Eden, Babylon, Bagdad, Koordistan, Armenia, Asia Minor, &c. &c.* By Lieutenant WILLIAM HEUDE, of the Madras Military Establishment. 4to. pp. 252. London, Longman & Co. 1819.

WHEN gentlemen return from distant countries, after long absences, their friends and parents, in the first moments of joy and affection, should tenderly commit to the flames any notes or records that the beloved stranger may have made of his travels—together with any maps or drawings he may have brought with him, or any thing else which may induce him to venture on the perils of authorship:—Because, though it is highly probable that the newly arrived person is eminent in his vocation—that he can wheel Sepoys to the right and left, if belligerent—that he is powerful at an invoice, if mercantile—that he has many tedious things to say about Budha, if a Sanscrit Scholar—it may yet be very doubtful if he possess any, or many of those qualities which qualify a man to tell his story to the public, and to write a good book.

Lieutenant Heude expresses his gratitude to the Right Honourable the Earl Fitzwilliam, for having first (in contradiction to our advice) suggested the arrangement of the Notes the Lieutenant had taken into a printed volume; but this gallant officer had better wait, and see whether the public and the Earl are of the same way of thinking; and he will then be better able to appreciate the extent of the obligation which the suggestion has entailed upon him. There does not exist a more honourable and excellent nobleman, than Lord Fitzwilliam: But he has so many great and good qualities, that he can afford to be reckoned a bad judge of travels from Bombay to Constantinople.

Lieutenant Heude quits Cannanore, on the Malabar Coast, about the middle of September; and, after touching at several places on that side of India, proceeds to Bombay—from thence takes his passage up the Persian Gulf to Bussora—from Bussora over the ruins of Babylon to Bagdat—from Bagdat he proceeds over the mountains of Koordistan to Erbil Mosul, across the small desert to Nisibin Merdin, and from thence to Constantinople. Mr Heude, as he passes through Bombay, gives us the following summary of its strength and importance.

‘ So lately back as 1764, it is described by a learned foreigner, as a place that had risen very considerably within the twenty preceding



years; its population having increased, within that time, from about 70 to 140 thousand souls. It now contains full double this last amount; Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, holding the proportions of 3, 4, and 6, towards each other in this respect. At that period, according to the same authority, the Company maintained 17 companies of foot, 3 companies of artillery, and 3000 sepoys on the island itself, for the service of Bombay and its dependencies along the coast; the whole of this force being then commanded by an officer who held no higher rank than that of major; and was only allowed the third voice in council, on those subjects that were connected with military affairs. At the present day, under the command of a general officer, and with several major-generals and brigadiers under him, the Bombay army includes 18 regular battalions, with the requisite proportion of Europeans, artillery, cavalry, and pioneers; and without the late additions, or the enumeration of those regiments that belong more particularly to the King, though equally maintained by the Company. In 1761, there were 10 small cruisers belonging to the establishment, for the service of the coast. We have now 18 of a superior size, notwithstanding some late reductions; and might increase this number almost to any extent, either from our trade, which could abundantly supply the means of any sudden outfit, or from our docks, that have lately produced vessels of a most perfect and durable construction, capable of mounting 70 or 80 guns. Such has been the rapid advance of this single establishment, the smallest and least important by far of the three we hold; the other two are not yet on the decline: a truth, which a population of fifty millions of obedient and industrious subjects, a well-disciplined and gallant army of 200,000 men, and a fleet mounting 3795 guns in the immediate service of the Company, will readily confirm. pp. 14, 15.

This is pretty well, considering that, 70 years ago, we had scarcely a foot of land in India. But English morals are quite local. Under the meridian of Greenwich, and between the 50th and 58th degrees of latitude, we are an upright, humane, and just people. Between the 6th and 10th degrees of western longitude, we are tyrants and oppressors. On the other side of the Cape we are ambitious, and unprincipled conquerors:—just as the same animal is woolly in one country, hairy in another, and something between both in a third.

In the next page after this description of Bombay, the Lieutenant, elated at what the Indian armies have achieved, shakes his sword at the civil powers, and gives them fair warning respecting their treatment of the military branch of the service: the admonition, we sincerely hope, is unnecessary. One of these mercantile pen and ink emperors was so nearly hanged in the late commotions at Madras, that we have no doubt a severe lesson has been read to the Civilians upon the necessity of moderation, good sense, and a spirit of fair conciliation, equally

removed from cowardice on the one side, and insolence on the other;—read, we mean, to those who wanted it. To the great majority, we are sure, such an unhappy and deplorable admonition could never have been necessary.

From Bombay Mr Heude sails in a miserable Arab vessel, with people of all tongues and nations, Jews, Persians, Medes, Elamites and dwellers in Mesopotamia, to Mascat, on the north-east coast of Arabia.

With the land of science and romance before me,—with so many objects to excite wonder and interest, as the traveller may discriminate in the novelty of the prospect, or the recollection which may improve his mind, and direct his inquiries, it may be readily believed that no time in visiting the shore. A small canoe was plying off our ship; the sight of a roobee commanded its attendance; and within a few minutes, the African slaves that rowed it for their master, had landed me on the beach.

The custom-house, the palace, and its vicinity, the bazars and principal streets, were crowded with Arabs of every description and tribe; with Jews, Hindoos, Belooches, Turks, and Africans. I was now amongst a race, of whom it has been written, “that every man’s hand shall be against them, and their hand against every man:”—And every man’s hand was armed;—the Arabs, each after the manner of his tribe, or his own convenience, with a curved asgailee, a matchlock, or a pike; the Beloochee soldiers, naked to the waist, with a crooked ~~to~~ <sup>long</sup>, a knife, and a straight two-handed sword; the wild Bedoon might be distinguished from amongst the first, by a striped kerchief surrounded with lashes of whipcord, and flying loosely round his head; by a coarse shirt, a square striped cumlin over his shoulders, and a chubook: Wild and uncontrolled, with a quick burning eye, an animated and restless countenance, he appeared the lord of the creation, and was, even in his physiognomy, the lawless robber of a desert land. The others beseeemed, in truth, the condition which they filled; bare-headed, and with their black luxuriant hair floating to the wind, perhaps to increase the terror of their appearance: The deadly keenness of their look, seemed to indicate the savage servile instruments of that despot’s will whose authority they served. pp. 22, 23.

The trade up the Persian Gulf from Bombay, Mr Heude considers to be increasing, and to employ at present about 7000 tons of shipping within the year, exclusive of fighting ships and inferior craft from port to port; employing a capital, in bottomry alone, of 600,000 rupees. The particulars of which this trade consists, however, he does not state; and this barrenness of information, so frequently observable in Mr Heude’s book, is one cause of our censure on his production. He is full of idle and ill-told stories about drunken Turks, which are not always decent, and never amusing; and these he thinks of more import-

ance than the gratification of that rational curiosity respecting the state of the countries he passes through, which his readers have a right to expect at his hands. A traveller who passes through countries little known, should tell us how such countries are cultivated—how they are governed—what is the face of nature—what is the state of the useful arts—what is the degree of knowledge which exists there. Every reader will be glad to learn these things, or some of them: But few, we imagine, will care to know whether he had a lean horse at this stage, or a fat horse at another—whether his supper at any given village was milk without eggs, or eggs without milk. A little gossip and a few adventures, are very well; but a book of gossip and adventures, especially when related without wit or discretion, had better not be. We observe, too, that the Lieutenant's hero is always the same person; and though we do not doubt of the real superiority of this person, we think that the two offices of actor and narrator should not be held by the same person. We have another little piece of advice to give Mr Heude; and that is, never to relate any action that is cruel and unjust, with the slightest degree of levity or jocularly.

I have often wondered at the efficacy of the whip. To the Tartar it is every thing. If his horse is good, a loud crack above his head incites him to exertion; if bad, a closer application impels his speed. If the animal falls, breathless and spent with toil, the whip is immediately brought in: the Tartar *never* resigns his seat, but commences at once an exercise, which as many join in as the length and breadth of the unfortunate carcase will admit. Are provisions wanting, the whip is the sole resource: the Tartar sits down, entreats for a while, curses his fate that he must have recourse to such drudgery; and next falls to with a willing hand, distributing his favours 'à tort et à travers,' until his wants are attended to. In the poorest villages, where there was not so much as a chicken to be found, I have seen the comchee produce a dozen full grown venerable hens. Where a blade of grass could not grow, for a single sheep to feed upon, whole flocks have been suddenly presented to our choice. If our horses failed, the whip first produced a change, and next impelled the most worn-out hacks to the most extraordinary exertions. It was, in short, so evidently the natural weapon, and the great specific on all occasions of emergency and distress, that I often wondered how it was that I escaped the favour, and frequently asked myself the reason why the Koords and Arabs denied us any thing we asked.

Whenever any thing was refused, the whip was regularly introduced, and commonly with good effect: I could only wonder, therefore, why the villagers would *thus insist* on being thrashed, when, after all, the poor creatures were obliged to comply with our demands. pp. 195, 196.

There are two or three passages in the book in the same strain. We are quite certain, Mr Heude is much too respect-

able and honourable not to feel horror and disgust at such abominable tyranny; but it is not only necessary that the inward feeling should exist—the outward style should correspond with it. No familiarity with misery, no circumstances of ridicule or contempt with which it may happen to be connected, should ever for a single moment change that tone of serious indignation with which acts of cruelty and oppression should be related. Such a feeling is one of the strongest barriers of human happiness.

We could not help smiling at the following passage in the work of our excellent Lieutenant.

The accompanying sketch will afford an imperfect idea of the grandeur of the scene exhibited by the junction of those two mighty rivers, which have been celebrated in history as the boundary of that happy fertile spot where our common father dwelt; the Tigris and the Euphrates having generally been esteemed the southern, south-west, and south-east limits of the garden of Eden, or Paradise. The confluence of two such majestic streams, forming an inland gulf of great extent, is certainly an imposing sight: I could find nothing, however (except in the contrast with the surrounding desert), that could mark Korna as the fertile happy spot which had been assigned to man before his fall. The few trees, and the little cultivation it may boast, are certainly as a garden in the midst of a barren, black, desolated wilderness: without this wilderness, however, it would be only a marsh overgrown with rushes, a few palms, and fifty or sixty miserable huts. p. 56.

This worthy officer seems to consider the situation of Paradise to be as clear and indisputable a point as the position of ancient Rome. But upon this point he must read Hardouin, Le Clerc, Calmet, Sir J. Chardin, Postellus, Origen, Philo, Hopkinson, Huet, and Boshart; and then decide whether Paradise was on the Lake Genesareth, or the springs of Orontes—or near Mount Ararat, or under the North Pole—or over the whole face of the earth, or upon no part of the earth, and a mere allegory... This inquiry the Lieutenant has absolutely entailed upon himself by the boldness of his positions; and we do not see how he can handsomely escape from it.

Mr Heude is not without some talents for description:—Indeed the novelty of meeting a victorious Arab army in the Desert, must stimulate and augment the slightest portion of this talent, and almost create it where it did not exist.

We had not proceeded many miles, on the morning of the first of February, before we encountered the foremost of Shaik Hamood's army; who rode in upon us at speed, in the mimic display of an attack, on perceiving us to be friends escorted by one of their own messengers. Some of the fellows indeed pushed so close by me with their spears, charging furiously with their lances couched, and tilting

up the point at the very moment of contact, that having been separated from my party, and not having a word to say for myself in reply to their inquiries, I could scarcely admire this unnecessary display of their horsemanship and skill. Putting on, however, the best countenance I could on the occasion, and smiling and returning their salutations, as they checked their panting steeds in the midst of their full career, brandishing their swords and spears above my head, I contrived with some difficulty to rejoin my servant, and desired him to keep as close to me as he could. By gradually inclining to the right, we ultimately got disengaged; but we could perceive them, for a good hour, filing off at a distance on our flank.

The order of their march (if the expression may be used) was irregularity itself. Unconfined by roads, water, or cultivation, in their selection of a track; unincumbered by lengthened files of wag-gons or artillery, in their wanderings; and with scarcely any baggage beyond the little that was carried on the camels and horses they were mounted on; the whole army was spread over the level flat, in the shape nearly of a bird flying; the head and tail forming the advance and rear; whilst the wings were composed of those more impatient or more curious scouts, who separated in their rambles from the more beaten course. Within this space, the thickest throng could be distinguished in the centre; but, evidently, less from the presence of any chief of rank than from the general motion of the body towards a certain point. It might indeed have appeared that each tribe was generally collected around the standard of its shaik, as the whole was grouped in irregular shapeless masses: It could be seen, however, from the higher ground we stood upon, that the whole frequently intermixed, collected in a body, and separated again as accident might direct. The chiefs were generally in front of their own immediate dependents, being commonly better mounted than the rest; but it was more owing, as I thought, to the goodness of the horse than to the pointed observance of any particular respect, a few instances only excepted, where a venerable age, and long approved valour and conduct, had probably increased the influence of those snow-bearded chiefs, who were only approached with superior reverence, and were generally accompanied by little flags, to mark the presence of some personage of greater consequence.

The looseness of their ranks would naturally preclude any very accurate estimate of their numbers; but I should be inclined to think, at a rough guess, they were not less than seven or eight thousand strong. The tribe of the Montific Bedooms alone (I have been informed) can bring 12,000 horse into the field; and if numbers on the present occasion were left behind, it is probable their army had been joined by some of their allies. It was from these troops we now heard the first accurate accounts of the battle and victory, under the walls of Bagdad, which had occasioned the return of the tribes. pp. 85-87.

The following description is also very striking and picturesque.

' On the 21st, after passing Mansurie, which is a considerable town, with a custom-house subordinate to that at Korna, we came on a desert marshy tract entirely covered with bull-rushes on either side. Nothing can equal the dismal, melancholy aspect of the country we had now before us. The river, extending itself in the loose soil it wanders through, seems to flow in a still mournful unison with the dreary scene on either bank. A wretched Arab here and there, like the gleam of light that just renders darkness visible, reminds the traveller, at long intervals, of the dreadful solitude of his course. The savage, haggard appearance of the stranger; his cautious, mistrustful looks; the desolate waste he flies to from the narrow path, at the most distant sight of a fellow-creature; equally impress the mind with the dreadful apprehension of impending harm. We passed through, however, without any accidents, or other alarms than those inspired by the mournful stillness of the scene, and the occasional apprehensions entertained, from a partial glimpse of some wretched creature, who was probably as terrified as ourselves at the unusual sight of his fellow-man.' pp. 58, 59.

Still better is his description of the Curdistan peasants, which will bring to the remembrance of the classical reader, Xenophon's account of the inhabitants of the Carduchian mountains, in the ever memorable retreat of the ten thousand.

' Selimaney, therefore, seems the centre, as it is the capital, of the most elevated valley of Koordistan; and as this valley is surrounded by immense mountains, covered with snow the greater part, if not all the year, it enjoys all the advantages of our colder climes, without losing any of that superabundant fertility which generally belongs to the warmer regions. It is, in truth, in every respect, one of the most beautiful and fertile valleys in the world; possessing every advantage of climate, and all those varied and delightful changes of mountain scenery which it is possible to enumerate, in all the perfection of an overflowing luxuriance. The Koords, themselves a shepherd race from the most ancient times, and the Carduchians and Parthians of history, retaining in these mountains those primitive habits which they have lost in towns, and exhibiting that fierce, ungovernable spirit of independence, which it is extremely curious to observe, though not always safe to encounter. Unlike their countrymen of the plains in every respect, these mountaineers are all life, fire, and animation: robbers by profession, and constantly on the watch to spoliates. Generally of an active, nervous make, with thick manly beards curling over the lower part of the face, but seldom allowed to grow to any length: a dark moustache is often contrasted with eyes of liquid blue; keen, piercing, and commanding; bright as the falcon's, and equally vengeful too, that seem to boast the ferocious, treacherous bandit's life. Constantly armed; even in their own houses, with pistols, a dagger, and a well tempered falchion; the ruddy glow of health that bursts through their olive

complexions finishes the picture, and stamps the daring outlaw as the healthful, hardy mountaineer.

The Koordish ladies well beseem their hardy lords: mountain-nymphs in their youth, and lovely, laughing, nut-brown maids; they are Amazons in their middle age; and follow their husbands in all their wanderings. Their dress we have already described; and as their manners partake of the freedom of their state, the delicacy of their shape and complexion is soon affected by the habits of their lives: they are in their prime at fifteen or twenty, on the decline at twenty-five. Constantly on horseback, both men and women ride with equal boldness and dexterity; and few horses in the world can surpass those of Koordistan, for ascending the steepest heights, and galloping down the slope. The Koords are exceedingly fond of hunting the antelope, and commonly pursue at speed over every kind of ground, and down the steepest declivity, without hesitation or mishap: their horses being in this respect certainly remarkable, that, unlike the greater part of the mountain-breeds we are acquainted with, they are commonly of the larger size, and as beautiful and spirited as they are indefatigable and sure.' pp. 208, 209.

Whatever he sees in his hasty gallop across the Desert, this gentleman describes well enough;—but he should cautiously avoid all attempts at pleasantry, eloquence, or profundity—to all of which qualities, we are concerned to say, he seems to have pretensions. They are dangerous qualities in a writer, especially in the lower degrees; and as they can be of no sort of use to Mr Heude in his profession, we recommend him not to waste his time in the laborious, and not very hopeful, task of their cultivation.

ART. VII. *Tales of the Hall*. By the Rev. GEORGE CRABBE.  
In two Volumes. 8vo. pp. 670. London, 1819.

MR CRABBE is the greatest *mannerist*, perhaps, of all our living poets; and it is rather unfortunate that the most prominent features of his mannerism are not the most pleasing. The homely, quaint, and prosaic style—the flat, and often broken and jingling versification—the eternal full-lengths of low and worthless characters,—with their accustomed garnishings of sly jokes and familiar moralizing—are all on the surface of his writings; and are almost unavoidably the things by which we are first reminded of him, when we take up any of his new productions. Yet they are not the things that truly constitute his peculiar manner, or give that character by which he will, and ought to be, remembered with future generations. It is plain, indeed, that

they are things that will make nobody remembered—and can never, therefore, be really characteristic of some of the most original and powerful poetry that the world ever saw.

Mr C., accordingly, has other gifts; and those not less peculiar or less strongly marked than the blemishes with which they are contrasted—an unrivalled and almost magical power of observation, resulting in descriptions so true to nature as to strike us rather as transcripts than imitations—an anatomy of character and feeling not less exquisite and searching—an occasional touch of matchless tenderness—and a deep and dreadful pathetic, interspersed by fits, and strangely interwoven with the most minute and humble of his details. Add to all this the sure and profound sagacity of the remarks with which he every now and then startles us in the midst of very unambitious discussions;—and the weight and terseness of the maxims which he drops, like oracular responses, on occasions that give no promise of such a revelation;—and last, though not least, that sweet and sad-sounding chord of lyrical inspiration, the lightest touch of which instantly charms away all harshness from his numbers, and all lowness from his themes—and at once exalts him to a level with the most energetic and inventive poets of his age.

These, we think, are the true characteristics of the genius of this great writer; and it is in their mixture with the oddities and defects to which we have already alluded, that the peculiarity of his manner seems to us substantially to consist. The ingredients may all of them be found, we suppose, in other writers; but their combination—in such proportions at least as occur in this instance—may safely be pronounced to be original.

Extraordinary, however, as this combination must appear, it does not seem very difficult to conceive in what way it may have arisen; and, so far from regarding it as a proof of singular humorousness, caprice or affectation in the individual, we are rather inclined to hold that something approaching to it must be the natural result of a long habit of observation in a man of genius, possessed of that temper and disposition which is the usual accompaniment of such a habit; and that the same strangely compounded and apparently incongruous assemblage of themes and sentiments would be frequently produced under such circumstances—if authors had oftener the courage to write from their own impressions, and had less fear of the laugh or wonder of the more shallow and barren part of their readers.

A great talent for observation, and a delight in the exercise of it—the power and the practice of dissecting and disentangling that subtle and complicated tissue of habit, and self-love, and affection, which constitute human character—seems to us, in all



cases, to imply a contemplative, rather than an active disposition. It can only exist, indeed, where there is a good deal of social sympathy; for, without this, the occupation could excite no interest, and afford no satisfaction—but only such a measure and sort of sympathy as is gratified by being a spectator, and not an actor on the great theatre of life—and leads its possessor rather to look on with eagerness on the feats and the fortunes of others, than to take a share for himself in the game that is played before him. Some stirring and vigorous spirits there are, no doubt, in which this taste and talent is combined with a more thorough and effective sympathy; and leads to the study of men's characters by an actual and hearty participation in their various passions and pursuits;—though it is to be remarked, that when such persons embody their observations in writing, they will generally be found to show their characters in action, rather than to describe them in the abstract; and to let their various personages disclose themselves and their peculiarities, as it were spontaneously, and without help or preparation, in their ordinary conduct and speech—of all which we have a very splendid and striking example in the *Tales of My Landlord*, and the other pieces of that extraordinary writer. In the common case, however, a great observer, we believe, will be found, pretty certainly, to be a person of a shy and retiring temper,—who does not mingle enough with the people he surveys, to be heated with their passions, or infected with their delusions—and who has usually been led, indeed, to take up the office of a looker on, from some little infirmity of nerves, or weakness of spirits, which has unfitted him from playing a more active part on the busy scene of existence.

Now, it is very obvious, we think, that this contemplative turn, and this alienation from the vulgar pursuits of mankind, must, in the first place, produce a great contempt for most of those pursuits, and the objects they seek to obtain—a levelling of the factitious distinctions which human pride and vanity have established in the world, and a mingled scorn and compassion for the lofty pretensions under which men so often disguise the nothingness of their chosen occupations. When the many-coloured scene of life, with all its petty agitations, its shifting pomps, and perishable passions, is surveyed by one who does not mix in its business, it is impossible that it should not appear a very pitiable and almost ridiculous affair; or that the heart should not echo back the brief and emphatic exclamation of the mighty dramatist,

————— 'Life's a poor player,  
Who frets and struts his hour upon the stage,  
And then is heard no more.' —

Or the more sarcastic amplification of it, in the words of our great moral poet—

' Behold the Child, by Nature's kindly law,  
Pleased with a rattle, tickled with a straw ;  
Some livelier plaything gives our Youth delight,  
A little louder, but as empty quite :  
Scarfs, garters, gold our riper years engage,  
And beads and prayerbooks are the *toys* of Age :  
Pleased with this bauble still as that before,  
Till tired we sleep—and *Life's poor play is o'er !* '

This is the more solemn view of the subject:—but the first fruits of observation are most commonly found to issue in *Satire*—the unmasking the vain pretenders to wisdom and worth and happiness with whom society is infested, and holding up to the derision of mankind those meannesses of the great, those miseries of the fortunate, and those

' Fears of the brave, and follies of the wise, '  
which the eye of a dispassionate observer so quickly detects under the glittering exterior by which they would fain be disguised—and which bring pretty much to a level the intellect and morals and enjoyments of the great mass of mankind.

This misanthropic end has unquestionably been by far the most common result of a habit of observation, and that in which its effects have most generally terminated:—Yet we cannot bring ourselves to think that it is their just or natural termination. Something, no doubt, will depend on the temper of the individual, and the proportions in which the gall and the milk of human kindness have been originally mingled in his composition.—Yet satirists, we think, have not in general been ill-natured persons—and we are inclined rather to ascribe this limited and uncharitable application of their powers of observation to their love of fame and popularity,—which are well known to be best secured by successful ridicule or invective—or quite as probably, indeed, to the narrowness and insufficiency of their observations themselves, and the imperfection of their talents for their due conduct and extension.—It is certain, at least, we think, that the satirist makes use but of half the discoveries of the observer ; and teaches but half—and the worse half—of the lessons which may be deduced from his occupation.—He puts down, indeed, the proud pretensions of the great and arrogant, and levels the vain distinctions which human ambition has established among the brethren of mankind—he

' Bares the mean heart that lurks beneath a Star, '  
—and destroys the illusions which would limit our sympathy to the forward and figuring persons of this world—the favourites of fame and fortune.—But the true result of observation should be not so much to cast down the proud, as to raise up the lowly—

not so much to extinguish our sympathy with the powerful and renowned, as to extend it to all those who, in humbler conditions, have the same claims on our esteem or affection.—It is not surely the natural consequence of learning to judge truly of the characters of men, that we should despise or be indifferent about them all ;—and though we have learned to see through the false glare which plays round the envied summits of existence, and to know how little dignity, or happiness, or worth, or wisdom, may sometimes belong to the possessors of power and fortune and learning and renown,—it does not follow, by any means, that we should look upon the whole of human life as a mere deceit and imposture, or think the concerns of our species fit subjects only for scorn and derision. Our promptitude to admire and to envy, will indeed be corrected, our enthusiasm abated, and our distrust of appearances increased ;—but the sympathies and affections of our nature will continue, and be better directed—our love of our kind will not be diminished—and our indulgence for their faults and follies, if we read our lesson aright, will be signally strengthened and confirmed. The true and proper effect, therefore, of a habit of observation, and a thorough and penetrating knowledge of human character, will be, not to extinguish our sympathy but to extend it—to turn, no doubt, many a throb of admiration, and many a sigh of love into a smile of derision or of pity, but at the same time to reveal much that commands our homage and excites our affection in those humble and unexplored regions of the heart and understanding which never engage the attention of the incurious,—and to bring the whole family of mankind nearer to a level, by finding out latent merits as well as latent defects in all its members, and compensating the flaws that are detected in the boasted ornaments of life, by bringing to light the richness and the lustre that sleep in the mines beneath its surface.

We are afraid some of our readers may not at once perceive the application of these profound remarks to the subject immediately before us. But there are others, we doubt not, who do not need to be told, that they are intended to explain how Mr Crabbe, and other persons with the same gift of observation, should so often busy themselves with what may be considered as low and vulgar characters ; and, declining all dealings with heroes and heroic topics, should not only venture to seek for an interest in the concerns of ordinary mortals, but actually intersperse small pieces of ridicule with their undignified pathos, and endeavour to make their readers look on their books with the same mingled feelings of compassion and amusement, with which—unnatural as it may appear to the readers of poetry—they, and all judicious observers, actually look upon human life

and human nature. This, we are persuaded, is the true key to the greater part of the peculiarities of the author before us; and though we have disserted upon it a little longer than was necessary, we really think it may enable our readers to comprehend him, and our remarks on him, something better than they could have done without it.

There is, as everybody must have felt, a strange mixture of satire and sympathy in all his productions—a great kindliness and compassion for the errors and sufferings of our poor human nature—but a strong distrust of its heroic virtues and high pretensions. His heart is always open to pity, and all the milder emotions—but there is little aspiration after the grand and sublime of character, nor very much encouragement for raptures and ecstasies of any description. These, he seems to think, are things rather too fine for the said poor human nature—and that, in our low and erring condition, it is a little ridiculous to pretend, either to very exalted and immaculate virtue, or very pure and exquisite happiness. He not only never meddles, therefore, with the delicate distresses and noble fires of the heroes and heroines of tragic and epic fable, but may generally be detected indulging in a lurking sneer at the pomp and vanity of all such superfine imaginations—and turning to draw men in their true postures and dimensions, and with all the imperfections that actually belong to their condition:—the prosperous and happy overshadowed with passing clouds of *ennui*, and disturbed with little flaws of bad humour and discontent—the great and wise beset at times with strange weaknesses and meannesses and paltry vexations—and even the most virtuous and enlightened falling far below the standard of poetical perfection—and stooping every now and then to paltry jealousies and prejudices—or sinking into shabby sensualities,—or meditating on their own excellence and importance, with a ludicrous and lamentable anxiety.

This is one side of the picture; and characterizes sufficiently the satirical vein of our author: But the other is the most extensive and important. In rejecting the vulgar sources of interest in poetical narratives, and reducing his ideal persons to the standard of reality, Mr C. does by no means seek to extinguish the sparks of human sympathy within us, or to throw any damp on the curiosity with which we naturally explore the characters of each other. On the contrary, he has afforded new and more wholesome food for all those propensities—and, by placing before us those details which our pride or fastidiousness is so apt to overlook, has disclosed, in all their truth and simplicity, the native and unadulterated workings of those affections which are at the bottom of all social interest, and are really rendered less touching by the exaggerations of more ambi-

ous artists—while he exhibits, with admirable force and endless variety, all those combinations of passions and opinions, and all that cross-play of selfishness and vanity, and indolence and ambition, and habit and reason, which make up the intellectual character of individuals, and present to every one an instructive picture of his neighbour or himself. Seeing, by the perfection of his art, the master passions in their springs, and the high capacities in their rudiments—and having acquired the gift of tracing all the propensities and marking tendencies of our plastic nature, in their first slight indications, or from the very disguises they so often love to assume, he does not need, in order to draw out his characters in all their life and distinctness, the vulgar demonstration of those striking and decided actions by which their maturity is proclaimed even to the careless and inattentive;—but delights to point out to his readers, the seeds or tender filaments of those talents and feelings and singularities which wait only for occasion and opportunity to burst out and astonish the world—and to accustom them to trace, in characters and actions apparently of the most ordinary description, the self-same attributes that, under other circumstances, would attract universal attention, and furnish themes for the most popular and impassioned descriptions.

That he should not be guided in the choice of his subject by any regard to the rank or condition which his persons hold in society, may easily be imagined; and, with a view to the ends he aims at, might readily be forgiven. But we fear that his passion for observation, and the delight he takes in tracing out and analyzing all the little traits that indicate character, and all the little circumstances that influence it, have sometimes led him to be careless about his selection of the instances in which it was to be exhibited, or at least to select them upon principles very different from those which give them an interest in the eyes of ordinary readers. For the purposes of mere anatomy, beauty of form or complexion are things quite indifferent; and the physiologist, who examines plants only to study their internal structure, and to make himself master of all the contrivances by which their various functions are performed, pays no regard to the brilliancy of their hues, the sweetness of their odours, or the graces of their form. Those who come to him for the sole purpose of acquiring knowledge, may participate perhaps in this indifference; but the world at large will wonder at them—and he will engage fewer pupils to listen to his instructions, than if he had condescended in some degree to consult their predilections in the beginning. It is the same case, we think, in many respects, with Mr Crabbe. Relying for the interest he is to produce, on the curious expositions he is to make of the

elements of human character; or at least finding his own chief gratification in those subtle investigations, he seems to care very little upon what particular individuals he pitches for the purpose of these demonstrations. Almost every human mind, he seems to think, may serve to display that fine and mysterious mechanism which it is his delight to explore and explain;—and almost every condition, and every history of life, afford occasions to show how it may be put into action, and pass through its various combinations. It seems, therefore, almost as if he had caught up the first dozen or two of persons that came across him in the ordinary walks of life,—and then opening up his little window in their breasts,—and applying his tests and instruments of observation, had set himself about such a minute and curious scrutiny of their whole habits, history, adventures and dispositions, as he thought must ultimately create not only a familiarity, but an interest, which the first aspect of the subject was far enough from leading any one to expect. That he succeeds more frequently than could have been anticipated, we are very willing to allow. But we cannot help feeling also, that a little more pains bestowed in the selection of his characters, would have made his power of observation and description tell with tenfold effect; and that, in spite of the exquisite truth of his delineations, and the fineness of the perceptions by which he was enabled to make them, it is impossible to take any considerable interest in many of his personages, or to avoid feeling some degree of fatigue at the minute and patient exposition that is made of all that belongs to them.

These remarks are a little too general, we believe—and are not introduced with strict propriety at the head of our *fourth* article on Mr Crabbe's productions. They have drawn out, however, to such a length, that we can afford to say but little of the work immediately before us. It is marked with all the characteristics that we have noticed, either now or formerly, as distinctive of his poetry. On the whole, however, it has certainly fewer of the grosser faults—and fewer too, perhaps, of the more exquisite passages which occur in his former publications. There is nothing at least that has struck us, in going over these volumes, as equal in elegance to Phœbe Dawson in the Register, or in pathetic effect to the Convict's Dream, or Edward Shore, or the Parting Hour, or the Sailor dying beside his sweetheart. On the other hand, there is far less that is horrible, and nothing that can be said to be absolutely disgusting; and the picture which is afforded of society and human nature is, on the whole, much less painful and degrading. There is both less misery and less guilt; and, while the same searching and unsparing glance is

sent into all the dark caverns of the breast, and the truth brought forth with the same stern impartiality, the result is more comfortable and cheering. The greater part of the characters are rather more elevated in station, and milder and more amiable in disposition; while the accidents of life are more mercifully managed, and fortunate circumstances more liberally allowed. It is rather remarkable, too, that Mr C. seems to become more amorous as he grows older,—the interest of almost all the stories in this collection turning on the tender passion—and many of them on its most romantic varieties.

The plan of the work,—for it has rather more of plan and unity than any of the former,—is abundantly simple. Two brothers, both past middle age, meet together for the first time since their infancy, in the Hall of their native parish, which the elder and richer had purchased as a place of retirement for his declining age—and there tell each other their own history, and then that of their guests, neighbours, and acquaintances. The senior is much the richer, and a bachelor—having been a little distasted with the sex by the unlucky result of a very extravagant passion. He is, moreover, rather too reserved and sarcastic, and somewhat Toryish, though with an excellent heart and a powerful understanding. The younger is very sensible also, but more open, social and talkative—a happy husband and father, with a tendency to Whiggism, and some notion of reform—and a disposition to think well both of men and women. The visit lasts two or three weeks in autumn; and the *Tales*, which make up the volume, are told in the after dinner *tête-à-têtes* that take place in that time between the worthy brothers over their bottle. The married man, however, wearies at length for his wife and children; and his brother lets him go with more coldness than he had expected. He goes with him, however, a stage on the way; and, inviting him to turn aside a little to look at a new purchase he had made of a sweet farm with a neat mansion, he finds his wife and children comfortably settled there, and all dressed out and ready to receive them; and speedily discovers that he is, by his brother's bounty, the proprietor of a fair domain within a morning's ride of the Hall—where they may discuss politics, and tell tales any afternoon they think proper.

Though their own stories and descriptions are not, in our opinion, the best in the work, it is but fair to introduce these narrative brothers and their Hall a little more particularly to our readers. The history of the elder and more austere, is not particularly probable—nor very interesting; but it affords many passages extremely characteristic of the author. He was a spoil-

ed child, and grew up into a youth of a romantic and contemplative turn—dreaming, in his father's rural abode, of divine nymphs and damsels all passion and purity. One day he had the good luck to rescue a fair lady from a cow, and fell desperately in love:—Though he never got to speech of his charmer, who departed from the place where she was on a visit, and concluded the eager search with which he pursued her in town and country for many a long year: For this foolish and poetical passion settled down on his spirits; and neither time nor company, nor the business of a London banker, could effect a diversion. At last, at the end of ten or twelve years—for the fit lasted that unreasonable time—being then an upper clerk in his uncle's bank, he stumbled upon his *Dulcinea* in a very unexpected way—and a way that no one but Mr C. would either have thought of—or thought of describing in verse. The following passage, we think, might be quoted as a fair epitome of his poetry—its strength and its weakness—its faults, its oddities, and its beauties.

- “ Something one day occur'd about a bill
- “ That was not drawn with true mercantile skill,
- “ And I was ask'd and authorized to go
- “ To seek the firm of Clutterbuck and Co. ;
- “ Their hour was past—but when I urged the case,
- “ There was a youth who named a second place ;
- “ Where, on occasions of important kind,
- “ I might the man of occupation find
- “ In his retirement, where he found repose
- “ From the vexations that in business rose.
- “ I found, though not with ease, this private seat
- “ Of soothing quiet, Wisdom's still retreat.
- “ The house was good, but not so pure and clean
- “ As I had houses of retirement seen ;
- “ Yet men, I knew, of meditation deep,
- “ Love not their maidens should their studies sweep ;
- “ His room I saw, and must acknowledge, there
- “ Were not the signs of cleanliness or care :
- “ A female servant, void of female grace,
- “ Loose in attire, proceeded to the place ;
- “ She stared intrusive on my slender frame,
- “ And boldly ask'd my business and my name.
- “ I gave them both ; and, left to be amased,
- “ Well as I might, the parlour I perused.
- “ The shutters half unclosed, the curtains fell
- “ Half down, and rested on the window-sill,
- “ And thus, confusedly, made the room half visible ;
- “ Late as it was, the little parlour bore
- “ Some tell-tale tokens of the night before ;



" There were strange sights and scents about the room,  
 " Of food high season'd, and of strong perfume ;  
 " Two unmatch'd sofa's ample rents display'd,  
 " Carpet and curtains were alike decay'd ;  
 " A large old mirror, with once-gilded frame,  
 " Reflected prints that I forbear to name,  
 " Such as a youth might purchase—but, in truth,  
 " Not a sedate or sober-minded youth :  
 " The cinders yet were sleeping in the grate,  
 " Warm from the fire, continued large and late,  
 " As left by careless folk, in their neglected state ;  
 " The chairs in haste seem'd whirl'd about the room,  
 " As when the sons of riot hurry home,  
 " And leave the troubled place to solitude and gloom.  
 " But man there was not, was not he for whom  
 " To this convenient lodging I was come ;  
 " No ! but a Lady's voice was heard to call  
 " On my attention—and she had it all !  
 " For lo ! she enters, speaking ere in sight,  
 " ' Monsieur ! I shall not want the chair to-night—  
 " ' Where shall I see him ? '—This dear hour atones  
 " For all affection's hopeless sighs and groans, &c.  
 " But is it She?—O ! yes ; the rose is dead,  
 " Its beauty, fragrance, freshness, glory fled :  
 " But yet 'tis she—the same, and not the same—  
 " Who to my bower an heavenly being came ;  
 " Who waked my soul's first thought of real bliss,  
 " Whom long I sought, and now I find her—this !  
 " I cannot paint her—something I had seen  
 " So pale and slim, and tawdry and unclean ;  
 " With haggard looks, of vice and woe the prey,  
 " Laughing in languor, miserably gay :  
 " Her face, where face appear'd, was amply spread,  
 " By art's coarse pencil, with ill-chosen red :  
 " But still the features were the same, and strange  
 " My view of both—the sameness and the change,  
 " That fix'd me gazing and my eye enchain'd,  
 " Although so little of herself remain'd ;  
 " It is the creature whom I loved, and yet  
 " Is far unlike her—Would I could forget  
 " The angel or her fall ! the once adored  
 " Or now despised ! the worshipp'd or deplored ! " I. pp. 152–56.

She views his distress with some confusion, and more contempt ; and at last endeavours to sooth him, by saying and singing, as follows.

" Come, my dear friend, discard that look of care,  
 " All things were made to be, as all things are ;

" All to seek pleasure as the end design'd,  
 " The only good in matter or in mind ;  
 " So was I taught by one, who gave me all  
 " That my experienced heart can wisdom call.  
 " O ! we have both about the world been tost,  
 " Thy gain I know not—I, they cry, am lost ;  
 " So let the wise ones talk ; they talk in vain,  
 " And are mistaken both in loss and gain ;  
 " 'Tis gain to get whatever life affords,  
 " 'Tis loss to spend our time in empty words,  
 " My Damon was the first to wake  
 " The gentle flame that cannot die ;  
 " My Damon is the last to take  
 " The faithful bosom's softest sigh :  
 " The life between is nothing worth,  
 " O ! cast it from thy thought away ;  
 " Think of the day that gave it birth,  
 " And this its sweet returning day,  
 " Buried be all that has been done,  
 " Or say that nought is done amiss ;  
 " For who the dangerous path can shun  
 " In such a wildering world as this ?  
 " But love can every fault forgive,  
 " Or with a tender look reprove ;  
 " And now let naught in memory live,  
 " But that we meet—and that we love." I. pp. 158–160.

We were lately rash enough, we think, to say, that we had no poets so unlike as Mr Crabbe and Mr Moore : But poets of their mettle can put out critics when they please. This little song is more like Mr Moore than any thing we ever saw under the hand of a professed imitator ; and if Mr Crabbe's amatory propensities continue to increase with his years, as they have done, the bard of Lalla Rookh may still have a formidable rival.—But we must finish our Squire's history.—His Perdita professes penitence ; and he offers to assist and support her if she will abandon her evil courses. The following passage is fraught with a deep and a melancholy knowledge of character and of human nature.

" She vowed—she tried—Alas ! she did not know  
 " How deeply rooted evil habits grow :  
 " She felt the truth upon her spirits press,  
 " But wanted ease, indulgence, show, excess,  
 " Voluptuous banquets, pleasures—not refined,  
 " But such as soothe to sleep th' opposing mind.—

- " She look'd for idle vice, the time to kill,  
 " And subtle, strong apologies for ill ;  
 " And thus her yielding, unresisting soul  
 " Sank, and let sin confuse her and control :  
 " Pleasures that brought disgust yet brought relief,  
 " And minds she hated help'd to war with grief." I. p. 163.

As her health fails, however, her relapses become less frequent; and at last she dies, grateful and resigned. Her awakened lover is stunned by the blow—takes seriously to business—and is in danger of becoming avaricious; when a severe illness rouses him to higher thoughts, and he takes his name out of the firm, and, being turned of sixty, seeks a place of retirement.

- ' He chose his native village, and the hill  
 He climb'd a boy had its attraction still ;  
 ' With that small brook beneath, where he would stand,  
 And stooping fill the hollow of his hand  
 To quench th' impatient thirst—then stop awhile  
 To see the sun upon the waters smile,  
 In that sweet weariness, when, long denied,  
 We drink and view the fountain that supplied  
 The sparkling bliss—and feel, if not express,  
 Our perfect ease in that sweet weariness.

The oaks yet flourish'd in that fertile ground,  
 Where still the church with lofty tower was found ;  
 And still that Hall, a first, a favourite view, ' &c.

- ' The Hall of Binning, his delight a boy,  
 That gave his fancy in her flight employ ;  
 Here, from his father's modest home, he gazed,  
 Its grandeur charm'd him, and its height amazed :—  
 Now young no more, retired to views well known,  
 He finds that object of his awe his own ;  
 The Hall at Binning!—how he loves the gloom  
 That sun-excluding window gives the room ;  
 Those broad brown stairs on which he loves to tread ;  
 Those beams within ; without, that length of lead,  
 On which the names of wanton boys appear,  
 Who died old men, and left memorials here,  
 Carvings of feet and hands, and knots and flowers,  
 The fruits of busy minds in idle hours.' I. pp. 4—6.

So much for Squire George—unless any reader should care to know, as Mr C. has kindly told, that—' The Gentleman was tall, ' and, moreover, ' Looked old when followed, but alert when met. ' Of Captain Richard, the story is more varied and rambling. He was rather neglected in his youth and passed his time, when a boy, very much, as we cannot help supposing,

Mr Crabbe must have passed his own. He ran wild in the neighbourhood of a seaport, and found occupation enough in its precincts.

- " I sought the town, and to the ocean gave  
 " My mind and thoughts, as restless as the wave :  
 " Where crowds assembled, I was sure to run,  
 " Hear what was said, and mused on what was done ;  
 " Attentive listening in the moving scene,  
 " And often wondering what the men could mean.  
 " When ships at sea made signals of their need,  
 " I watch'd on shore the sailors, and their speed :  
 " Mix'd in their act, nor rested till I knew  
 " Why they were call'd, and what they were to do.  
 " To me the wives of seamen loved to tell  
 " What storms endanger'd men esteemed so well ;  
 " What wond'rous things in foreign parts they saw,  
 " Lands without bounds, and people without law.  
 " No ships were wreck'd upon that fatal beach,  
 " But I could give the luckless tale of each ;  
 " Eager I look'd, till I beheld a face  
 " Of one disposed to paint their dismal case ;  
 " Who gave the sad survivors' doleful tale,  
 " From the first brushing of the mighty gale  
 " Until they struck ; and, suffering in their fate ;  
 " I long'd the more they should its horrors state ;  
 " While some, the fond of pity, would enjoy  
 " The earnest sorrows of the feeling boy.  
 " There were fond girls, who took me to their side  
 " To tell the story how their lovers died ;  
 " They praised my tender heart, and bade me prove  
 " Both kind and constant when I came to love." I. pp. 74-76.

Once he saw a boat upset ; and still recollects enough to give this spirited sketch of the scene

- " Then were those piercing shrieks, that frantic flight,  
 " All hurried ! all in tumult and affright !  
 " A gathering crowd from different streets drew near,  
 " All ask, all answer—none attend, none hear !  
 " O ! how impatient on the sands we tread,  
 " And the winds roaring, and the women led ;  
 " They know not who in either boat is gone,  
 " But think the father, husband, lover, one.  
 " And who is she apart ? She dares not come  
 " To join the crowd, yet cannot rest at home :  
 " With what strong interest looks she at the waves,  
 " Meeting and clashing o'er the seamen's graves :  
 " 'Tis a poor girl betroth'd—a few hours more,  
 " And *he* will lie a corpse upon the shore.

" One wretched hour had past before we knew  
 " Whom they had saved ! Alas ! they were but two,  
 " An orphan'd lad and widow'd man—no more !  
 " And they unnoticed stood upon the shore,  
 " With scarce a friend to greet them—widows view'd  
 " This man and boy, and then their cries renew'd :—  
 " 'Twas long before the signs of woe gave place  
 " To joy again ; grief sat on every face." I. 77-79.

He also pries into the haunts of the smugglers, and makes friends with the shepherds on the downs in summer ; and then he becomes intimate with an old sailor's wife, to whom he reads sermons, and histories, and jest books, and hymns, and indelicate ballads. The character of this woman is one of the many examples of talent and labour misapplied. It is very powerfully, and, we doubt not, very truly drawn—but it will attract few readers. Yet the story she is at last brought to tell of her daughter, will command a more general interest.

" Ruth—I may tell, too oft had she been told—  
 " Was tall and fair, and comely to behold,  
 " Gentle and simple, in her native place  
 " Not one compared with her in form or face ;  
 " She was not merry, but she gave our hearth  
 " A cheerful spirit that was more than mirth.  
 " There was a sailor boy, and people said  
 " He was, as man, a likeness of the maid ;  
 " But not in this—for he was ever glad,  
 " While Ruth was apprehensive, mild, and sad." I. 92, 93.

They are betrothed—and something more than betrothed—when, on the eve of their wedding-day, the youth is carried relentlessly off by a press-gang.

" Not one last look allow'd,—nor one adieu !  
 " They saw the men on deck, but none distinctly knew.  
 " And there she staid, regardless of each eye,  
 " With but one hope, a fervent hope to die :  
 " Nor cared she now for kindness—all beheld  
 " Her, who invited none, and none repell'd ;  
 " For there are griefs, my child, that sufferers hide,  
 " And there are griefs that men display with pride ;  
 " But there are other griefs that, so we feel,  
 " We care not to display them nor conceal :  
 " Such were our sorrows on that fatal day,  
 " More than our lives the spoilers tore away ;  
 " Nor did we heed their insult—some distress  
 " No form or manner can make more or less,  
 " And this is of that kind—this misery of a Press !" I. p. 95.

The sailor is slain in battle—and a preaching weaver woos, with nauseous perversions of scripture, the loathing and widow-

ed bride. This picture, too, is strongly drawn ;—but we hasten to a scene of far more power as well as pathos. Her father urges her to wed the missioned suitor ; and she agrees to give her answer on Sunday.

“ She left her infant on the Sunday morn,  
 “ A creature doom'd to shame ! in sorrow born ;  
 “ A thing that languish'd, nor arrived at age  
 “ When the man's thoughts with sin and pain engage—  
 “ She came not home to share our humble meal,  
 “ Her father thinking what his child would feel  
 “ From his hard sentence—still she came not home.  
 “ The night grew dark, and yet she was not come ;  
 “ The east-wind roar'd, the sea return'd the sound,  
 “ And the rain fell as if the world were drown'd :  
 “ There were no lights without, and my good man,  
 “ To kindness frighten'd, with a groan began  
 “ To talk of Ruth, and pray ; and then he took  
 “ The Bible down, and read the holy book ;  
 “ For he had learning : and when that was done  
 “ We sat in silence—whither could we run ?  
 “ We said, and then rush'd frighten'd from the door,  
 “ For we could bear our own conceit no more :  
 “ We call'd on neighbours—there she had not been ;  
 “ We met some wanderers—ours they had not seen ;  
 “ We hurried o'er the beach, both north and south,  
 “ Then join'd, and wander'd to our haven's mouth :  
 “ Where rush'd the falling waters wildly out,  
 “ I scarcely heard the good man's fearful shout,  
 “ Who saw a something on the billow ride,  
 “ And—Heaven have mercy on our sins ! he cried,  
 “ It is my child !—and to the present hour  
 “ So he believes—and spirits have the power.  
 “ And she was gone ! the waters wide and deep  
 “ Roll'd o'er her body as she lay asleep.  
 “ She heard no more the angry waves and wind,  
 “ She heard no more the threatening of mankind ;  
 “ Wrapt in dark weeds, the refuse of the storm,  
 “ To the hard rock was borne her comely form !  
 “ But O ! what storm was in that mind ? what strife,  
 “ That could compel her to lay down her life ?  
 “ For she was seen within the sea to wade,  
 “ By one at distance, when she first had pray'd ;  
 “ Then to a rock within the hither shoal  
 “ Softly and with a fearful step she stole ;  
 “ Then, when she gain'd it, on the top she stood  
 “ A moment still—and dropt into the flood !

" The man cried loudly, but he cried in vain,—  
 " She heard not then—she never heard again !  
 " She had—pray, Heav'n !—she had that world in sight,  
 " Where frailty mercy finds, and wrong has right ;  
 " But, sure, in this her portion such has been,  
 " Well had it still remain'd a world unseen ! " I. 105–107.

Richard afterwards tells how he left the sea and entered the army, and fought and marched in the Peninsula ; and how he came home and fell in love with a parson's daughter, and courted and married her ;—and he tells it all very prettily,—and, moreover, that he is very happy, and very fond of his wife and children.—But we must now take the *Adelphi* out of doors, and let them introduce some of their acquaintances. Among the first to whom we are presented are two sisters still in the bloom of life, who had been cheated out of a handsome independence by the cunning of a speculating banker, and deserted by their lovers in consequence of this calamity. Their characters are drawn with infinite skill and minuteness, and their whole story told with great feeling and beauty ;—but it is difficult to make extracts. After describing their innocent and happy life before their misfortunes, Mr C. thus passes to the change.

" Thus lived the sisters, far from power removed,  
 " And far from need, both loving and beloved.  
 " Thus grew, as myrtles grow ; I grieve at heart  
 " That I have pain and sorrow to impart.  
 " But so it is, the sweetest herbs that grow  
 " In the lone vale, where sweetest waters flow,  
 " Ere drops the blossom, or appears the fruit,  
 " Feel the vile grub, and perish at the root ;  
 " And in a quick and premature decay,  
 " Breathe the pure fragrance of their life away." I. 185, 186.

The prudent suitor of the milder and more serious sister sneaks pitifully away when their fortune changes. The bolder lover of the more elate and gay, seeks to take a baser advantage.

" There was a moment's softness, and it seem'd  
 " Discretion slept, or so the lover dream'd ;  
 " And watching long the now confiding maid,  
 " He thought her guardless, and grew less afraid ;  
 " Led to the theme that he had shunn'd before,  
 " He used a language he must use no more—  
 " For if it answers, there is no more need,  
 " And no more trial, should it not succeed.  
 " Then made he that attempt, in which to fail  
 " Is shameful,—still more shameful to prevail.

" Then was there lightning in that eye that shed  
 " Its beams upon him,—and his frenzy fled ;  
 " Abject and trembling at her feet he laid,  
 " Despised and scorn'd by the indignant maid,  
 " Whose spirits in their agitation rose,  
 " Him, and her own weak pity, to oppose :  
 " As liquid silver in the tube mounts high,  
 " Then shakes and settles as the storm goes by.  
 " While yet the lover stay'd, the maid was strong,  
 " But when he fled, she droop'd and felt the wrong—  
 " Felt the alarming chill, th' enfeebled breath,  
 " Closed the quick eye, and sank in transient death."

I. p. 203-204.

The effects of this double trial on their different tempers, are also very finely described. The gentler Lucy is the most resigned and magnanimous. The more aspiring Jane suffers far keener anguish and fiercer impatience ; and the task of soothing and cheering her devolves on her generous sister.

" I knew not then their worth ; and, had I known,  
 " Could not the kindness of a friend have shown ;  
 " For men they dreaded ; they a dwelling sought,  
 " And there the children of the village taught ;  
 " There, firm and patient, Lucy still depends  
 " Upon her efforts, not upon her friends ;  
 " She is with persevering strength endued,  
 " And can be cheerful—for she will be good.  
 " Jane too will strive the daily tasks to share,  
 " That so employment may contend with care ;  
 " Not power, but will, she shows, and looks about  
 " On her small people, who come in and out ;  
 " And seems of what they need, or she can do, in doubt.  
 " There sits the chubby crew on seats around,  
 " While she, all rueful at the sight and sound,  
 " Shrinks from the free approaches of the tribe,  
 " Whom she attempts lamenting to describe,  
 " With stains the idlers gather'd in their way,  
 " The simple stains of mud, and mould, and clay,  
 " And compound of the streets, of what we dare not say ;  
 " With hair uncomb'd, grimed face, and piteous look,  
 " Each heavy student takes the odious book,  
 " And on the lady casts a glance of fear,  
 " Who draws the garment close as he comes near ;  
 " She then for Lucy's mild forbearance tries,  
 " And from her pupils turns her brilliant eyes,  
 " Making new efforts, and with some success,  
 " To pay attention while the students guess ;  
 " Who to the gentler mistress fain would glide,  
 " And dread their station at the lady's side." I. pp. 205, 206.



Her fancy, too, is at times a little touched with her afflictions—and she writes wild and melancholy verses. The wanderings of her reason are represented in a very affecting manner;—but we rather chuse to quote the following verses, which appear to us to be eminently beautiful, and make us regret that Mr Crabbe should have indulged us so seldom with those higher lyrical effusions.

- “ Let me not have this gloomy view,  
 “ About my room, around my bed ;  
 “ But morning roses, wet with dew,  
 “ To cool my burning brows instead.  
 “ As flow’rs that once in Eden grew,  
 “ Let them their fragrant spirits shed,  
 “ And every day the sweets renew,  
 “ Till I, a fading flower, am dead.  
 “ Oh ! let the herbs I loved to rear  
 “ Give to my sense their perfumed breath ;  
 “ Let them be placed about my bier,  
 “ And grace the gloomy house of death,  
 “ I’ll have my grave beneath an hill,  
 “ Where, only Lucy’s self shall know  
 “ Where runs the pure pellucid rill  
 “ Upon its gravelly bed below ;  
 “ There violets on the borders blow,  
 “ And insects their soft light display,  
 “ Till as the morning sun-beams glow,  
 “ The cold phosphoric fires decay.  
 “ That is the grave to Lucy shown,  
 “ The soil a pure and silver sand,  
 “ The green cold moss above it grown,  
 “ Unpluck’d of all but maiden hand :  
 “ In virgin earth, till then unturn’d,  
 “ There let my maiden form be laid,  
 “ Nor let my changed clay be spurn’d,  
 “ Nor for new guest that bed be made.  
 “ There will the lark,—the lamb, in sport,  
 “ In air,—on earth,—securely play,  
 “ And Lucy to my grave resort,  
 “ As innocent, but not so gay.  
 “ I will not have the churchyard ground,  
 “ With bones all black and ugly grown,  
 “ To press my shivering body round,  
 “ Or on my wasted limbs be thrown.  
 “ With ribs and skulls I will not sleep,  
 “ In clammy beds of cold blue clay,  
 “ Through which the ringed earth-worms creep,  
 “ And on the shrouded bosom prey ;

" I will not have the bell proclaim  
 " When those sad marriage rites begin,  
 " And boys, without regard or shame,  
 " Press the vile mouldering masses in.  
 " Say not, it is beneath my care ;  
 " I cannot these cold truths allow ;  
 " These thoughts may not afflict me there,  
 " But, O ! they vex and tease me now.  
 " O ! take me from a world I hate,  
 " Men cruel, selfish, sensual, cold ;  
 " And, in some pure and blessed state,  
 " Let me my sister minds behold :  
 " From gross and sordid views refined,  
 " Our heaven of spotless love to share,  
 " For only generous souls design'd,  
 " And not a man to meet us there." I. pp. 212-215.

' The Preceptor Husband ' is exceedingly well managed—but it is rather too facetious for our present mood. The old bachelor, who had been five times on the brink of matrimony, is mixed up of sorrow and mirth ;—but we cannot make room for any extracts, except the following inimitable description of the first coming on of old age,—though we feel assured, somehow, that this malicious observer has mistaken the date of these ugly symptoms ; and brought them into view nine or ten, or, at all events, six or seven years too early.

" Six years had past, and forty ere the six,  
 " When Time began to play his usual tricks :  
 " The locks once comely in a virgin's sight,  
 " Locks of pure brown, display'd th' encroaching white ;  
 " The blood once furvid now to cool began,  
 " And Time's strong pressure to subdue the man :  
 " I rode or walk'd as I was wont before,  
 " But now the bounding spirit was no more ;  
 " A moderate pace would now my body heat,  
 " A walk of moderate length distress my feet.  
 " I show'd my stranger-guest those hills sublime,  
 " But said, ' the view is poor, we need not climb.'  
 " At a friend's mansion I began to dread  
 " The cold neat parlour, and the gay glazed bed ;  
 " At home I felt a more decided taste,  
 " And must have all things in my order placed ;  
 " I ceased to hunt, my horses pleased me less,  
 " My dinner more ; I learn'd to play at chess ;  
 " I took my dog and gun, but saw the brute  
 " Was disappointed that I did not shoot ;  
 " My morning walks I now could bear to lose  
 " And bless'd the shower that gave me not to choose ;

" In fact, I felt a languor stealing on ;  
 " The active arm, the agile hand were gone ;  
 " Small daily actions into habits grew,  
 " And new dislike to forms and fashions new ;  
 " I loved my trees in order to dispose,  
 " I number'd peaches, look'd how stocks arose,  
 " Told the same story oft—in short, began to prose."

I. 260, 261.

'The Maid's Story' is rather long—though it has many passages that must be favourites with Mr Crabbe's admirers. 'Sir Owen Dale' is too long also ; but it is one of the best in the collection, and must not be discussed so shortly. Sir Owen, a proud, handsome man, is left a widower at forty-three, and is soon after jilted by a young lady of twenty, who, after amusing herself by encouraging his assiduities, at last meets his long expected declaration with a very innocent surprise at finding her familiarity with 'such an old friend of her father's' so strangely misconstrued ! The knight, of course, is furious ;—and, to revenge himself, looks out for a handsome young nephew, whom he engages to lay siege to her, and, after having won her affections, to leave her, as he had been left. The lad rashly engages in the adventure ; but soon finds his pretended passion turning into a real one—and entreats his uncle, on whom he is dependent, to release him from the unworthy part of his vow. Sir Owen, still mad for vengeance, rages at the proposal ; and, to confirm his relentless purpose, makes a visit to one who had better cause, and had formerly expressed equal thirst for revenge. This was one of the higher class of his tenantry—an intelligent, manly, good-humoured farmer, who had married the vicar's pretty niece, and lived in great comfort and comparative elegance, till an idle youth seduced her from his arms, and left him in rage and misery. It is here that the interesting part of the story begins ; and few things can be more powerful or striking than the scenes that ensue. Sir Owen inquires whether he had found the objects of his just indignation. He at first evades the question ; but at length opens his heart, and tells him all. We can afford to give but a small part of the dialogue.

" Twice the year came round—

" Years hateful now—ere I my victims found ;  
 " But I did find them, in the dungeon's gloom  
 " Of a small garret—a precarious home,  
 " For that depended on the weekly pay,  
 " And they were sorely frighten'd on the day ;  
 " But there they linger'd on from week to week,  
 " Haunted by ills of which 'tis hard to speak,  
 " For they are many and vexatious all,  
 " The very smallest—but they none were small.

" The roof, unceil'd in patches, gave the snow  
 " Entrance within, and there were heaps below ;  
 " I pass'd a narrow region dark and cold,  
 " The strait of stairs to that infectious hold ;  
 " And, when I enter'd, misery met my view  
 " In every shape she wears, in every hue,  
 " And the bleak icy blast across the dungeon flew ;  
 " There frown'd the ruin'd walls that once were white ;  
 " There gleam'd the panes that once admitted light ;  
 " There lay unsavoury scraps of wretched food ;  
 " And there a measure, void of fuel, stood ;  
 " But who shall part by part describe the state  
 " Of these, thus follow'd by relentless fate ?  
 " All, too, in winter, when the icy air  
 " Breathed its black venom on the guilty pair.  
 " And could you know the miseries they endured,  
 " The poor, uncertain pittance they procured ;  
 " When, laid aside the needle and the pen,  
 " Their sickness won the neighbours of their den,  
 " Poor as they are, and they are passing poor,  
 " To lend some aid to those who needed more :  
 " Then, too, an ague with the winter came,  
 " And in this state—that wife I cannot name  
 " Brought forth a famish'd child of suffering and of shame.  
 " This had you known, and traced them to this scene,  
 " Where all was desolate, defiled, unclean,  
 " A fireless room, and, where a fire had place,  
 " The blast loud howling down the empty space,  
 " You must have felt a part of the distress,  
 " Forgot your wrongs, and made their suffering less ! "  
 " In that vile garret, which I cannot paint—  
 " The sight was loathsome, and the smell was faint ;  
 " And there that wife,—whom I had loved so well,  
 " And thought so happy, was condemn'd to dwell ;  
 " The gay, the grateful wife, whom I was glad  
 " To see in dress beyond our station clad,  
 " And to behold among our neighbours fine,  
 " More than perhaps became a wife of mine :  
 " And now among her neighbours to explore,  
 " And see her poorest of the very poor !  
 " There she reclined unmoved, her bosom bare  
 " To her companion's unimpassion'd stare,  
 " And my wild wonder :—Seat of virtue ! chaste  
 " As lovely once ! O ! how wert thou disgraced !  
 " Upon that breast, by sordid rags defiled,  
 " Lay the wan features of a famish'd child ;—

" That sin-born babe in utter misery laid,  
 " Too feebly wretched even to cry for aid ;  
 " The ragged sheeting, o'er her person drawn,  
 " Served for the dress that hunger placed in pawn.  
 " At the bed's feet the man reclined his frame :  
 " Their chairs were perish'd to support the flame  
 " That warm'd his agued limbs ; and, sad to see,  
 " That shook him fiercely as he gazed on me, &c,  
 " She had not food, nor aught a mother needs,  
 " Who for another life and dearer feeds :  
 " I saw her speechless ; on her wither'd breast  
 " The wither'd child extended, but not prest,  
 " Who sought, with moving lip and feeble cry,  
 " Vain instinct ! for the fount without supply.  
 " Sure it was all a grievous, odious scene,  
 " Where all was dismal, melancholy, mean,  
 " Foul with compell'd neglect, unwholesome, and unclean ;  
 " That arm,—that eye,—the cold, the sunken cheek,—  
 " Spoke all, Sir Owen—fiercely miseries speak ! "  
 " And you relieved ? "

" If hell's seducing crew  
 " Had seen that sight, they must have pitied too. "  
 " Revenge was thine—thou hadst the power, the right ;  
 " To give it up was Heaven's own act to slight. "  
 " Tell me not, Sir, of rights, and wrongs, or powers !  
 " I felt it written—Vengeance is not ours ! "—  
 " Then did you freely from your soul forgive ? "—  
 " Sure as I hope before my Judge to live,  
 " Sure as I trust his mercy to receive,  
 " Sure as his word I honour and believe,  
 " Sure as the Saviour died upon the tree  
 " For all who sin,—for that dear wretch and me,—  
 " Whom never more on earth will I forsake or see. "

Sir Owen softly to his bed adjourn'd,  
 Sir Owen quickly to his home return'd ;  
 And all the way he meditating dwelt  
 On what this man in his affliction felt ;  
 How he, resenting first, forbore, forgave,

His passion's lord, and not his anger's slave." II. pp. 36—46.

We always quote too much of Mr Crabbe:—perhaps because the pattern of his Arabesque is so large, that there is no getting a fair specimen of it without taking in a good space. But we must take warning this time, and forbear—or at least pick out

but a few little morsels as we pass hastily along. One of the best managed of all the tales, is that entitled 'Delay has Danger;'—which contains a very full, true, and particular account of the way in which a weakish, but well meaning young man, engaged on his own suit to a very amiable girl, may be seduced, during her unlucky absence, to entangle himself with a far inferior person, whose chief seduction is her apparent humility and devotion to him. The introduction to this story is in Mr Crabbe's best style of concise and minute description.

' Three weeks had past, and Richard rambles now  
Far as the dinners of the day allow ;  
He rode to Farley Grange and Finley Mere,  
That house so ancient, and that lake so clear :  
He rode to Ripley through that river gay,  
Where in the shallow stream the loaches play,  
And stony fragments stay the winding stream,  
And gilded pebbles at the bottom gleam,  
Giving their yellow surface to the sun,  
And making proud the waters as they run :  
It is a lovely place, and at the side  
Rises a mountain-rock in rugged pride ;  
And in that rock are shapes of shells, and forms  
Of creatures in old worlds, of nameless worms,  
Whose generations lived and died ere man,  
A worm of other class, to crawl began.' pp. 51, 52.

We cannot give any part of the long and finely converging details by which the catastrophe is brought about: But we are tempted to venture on the catastrophe itself, for the sake chiefly of the right English melancholy autumnal landscape with which it concludes.

' In that weak moment, when disdain and pride,  
And fear and fondness, drew the man aside,  
In this weak moment—" Wilt thou," he began,  
" Be mine ? " and joy o'er all her features ran ;  
" I will ! " she softly whisper'd ; but the roar  
Of cannon would not strike his spirit more ;  
Ev'n as his lips the lawless contract seal'd  
He felt that conscience lost her seven-fold shield,  
And honour fled ; but still he spoke of love,  
And all was joy in the consenting dove.

' That evening all in fond discourse was spent,  
When the sad lover to his chamber went,  
To think on what had past, to grieve and to repent :  
Early he rose, and look'd with many a sigh  
On the red light that fill'd the eastern sky ;  
Oft had he stood before, alert and gay,  
To hail the glories of the new-born day :

But now dejected, languid, listless, low,  
 He saw the wind upon the water blow,  
 And the cold stream curl'd onward as the gale  
 From the pine-hill blew harshly down the dale;  
 On the right side the youth a wood survey'd,  
 With all its dark intensity of shade;  
 Where the rough wind alone was heard to move,  
 In this, the pause of nature and of love,  
 When now the young are rear'd, and when the old,  
 Lost to the tie, grow negligent and cold—  
 Far to the left he saw the huts of men,  
 Half hid in mist, that hung upon the fen;  
 Before him swallows, gathering for the sea,  
 Took their short flights, and twitter'd on the lea;  
 And near the bean-sheaf stood, the harvest done,  
 And slowly blackened in the sickly sun;  
 All these were sad in nature, or they took  
 Sadness from him, the likeness of his look,  
 And of his mind—he ponder'd for a while,  
 Then met his Fanny with a borrow'd smile.' II. pp. 84, 85.

The moral autumn is quite as gloomy, and far more hopeless.

' Five years had past, and what was Henry then?  
 The most repining of repenting men;  
 With a fond, teasing, anxious wife, afraid  
 Of all attention to another paid;  
 Yet powerless she her husband to amuse,  
 Lives but to intreat, implore, resent, accuse:  
 Jealous and tender, conscious of defects,  
 She merits little, and yet much expects;  
 She looks for love that now she cannot see,  
 And sighs for joy that never more can be;  
 On his retirements her complaints intrude,  
 And fond reproof endears his solitude:  
 While he her weakness (once her kindness) sees,  
 And his affections in her languor freeze;  
 Regret, uncheck'd by hope, devours his mind,  
 He feels unhappy, and he grows unkind.

" Fool! to be taken by a rosy cloud;  
 " And eyes that cease to sparkle or to speak;  
 " Fool! for this child my freedom to resign,  
 " When one the glory of her sex was mine;  
 " What fiend possessed me when I rashly gave  
 " My forced assent to be an idiot's slave?  
 " Her beauty vanish'd, what for me remains?  
 " Th' eternal clicking of the galling chains:  
 " Her person truly I may think my own,  
 " Seen without pleasure, without triumph shown:

" Doleful she sits, her children at her knees,  
 " And gives up all her feeble powers to please ;  
 " Whom I, unmoved, or moved with scorn, behold,  
 " Melting as ice, as vapid and as cold." II. pp. 86-87.

'The Natural Death of Love' is perhaps the best written of all the pieces before us. It consists of a very spirited dialogue between a married pair, upon the causes of the difference between the days of marriage and those of courtship ;—in which the errors and faults of both parties, and the petulance, impatience, and provoking acuteness of the lady, with the more reasonable and reflecting, but somewhat insulting manner of the gentleman, are all exhibited to the life, and with more uniform delicacy and *finesse* than is usual with the author.

'Gretna Green' is a strong picture of the happiness that may be expected from a premature marriage between a silly mercenary girl, and a brutal selfwilled boy. The bride thus complains to her parent.

" The boy repented, and grew savage soon ;  
 " There never shone for her a honey-moon.  
 " Soon as he came, his cares all fixed on one,  
 " Himself, and all his passion was a gun ;  
 " And though he shot as he did all beside,  
 " It still remain'd his only joy and pride.  
 " Were he but fool alone, I'd find a way  
 " To govern him, at least to have my day ;  
 " Or were he only brute, I'd watch the hour,  
 " And make the brute-affection yield me power ;  
 " But silly both and savage—O ! my heart !  
 " It is too great a trial !—we must part." II. pp. 132, 133.

And the poet thus candidly states their situation.

' The sullen youth, contending with his fate,  
 Began the darling of his heart to hate ;  
 Her pretty looks, her auburn braid, her face,  
 All now remain'd the proofs of his disgrace ;  
 While, more than hateful in his vixen's eyes,  
 He saw her comforts from his griefs arise ;  
 Who felt a joy she strove not to conceal,  
 When their expenses made her miser feel.

War was perpetual : on a first attack  
 She gain'd advantage, he would turn his back ;  
 And when her small-shot whistled in his ears,  
 He felt a portion of his early fears ;  
 But if he turn'd him in the battle's heat,  
 And fought in earnest, hers was then defeat ;  
 His strength of oath and curse brought little harm,  
 But there was no resisting strength of arm.' II. pp. 134, 135.



'Lady Barbara, or the Ghost,' is a long story, and not very pleasing. A fair widow had been warned, or supposed she had been warned by the ghost of a beloved brother, that she would be miserable if she contracted a second marriage—and then, some fifteen years after, she is courted by the son of a reverend priest, to whose house she had retired—and upon whom, during all the years of his childhood, she had lavished the cares of a mother. She long resists his unnatural passion; but is at length subdued by his urgency and youthful beauty, and gives him her hand. There is something rather disgusting, we think, in this fiction—and certainly the worthy lady could have taken no way so likely to save the ghost's credit, as by entering into *such* a marriage—and she confessed as much, it seems, on her deathbed.

"———O! my God, what shame,  
 "What years of torment from that frailty came;  
 "That husband-son!—I will my fault review;  
 "What did he not that men or monsters do?  
 "His day of love, a brief autumnal day,  
 "Ev'n in its dawning hasten'd to decay;  
 "Doom'd from our odious union to behold  
 "How cold he grew, and then how worse than cold;  
 "Eager he sought me, eagerly to shun,  
 "Kneeling he woo'd me, but he scorn'd me, won;  
 "The tears he caused served only to provoke  
 "His wicked insult o'er the heart he broke;  
 "My fond compliance served him for a jest,  
 "And sharpen'd scorn——'I ought to be distress'd,  
 "Why did I not with my chaste ghost comply!  
 "And with upbraiding scorn he told me why;—  
 "O! there was grossness in his soul; his mind  
 "Could not be raised, nor soften'd, nor refined.  
 "Twice he departed in his rage, and went  
 "I know not where, nor how his days were spent;  
 "Twice he return'd a suppliant wretch, and craved,  
 "Mean as profuse, the trifle I had saved." II. pp. 183, 184

'The Widow,' with her three husbands, is not quite so lively as the wife of Bath with her five:—but it is a very amusing, as well as a very instructive legend, and exhibits a rich variety of those striking intellectual portraits which mark the hand of our poetical Rembrandt. The serene close of her eventful life, is highly exemplary. After carefully collecting all her dowers and jointures,

'The widow'd lady to her cot retired,  
 And there she lives delighted and admired;

Civil to all, compliant and polite,  
 Disposed to think "whatever is, is right."  
 At home awhile—she in the autumn finds  
 The sea an object for reflecting minds,  
 And change for tender spirits: There she reads,  
 And weeps in comfort in her graceful weeds! II. p. 213.

'Ellen' is a painful story—and not quite intelligible. A charming young woman falls in love with her brother's tutor—and he, despairing of her father's consent, manfully tears himself from her, and goes to push his fortune in a foreign land. After many years, he hears that her father is dead, and she living in quiet but melancholy independence. He flies to her abode, and sends in his name; but her servant brings for answer, that she knows no such person—on which he flies off again in scorn and agony, and dies broken hearted—while she pines and pines for his loss—and is about to follow him, when her story is told by the older brother, in whose neighbourhood she dwells. Not the least explanation is given of the extraordinary message which produced all this misery; and though there are some striking touches of passion, and some fine description in this poem, it is by far the least satisfactory of any in the collection.

'William Bailey' is the best of the tales of humble life that we find in these volumes; and is curiously and characteristically compounded of pathos and pleasantry,—affecting incidents, and keen and sarcastic remarks: But it would take too much room to give any intelligible account of it. 'The Cathedral Walk' has something of the same character; though what it has of story is of far inferior interest, and in truth poor enough.—The following seems to us, however, a fine opening of the scene for a ghost story.

In an autumnal evening, cool and still,  
 The sun just dropp'd beneath a distant hill  
 The children gazing on the quiet scene,  
 Then rose in glory Night's majestic queen;  
 And pleasant was the chequer'd light and shade  
 Her golden beams and maple shadows made;  
 An ancient tree that in the garden grew,  
 And that fair picture on the gravel threw.  
 Then all was silent, save the sounds that make  
 Silence more awful, while they faintly break;  
 The frighten'd bat's low shriek, the beetle's hum,  
 With nameless sounds we know not whence they come

Such was the evening; and that ancient seat  
 The scene where then some neighbours chanced to meet

Up to the door led broken steps of stone,  
 Whose dewy surface in the moonlight shone;  
 On vegetation, that with progress slow  
 Where man forbears to fix his foot, will grow;  
 The window's depth and dust repell'd the ray  
 Of the moon's light and of the setting day;  
 Pictures there were, and each display'd a face  
 And form that gave their sadness to the place;  
 The frame and canvas show'd that worms unseen,  
 Save in their works, for years had working been;  
 A fire of brushwood on the irons laid  
 All the dull room in fitful views display'd,  
 And with its own wild light in fearful forms array'd.'

II. 278, 279.

The last regular Tale is 'The Poachers;' and it is sad and tragical.—The prologue, we think, is striking.

'There was a widow in the village known  
 To our good Squire, and he had favour shown  
 By frequent bounty—She as usual came,  
 And Richard saw the worn and weary frame,  
 Pale cheek, and eye subdued, of her whose mind  
 Was grateful still, and glad a friend to find,  
 Though to the world long since and all its hopes resign'd  
 Her easy form, in rustic neatness clad,  
 Was pleasing still! but she for ever sad.

"Deep is her grief?" said Richard—"Truly deep,

"And very still, and therefore seems to sleep;

"To borrow simile, to paint her woes,

"Theirs, like the river's motion, seems repose,

"Making no petty murmuring,—settled, slow,

"They never waste, they never overflow.

"Rachel is one of those—for there are some

"Who look for nothing in their days to come,

"No good nor evil, neither hope nor fear,

"Nothing remains or cheerful or severe;

"One day is like the past, the year's sweet prime

"Like the sad fall,—for Rachel heeds not time;

"Nothing remains to agitate her breast,

"Spent is the tempest, and the sky at rest;

"But while it raged her peace its ruin met,

"And now the sun is on her prospects set;—

"Leave her, and let us her distress explore.

"She heeds it not—she has been left before." II. 297, 298.

Her story is frightful.—She was courted by two brothers, one of whom was a poacher, and one a gamekeeper.—She loves the poacher.—But his irregularities put his life in danger from the law; while his rival brother, who is the prosecutor, makes

her marriage with him the condition of his forbearance. The devoted woman consults her imprisoned lover, in a scene that will almost bear a comparison with that between Isabella and Claudio;—and he, like Claudio, submits to purchase his life by that terrible sacrifice.

“ Farewell ! ” she said, with kindness, but not fond,—  
And put her tenderness apart, to give  
Advice to one, who so desired to live. ’

The advice and the sacrifice are both in vain. The outlaw returns to his guilty practices—and the brothers fall by each other's hands in a midnight encounter, and are found bleeding by their distracted victim.—The epilogue is mild and solemn, and in perfect harmony with the whole strain of the fable.

As men will children at their sports behold,  
And smile to see them, though unmoved and cold,  
Smile at the recollected games, and then  
Depart and mix in the affairs of men :  
So Rachel looks upon the world, and sees  
It cannot longer pain her, longer please,  
But just detain the passing thought, or cause  
A gentle smile of pity or applause ;  
And then the recollected Soul repairs

Her shivering hope, and heeds her own affairs. ’ II. 326.

The concluding tale is but the end of the visit to the Hall, and the settlement of the younger brother near his senior, in the way we have already mentioned. It contains no great matter: but there is so much good nature and goodness of heart about it, that we cannot resist the temptation of gracing our exit with a bit of it. After a little raillery, the elder brother says—

“ We part no more, dear Richard ! thou wilt need  
“ Thy Brother's help to teach thy boys to read ;  
“ And I should love to hear Matilda's psalm,  
“ To keep my spirit in a morning calm,  
“ And feel the soft devotion that prepares  
“ The soul to rise above its earthly cares ;  
“ Then thou and I, an independent two,  
“ May have our parties, and defend them too ;  
“ Thy liberal notions, and my loyal fears,  
“ Will give us subjects for our future years ;  
“ We will for truth alone contend and read,  
“ And our good Jacques shall oversee our creed. ” II. 348, 349.

And then, after leading him up to his new purchase, he adds eagerly—

“ Alight, my friend, and come,  
“ I do beseech thee, to thy proper home ;  
“ There wilt thou soon thy own Matilda view,  
“ She knows our deed, and she approves it too ;

" Before her all our views and plans were laid,  
 " And Jacques was there t' explain and to persuade.  
 " Here, on this lawn, thy boys and girls shall run,  
 " And play their gambols when their tasks are done ;  
 " There, from that window, shall their mother view  
 " The happy tribe, and smile at all they do ;  
 " While thou, more gravely, hiding thy delight,  
 " Shalt cry ' O ! childish ! ' and enjoy the sight." II. 352.

We shall be abused by our political and fastidious readers for the length of this article. But we cannot repent of it. It will give as much pleasure, we believe, and do as much good, as many of the articles that are meant for their gratification ; and, if it appear absurd to quote so largely from a popular and accessible work, it should be remembered, that no work of this magnitude passes into circulation with half the rapidity of our Journal—and that Mr Crabbe is so unequal a writer, and at times so unattractive, as to require, more than any other of his degree, some explanation of his system, and some specimens of his powers, from those experienced and intrepid readers whose business it is to pioneer for the lazier sort, and to give some account of what they are to meet with on their journey. To be sure, all this is less necessary now than it was on Mr Crabbe's first reappearance nine or ten years ago ; and though it may not be altogether without its use even at present, it may be as well to confess, that we have rather consulted our own gratification than our readers' improvement, in what we have now said of him and hope they will forgive us.

ART. VIII. 1. *Facts illustrative of the Treatment of Napoleon Buonaparte in St Helena ; being the Result of minute Inquiries and personal Research in that Island. With three Views.* 8vo. pp. 146. London, Stockdale. 1819.

2. *An Exposition of some of the Transactions that have taken place at St Helena, since the Appointment of Sir Hudson Lowe Governor of that Island ; in Answer to an anonymous Pamphlet, entitled, ' Facts illustrative of the Treatment of Napoleon Buonaparte ; corroborated by various official Documents, Correspondence, ' &c. By BARRY G. O'MEARA, late Surgeon to Napoleon.* Second Edition. 8vo. pp. 233. London, Ridgway 1819.

**I**T is some time since we performed a painful duty, imposed upon us by a regard for the character of the country, in calling the public attention to a subject equally delicate and important—the treatment of Buonaparte in his captivity. The

right to detain him as long as the repose of the Continent imperiously demands it, we took to be undeniable :—and the necessity of all those measures without which his safe custody could not be guaranteed, we deemed to be a sufficient justification of them : But we endeavoured to show, that the right terminated with the necessity ; that every severity which could be dispensed with, was criminal ; and that it was above all things incumbent on the Government of this country so to carry itself, as to leave not the shadow of suspicion as to the manner in which it discharged the invidious office which it has assumed, of jailor over a fallen enemy. It seemed that the disclosures then made by Mr O'Meara, made a case which imperiously demanded inquiry. He was proved, by unexceptionable testimony, to be an officer of unimpeached character ; and he publicly, and with his name, brought charges against Sir Hudson Lowe, which required an explanation or answer. The public naturally awaited with some impatience the appearance of the Governor's case ; and it was a most untoward circumstance, to say the least of it, that, instead of inquiring into the charges, the Ministers thought fit to punish the accuser, and at once put an end to the only chance of a full investigation, by dismissing him from the service. It is true, that a reason was assigned for this act of rigour. Mr O'Meara had, upon being sent away from St Helena by Sir Hudson Lowe, made a most serious imputation against him in a memorial to the Admiralty ; and he was informed that he had got into a dilemma ; that the imputation was necessarily either true or false ; if false, he deserved to be dismissed as a calumniator ; if true, he merited the same punishment for having so long delayed to prefer the charge ! But it never seems to have struck those acute logicians, that the charge might be true, and yet that Mr O'Meara might have the most solid reasons for not sooner bringing it forward ; and although the bare possibility of his having this defence, ought in common justice to have suspended the sentence, or at least the execution of it, until he had an opportunity of vindicating himself, the reason upon paper seemed so satisfactory, that not one hour's delay was granted between the premises and the conclusion ; and this deserving officer was at once ruined without a hearing.

We confess, however, that, in our view of the subject, the hardship of this gentleman's case is a matter of very inferior moment ; nay, we may, for argument's sake, admit that his conduct was blameworthy, and would have justified, in an ordinary case, the measure of summary justice which was meted out to him. The question still remains, Did the Government take the course most likely to satisfy *the world* of their perfect innocence in all

that regards Buonaparte's treatment? For that is the issue upon which every thing relating to this subject must obviously be put. It is one of the cases in which appearances must be considered as well as realities; in which the sense of the world must be taken, and the feelings of mankind consulted, as well as our own reason and conscience; in which we must not only be sure that we are acting right, but have a care that every one is satisfied of this, as well as we ourselves. Now, could any thing tend more to create suspicion, than the sudden punishment of the accuser, while in the act of preferring his complaint? Grant that he had misconducted himself, and that he had thus given his employers a right to dismiss him; surely they were not *bound* to do so, until they had first given him every opportunity of making good his charges; and their readiness to stigmatize, and even silence him, in this way, wore any appearance but that of an anxiety to meet and to defy him.

At length, after a long delay, came forth the pamphlet which is placed first in the title of this article; and it is the only defence of Sir Hudson Lowe which has, to our knowledge, yet appeared. It touches upon the points which are apparently deemed the strong ones of his case; but it leaves many of the charges wholly unanswered; and some of the principal ones, as the treatment of Mr O'Meara, the evidence of which we formerly analyzed, are not so much as mentioned. Instead of these things, however, we have a most profuse and fulsome panegyric of the Governor and his family; and not only are all the parts of his public conduct the theme of unceasing praise, but he is liberally endowed by this friendly pen with every private quality of the head and the heart which can make an individual beloved or respected. The reader may desire a glimpse of so much perfection; and as it is rare among mortal men, we cannot but indulge him.

'In whose hands, then, could the necessary powers be better placed, than in those of one who unites, with the mildest manners, firmness of decision, clearness of mind, and quickness of apprehension? Attached to Prince Blücher through a march of conquests, Sir Hudson Lowe has seen enough of the public career of Buonaparte to enable him to gaze stedfastly on him, and not to be dazzled: of his public disposition, and the sinuosities of his character, he is master. Add to these qualities, the unceasing and unwearied attention to the great object, his safe custody, and the desire to soften, as much as is consistent, the rigour of a confinement imposed by the Kings of the earth on a general enemy to mankind; and little reason will be found, for the sake of humanity, the honour of our national character, or the safety of the prisoner, to induce a change in the

place of confinement, the Governor in charge, or the regulations adopted regarding him.' pp. 127, 128.

Again—'His firmness of duty to his Prince and country, the fortitude of a clear conscience, and the strength of his integrity, will maintain this Governor against the malice of party, or the cavillings of discontent.' p. 128.

'These are sketches; but the following is more of a full length.

'A being not only amiable in the highest degree in private life and general society, but, with a rigid sense of duty, feelingly alive to the peculiar situation of his prisoner, and actively employed in the contrivance of comforts for him. A day scarcely passes in which Sir Hudson Lowe is not personally superintending the building of the new house at Longwood, nor in which he does not endeavour, with perfect regard to his captive's security, to contribute to his accommodation.

'Let us see how Sir Hudson Lowe fulfils all the social duties of life, as father, husband, and friend;—trace him into the bosom of his family, surrounded by all the beauty, accomplishments, blooming gaiety and healthful innocence of its various branches;—let us, while we contemplate this excellent man in his domestic circle, remember the noble traits of munificence which have marked his conduct during his government; and then, for a moment, imagine the heart, in which valour, friendship, and charity flourish, the soil for feelings which could induce him to aggravate wantonly and unnecessarily the pains and privations of a prisoner committed to his charge.

'The instances of Sir Hudson Lowe's munificence to which I have alluded, I could easily record; but the feelings of others are to be spared. Justice demanded that I should say thus much; delicacy forbids my saying more.' pp. 74, 75.

This most amiable of husbands is blessed, as he ought to be, with the most enchanting of wives. The author of some letters on St Helena, had termed her 'a sprightly woman.' But the masked champion of the Lowe family is not satisfied with this niggardly praise: nay, he is indignant at the 'application of such a term' to 'an accomplished woman, possessing a power of fascination, with which she gladdens every circle of which she is the centre.' As Sir Hudson's whole soul is filled with humanity towards his prisoners, and his time devoted to promote their comfort, so, Lady Lowe's study is, to load them with attentions. But the author's delicacy here again interposes to prevent him from giving particulars. 'There is a sacredness about the very name of Englishwoman' (says he, speaking of her Ladyship), 'which makes it a kind of sacrilege to hold her up to public notice, even to meet with public approbation. It was this feeling which induced me to withhold many traits of female excellence which might have been recorded in this work.'



Therefore he stints himself to a single anecdote; but it is of a truly touching nature. 'On the 11th of November last,' it seems, 'Madam Bertrand sent a note to Lady Lowe, requesting a pattern of dresses worn by her little boy Hudson, in order that *she* might have some made of a similar sort for the young Bertrands;' where Lady L. 'lamented, that, from the lateness of the hour, she should not be able to send the dress to Longwood till the morning!'

The reader is doubtless prepared, by these praises, to find, that he who so sweetly sings them, from the covert of his anonymous shade, is '*unconnected in the remotest degree* with Sir Hudson Lowe, neither asking his favour, nor fearing his anger, but speaking impartially and sincerely, from conviction founded on close observation.' His undertaking the Governor's defence, too, was purely accidental;—'the *merest accident in the world* placed him on St Helena;' he came vehemently prejudiced, of course, against the whole system of treatment adopted towards Buonaparte; he had recently had his 'feelings of indignation rekindled' by Las Casas's book; he was resolved to see the whole truth, and 'cheerfully made up his mind to the task of an inquisitor,' so that 'the view he took was a strict view—a jealous view—not with the anticipation or desire of finding out good traits in the Governor's character, but in the expectation of discovering and exposing bad ones;' and 'in the pursuit of this object,' says he, 'I let no opportunity slip.'

We have already seen how busy and how successful this author has been in discovering the faults of the Governor; and really he seems to have retained about as long, and to as good purpose, the strong 'prepossession in favour of insulted, fallen greatness,' which also influenced him on entering upon his task. In truth, nothing can exceed the scurrility with which he treats the unfortunate prisoners, but the adulation which he pays to their keeper. A generous, or merely good-natured man, would not chuse the present moment even for repeating the invectives which used, in some respects very justly, to be levelled at Buonaparte while in the height of his power, and occupied in directing it against this country. But what shall we say of the spirit which vents itself in vulgar, personal abuse, of one so fallen that the terrors of his name alone remain upon our memory; and which takes every occasion of mocking the very impotence that ought to be his safeguard from insult? There is hardly a page of this performance in which such disgusting exhibitions of ungenerous insolence do not stand out from the other defects of the work, and form its most hateful feature. It seems Buonaparte is by

some spoken of as a 'great man': This silly author, though he solemnly assures us that he went to St Helena full of sentiments respecting 'fallen greatness,' is quite impatient of the epithet, and indulges in a variety of dull and clumsy sneers at the use of it. In opposition to such a manner of speaking, he generally chuses to call him 'the *little* man,' and is full of merriment upon the score of his bodily size, and other peculiarities of outward appearance. Thus, 'a more ungraceful, thicklegged, fat, 'little *fellow*, never existed on the face of the earth.' (p. 29.) At other times, however, he is ironically called 'the GREAT man;' and when his servant is to be described as going to the town, it is 'executing commissions for his *great* master.' (p. 88.) But it seems that Buonaparte must indulge in no jokes respecting men's personal appearance; his once doing so is recorded in a furious tone by this author as 'an unfeeling wound to an unoffending officer's feelings, coming from *this fellow*.' (p. 110.) Not to sicken the reader with more specimens, we shall only give the following choice morsel.

'Buonaparte is no Roman:—It may be confidently relied on, that the man who could scamper from Waterloo to Paris to pack up plate, china, and table linen, as a fellow would rob his furnished lodgings, the night before he had made up his mind to abscond, will never allow himself to be seriously ill, without taking advice from a source which himself allows\* to be highly respectable, and on which all his adherents successfully rely; nor kill himself by inches after his fall, when, with *his* views of religion, he might have ended his life with more *éclat* on the point of his own sword at the moment of his final defeat,—and when he might justly have exclaimed,

—— " *Nimirum hæc die*

" *Unâ plus vixi mihi quam vivendum fuit.* "

'EFFECT! is all he appears anxious about: and he resolutely sacrifices a great deal of comfort for its maintenance. His determined abstinence from riding, with twelve of the best horses which could be procured in his stable, from the doors of wach, for twelve miles, roads have been made, expressly for his use; his relinquishment of gardens teeming with flowers, and in which he had caused an arbour to be built; the refusal to play his favourite game of billiards, in his own house with his own adherents; are so many proofs of his rigid devotion to that system of *charlatanerie* which he calls—*policy*. — pp. 25, 26.

But this scurrility is not confined to Buonaparte; the whole of the French residents are treated in the same manner. Sometimes they are, in derision, 'the *illustrious* exiles;' but, more frequently, 'outlawed followers' and 'denationalized minions.' (p. 53.) They are thus attacked in the mass for irreligion. 'One circumstance strongly marks the general character of

‘ the Longwood Court.—In the recapitulation of all their grievances, or the enumeration of their wants and wishes, none of them have ever expressed the slightest desire for religious assistance. On their departure from England, Madame Bertrand called for cards, and the illustrious Napoléon for a backgammon board; but none of them ever thought of a spiritual comforter.’ (*Facts*, p. 78.) And yet it is well known, that one of the points of controversy between them and the Government, has always been their wishing to have a confessor,—who, it appears by another passage in this very book, is at length sent to them!—But Bertrand is the principal object of abuse. Whenever Buonaparte is by way of mockery called ‘ the Emperor,’ and ‘ his Imperial Majesty;’ Bertrand is the ‘ Grand Marechal du Palais.’ A man, covered with honourable wounds, is in plain terms described as a Coward; and he is stigmatized as a false traitor, for having given a rare instance of generous fidelity, by following the fortunes of his benefactor in distress. The author chuses to assume that he betrayed the King of France, and was proscribed for doing so;—whereas, he never violated any one duty to that monarch. The usual style of vulgar abuse is adopted in speaking of this officer. ‘ This fellow’ (says the writer, p. 45.), ‘ whose insolence and absurd assumption of consequence are perfectly ridiculous, has the faculty of romancing with greater gravity and assurance than the generality of his countrymen:’ And he adds, that no one chuses to transact any business with him but in the presence of a third person. Even his children, and those of Montholon, are called the ‘ little traitors,’ (p. 20.) Mad. Bertrand is plainly described as ‘ long and lanky, and sallow and shapeless, though somewhat interesting.’ (p. 49.) Indeed, although the author professes to hold ‘ the very name of Englishwoman’ in such veneration, that he deems it ‘ a kind of sacrilege to hold her up to publick notice,’ even for the purpose of praising; we find that, practically, this doctrine is enforced only in the case of the Governor’s lady: Almost every other female mentioned by him is ‘ held up’ to scorn. Thus, a person of high respectability, Lady Malcolm, is talked of most slightly, and without the slightest pretext, upon the author’s own showing. But a similar tone pervades the book, wherever any one, not immediately connected with Sir H. Lowe, is mentioned. Nothing can be more offensive, and at the same time more silly, than the remarks made upon all the foreign Envoys and Commissioners stationed in St Helena. The object of all this seems to be, the exalting of the Governor, to whom every thing must be ascribed, and who alone is to be represented as all-sufficing.

In the course of the statement which we have now made, enough has been shown of the performance before us, to satisfy the reader that it comes from a quarter extremely liable to suspicion. That Sir Hudson Lowe has no manner of concern with it, is meant to be inculcated, but is nowhere said distinctly; and we believe no one can read many pages without being convinced that it speaks the language of the Government-House. It adopts the tone which is known to prevail there respecting the French. It shows a familiarity with all Sir H. Lowe's transactions, conversations, sayings, &c. which could scarcely be acquired by a casual visit to the island, or by a slight intimacy even in his house. At the same time, there is a manifest partiality throughout his whole statements, which would detract much from their authority, even if the work were not anonymous; but is necessarily fatal to it, when we recollect, that, by suppressing his name, the author has left us without any other than internal evidence for that perfect fairness and accuracy to which he makes such bold claims. The respectability of his testimony would suffer materially from the unworthy feelings which we have shown to prevail in his manner of treating the subject: But there are things in the work that affect it still more seriously. In order to strengthen his testimony in Sir H. Lowe's favour, and against Buonaparte, he introduces himself as one who began the inquiry with contrary prepossessions respecting both; and particularly with feelings of pity for '*insulted and fallen greatness.*' (p. 53.) But his book, instead of confining itself to disprove the *insults*, which it was possible he might, by actual observation, be made to disbelieve, unwarily sets about denying the *greatness*, which nothing at St Helena could affect either way. No man who reads the sneers at Buonaparte's whole life, and the virulent attacks upon his general conduct, can easily believe that the author of those attacks should have gone to St Helena, a year or two ago, with favourable dispositions towards him. In one place, indeed, the inconsistency breaks out in the most awkward manner. He relates some anecdotes of Buonaparte, which, if true, would prove him to be one of the most brutal of his species, (p. 38. and 39.); and, forgetting that he ought to deny having heard any such things before he went to St Helena, and that Marshall Angereau was dead long before he left it, he unwarily adds, that '*the Mar-*' 'shall is his authority for them;' and thus admits, that notwithstanding all his knowledge of the worst and *littlest* traits of Buonaparte's character, he went to St Helena full of prepossessions in his favour, and of pity for fallen greatness. He declines giving his name, because, he says, it is too obscure to carry

any weight with it. We do not think that this is a very probable reason; but we are sure it is an extremely bad one. The author *must* be aware, that *any name*, how little soever it may be known, adds credit to a statement of facts, unless there be circumstances which discredit the individual; and we can hardly imagine a *good* reason for suppressing the name in publishing a narrative like the present. An anonymous *reasoner* is as good as a reasoner with a name—perhaps better; but an anonymous *asserter of facts* is entitled to no credit, when he is contradicted by a known individual, unless he refer distinctly to accessible proofs of his statements.

The evidence of Mr O'Meara stands in a very different light before the publick. He has come manfully forward, and given all his statements with his name. For whatever charges he brings, he makes himself responsible to the laws of his country; nay, he places himself in a situation peculiarly advantageous to Sir Hudson Lowe, by asserting some things, which, as they passed between him and the Governor alone, it is impossible he should be able to prove were an action brought against him. He has also to rely upon an unimpeached character; and as ample testimony had been borne to it by the distinguished officers with whom he served, the partisan of Sir H. Lowe thinks it expedient to attack by insinuation, him whom he could not venture openly to traduce. We confess that we have read this part of the St Helena pamphlet with feelings of unmingled disgust. The author must have known the respectability of those who had come forward to vouch for Mr O'Meara last year:—and whether he is connected with the Governor or not; whether he writes from instructions or from his own observation, he had been on the footing of close intimacy in that quarter, and heard every thing that was to be said there respecting Mr O'Meara. It is absolutely impossible, therefore, that he should not have heard of the good character borne by him in both the naval and military service. No one in the Governor's family could be ignorant of his respectability as a British officer. What then shall we say of those who could, under such circumstances, build upon the bare similarity of name, the charge, or rather the slanderous insinuation, of having been employed as a spy of the worst description,—one used by the French government in furthering the work of rebellion in Ireland at the beginning of the last war? It seems Goldsmith's '*Secret History of the Cabinet of St Cloud*,' makes mention of one O'Meara as acting in this capacity; and Sir Hudson Lowe's advocate at once hints that it is probably the physician of that same name. This gentleman, with honest indignation, repels so wanton a charge; shortly,

and modestly gives an account of his life, spent in the service of his country, under the eyes of those brave and loyal officers who have so strongly avouched his uniform good conduct,—and demands, most naturally, not only whether any fair antagonist would have launched such a charge without considering the high improbability of one so favourably spoken of, turning out to be the wretch described by Mr Goldsmith, but whether any person should have hazarded such a conjecture, without satisfying himself, at least, that the age of the party brought it within the range of possibility? The truth, it seems is, that at the period in question, Mr O'Meara was twelve years old.\* Not content with this piece of malignity, the St Helena writer, alluding to Mr O'Meara's having once been in the army, broadly insinuates, that he was turned out of it for bad conduct. 'Why he quitted it,' (says he) 'Official documents will show.' (p. 61.) Yet it turns out that he left it in consequence of a Court-martial having administered, in all its absurd and inconsistent rigour, the letter of the military law respecting Duels,—he having been engaged *as second* in one, which, owing to his interference, had *a bloodless issue*. He gives satisfactory evidence that his character suffered no stain from this transaction, by producing a letter in which he is most warmly commended by the highly respectable head of the medical department in Sicily, where he served,—and also by referring to Captain Talbot's honourable mention of him after a service of three years on board his ship. And this is the author who thinks fit to inveigh against what he calls a licentious press, and to complain of the government for '*its apathy*' upon this score.—(*Facts*. p. 73.) In fact, the Government never shows much apathy to any species of libel, except the worst of all, the only kind which can work any serious mischief in a free community,—we mean that defamation which seeks, foully and falsely, to rob individuals of their fair name, and of which the St Helena press has furnished several of the most notable specimens that have for some years past been offered to the publick.

We have mentioned that Mr O'Meara had the misfortune to be engaged in a duel, from performing what he deemed the office of a friend; and we have seen the turn which the champion of Sir H. Lowe attempts to give to this incident. But this, perhaps, is in consequence of his abhorrence of duelling. No such thing;—the only specific charge brought by him against

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\* It appears that Mr Goldsmith has published an advertisement, denying, in the most unqualified terms, that Mr O'Meara is the person alluded to in his book.

Bertrand, is his refusing a challenge, very decorously sent by an officer high on the Governor's staff, and in the actual care of the prisoners; for which the Count is branded with the stigma of cowardice through the whole pamphlet. But here occurs also a memorable instance of the habitual suppression of important facts, which marks that work. It appears, from the documents published by Mr O'Meara, that this same officer took no notice of a letter sent him by Mr O'Meara, to the full as severe as the subsequent one from Bertrand to the Governor, which produced the challenge, (*O'Meara*, p. 80); and also that Bertrand, in refusing to meet the subaltern, distinctly offered to meet his principal. The whole of these proceedings, on both sides, are no doubt highly reprehensible; but they should at least have been given entire; and we deem no part of them more deserving of blame than the conduct of Sir H. Lowe himself, who first communicates to the inferior officer Bertrand's angry letter respecting him, and then extenuates by all manner of apologies (*O'Meara*, p. 89), an act so disgraceful as challenging a prisoner.

The questions chiefly at issue between Mr O'Meara and Sir H. Lowe, relate to the climate of St Helena, the provisions furnished to Napoleon, the general conduct observed towards him, and, above all, to his health.

1. The island is represented by the Governor's advocates as little less than a terrestrial paradise. The trees are thriving and shady; the lawns fresh and green; the water excellent; the air salubrious. Mr O'Meara gives a very different description; and it must be admitted, that, though he sees things through an unfavourable medium, he adduces both facts and unprejudiced authorities in support of his positions to a considerable extent. We regard the healthiness of the situation as the only material part of this discussion, and shall confine ourselves to it. The Governor's party speak of 'the refreshing south-east trade wind rendering the climate healthy and temperate;' though they elsewhere (p. 126) admit, that 'all the houses are *carefully contrived*, so as to have the front towards the *south-east sheltered*.' Mr O'Meara is by no means so favourable to this breeze.

'Reckoning one degree of reduced temperature for every two hundred feet of elevation, there will be found a difference of ten degrees temperature between Longwood, which is about two thousand feet above the level of the sea, and the town; to which may be added two or three degrees more, arising from the sharp South-East wind, loaded with humidity, which generally prevails in the high regions, and the consequent effect of the rapid evaporation, which will make the difference of temperature between it and the valleys amount

to twelve or thirteen degrees ; which is actually the case. Add to the foregoing, the frequent vicissitudes of temperature ; \* at one moment assailed by a shower of rain and fog, to which the strength of the wind communicates such an impetus as to cause it to penetrate the best great coat in a few minutes ; shortly afterwards, the sky brightens, the weather clears up, and the scorching rays of a tropical sun beam forth. This continues for a short time, and is suddenly followed by a repetition of fog, rain, and mist. This alternate drenching and scorching is, of itself, sufficient (as every medical man will allow) to produce the most violent inflammatory affections of the viscera, particularly in those of the abdomen.

‘ Thus, it appears, that St Helena, in addition to the general causes of insalubrity to Europeans, which are inseparable from a tropical climate, has also local and peculiar causes for being particularly unhealthy, as the great mortality, to be hereafter described, amply proves. The most trifling cold, or irregularity, is frequently succeeded by a violent attack of dysentery, inflammation of the bowels, or fever, proving fatal in a few days, if the most active and efficacious practice is not instantly adopted. A surfeit in a child, which in Europe would require nothing more than a little warm water to produce evacuation, there, becomes a formidable disease, requiring the most powerful remedies ; and, if neglected only for a few hours, terminates fatally. To Europeans, the climate is peculiarly unfriendly ; and, indeed, it is unfavourable to longevity in all subjects, even the natives,—as, by an examination of the parish registers, it will be seen, that very few persons pass their forty-fifth year. The most prevalent complaints amongst the human species are, dysenteries, inflammations of the bowels, liver affections, and fevers, all of them of a violent type. Dysenteries, especially, and liver affections (which are indeed frequently combined), appear in the most concentrated and fatal forms ; baffling the prompt exhibition of the most active and powerful remedies ; and, in spite of the acknowledged skill and experience of several able practitioners there, terminating fatally, in a proportion never before witnessed in any British colony.’ *O’Meara*, pp. 47–49.

In support of this opinion, Mr O’Meara cites some very strong facts. A battalion of the 66th regiment lost, in about a year after its arrival, one man in eleven, by the diseases which he enumerates in the preceding passage. A man of war (the *Conqueror*) lost in eighteen months, in the same way, between five and six in a hundred, beside about the same proportion invalided

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\* The range of the thermometer at Longwood is from 53° Fahrenheit to 80° in the shade : though I have seen it for a short time (and that very rarely) as high as 86°, about the hour of three in the afternoon, when the rays of the sun were directed upon the north-west front of the house. In the admiral’s house, which is situated in the centre of James’s Town, its range is from 66° to 100°.



and sent to England. In the West Indies, the proportion of deaths to the strength of the regiment, was, in 1814, about four in a hundred only. The smaller vessels of the squadron suffered all in a degree as high in proportion. He enumerates four, whose strength was 360 men, and who lost sixty-six, beside numbers invalided; although it is well known, that small vessels are very healthy on tropical stations, frequently not losing a man in a year. 'The undeserved reputation (he continues) for salubrity, which St Helena has hitherto enjoyed, has probably arisen from its being so little known, except to seamen and others, who, arriving after long voyages, were enchanted to find themselves on shore anywhere, like Dampier's sailors; and who, during the few days they remained, found themselves relieved from scorbutic complaints by the use of the water-cresses with which it abounds, and from its population being small, and chiefly composed of natives, who, of course, did not suffer so much from the effects of the climate they were born in, as strangers. Until the arrival of the state prisoner, very few Europeans had resided for a continuance upon the island; and I can assert, from personal observation, that the greatest number of those now there, even of the officers, have suffered attacks, more or less severe, either of dysentery or hepatitis; in which number, I regret to say, I was myself included; and that the opinion of the medical officers, who have had the best opportunity of forming a correct opinion from actual experience on the island, is, *that the climate is extremely unhealthy*; and, especially, that hepatitis and dysentery prevail to an extent, and with a severity, not to be paralleled even in India. In order to convince the public, that I neither am singular in my opinions, nor inclined to exaggerate facts, I beg leave to refer the reader to a medical inaugural Dissertation upon Dysentery and Hepatitis in St. Helena, composed for the degree of doctor in medicine in Trinity College, Dublin; a college surpassed by none in profound medical knowledge and learning, and I believe unequalled in the severity of the examination which the candidate is obliged to undergo. The essay in question was written by Dr Leigh, formerly surgeon to the second battalion of the 66th regiment.'—*O'Meara*, pp. 51, 52.

In further confirmation of his opinion, our author cites the authority of Mr Brooke, formerly Secretary of the Government, and now a Member of Council, who, in his account of the island, certainly speaks of the fertility and climate in terms far from favourable; and General Beatson, formerly Governor, who states the humidity to be greater than that of London, in the proportion of 33 to 21.

2. The advocate of Sir H. Lowe describes all the meat furnished to Buonaparte as superior in *quality* to any thing out of Europe, and surpassed by very few countries in it. The greater part of the provisions he pronounces to be delicious, from having eaten the same animals at the Governor's table; the

bread finer than what is consumed there; the water 'pure, fine, and clear.' Now Mr O'Meara positively asserts, that while he was at Longwood, no such meat was used there,—though it was supplied to the Governor's table; that until October 1817, the purveyor had peremptory orders to feed the foreign residents on Benguilla beef, which cost threepence a pound, while eighteenpence was the market-price of Island beef; that frequent representations were made in vain, both by the orderly officer and Mr O'Meara, upon the quality of this meat, which, originally bad, was, when carted up to Longwood in the sun, frequently putrid and unfit for use; that the mutton was of bad quality, from the purveyor being restricted to a lower price than the farmers would take for good sheep; that the same remark applied to the poultry; that damaged, or musty articles, were ordered to be purchased, in like manner, out of the Company's stores, because they could be had somewhat cheaper there than in the shops; that the bread was so bad, that Mr O'Meara occasionally felt obliged to take pieces of it to show the Governor,—and Buonaparte was forced to buy American biscuit; that Sir H. Lowe excused this by abusing the baker, who innocently enough replied, that it was hard to be blamed for 'not making good bread out of bad flour;' and, finally, that the water, conveyed in a new conduit, is, during great part of the hot season, so turbid and nauseous, as, in Mr O'Meara's opinion, to be one cause of the dysentery so prevalent, while the only clear water is brought at the expense of the French themselves.

Next, as to the *quantity* of provisions, the two parties are equally at variance. The St Helena advocate takes, he says, the month of June 1818 at random as a sample, and gives the supplies for that month. Mr O'Meara admits that the quantity varied very considerably, and was capriciously allotted; but he asserts, that in the month so taken as a specimen, a great quantity of wine happened to arrive from Napoleon's sister as a present,—and this swells the account of wine furnished. The former author vaguely mentions the numbers of the French residents, and makes them little more than twenty; the latter, by particular enumeration, shows them to be forty-one. The former allows about twenty-five dozen more of wine in the month than the latter; and adds, that they had as much draught beer as they chose; although Mr O'Meara states it as a notorious fact, that the Government had none at all to furnish. The former says, that they had as much fish as they chose; the latter affirming, that a limited sum of 5s. 8½d. was allowed for this article, and that the purveyor received an official letter, demanding his reasons, if ever he exceeded it. He adds

an account, by which it appears that the French spent near 200*l.* a month in extras. The Governor appears to have descended to the most minute details in regulating this branch of expenditure. Mr O'Meara heard him complain to Montholon of the quantity of fine salt consumed at Longwood, and desire coarse to be substituted as much as possible. He also observed, 'that upon inspecting the washing bills, he found a great charge for shirts, exceeding the rate of one a day for each person, which he deemed quite sufficient, being his own rule.' Our readers are probably sick of these details; but they are not immaterial, as *indices* of the spirit which prevails in that quarter.

It affords a most important commentary upon the accuracy of the statements made in Parliament by Lord Bathurst, on the express authority of Sir Hudson Lowe, that, according to Mr O'Meara, the arrival of the papers in which they were published 'produced some degree of embarrassment and shame in Sir H. Lowe himself, who endeavoured to explain them away, by saying he had no doubt the speech was inaccurately reported, and that the official account would be materially different.' Our author adds, 'For my own part, I most solemnly declare, that I would have infinitely preferred going into action with the enemy, to entering Napoleon's room, when sent for in order to explain some passages in his Lordship's speech. For the first time in my life, I felt ashamed of being a Briton; and in my embarrassment thought, that the best excuse I could offer, was to avail myself of the one invented by Sir Hudson Lowe. —*Je vois,*" said Napoleon, "*avec plaisir, qu'en s'adressant au parlement, à sa nation et à l'Europe, le ministre Anglais a justifié sa conduite atroce envers moi avec des Mensonges—triste ressource qui ne dure pas long-temps.*"

3. Something has already been given in illustration of the general treatment adopted; and indicative, it must be admitted, of a vexatious spirit, at least if Mr O'Meara's account can in any degree be relied upon. We shall now only refer to the absurd restriction so rigorously enforced as to books and newspapers. The St Helena advocate does not deny, that newspapers are in general interdicted; but attempts to justify the prohibition, by an absurd story of communication being held with Buonaparte through the newspapers by preconcerted signals; a sufficient reason for preventing any publication whatever from reaching him, the author of which is not well known to the Government. But, in truth, the restraints, as they were practically enforced, savour more of vexation and mere annoyance, than of any rational plan of security. Mr O'Meara gives some strange instances of this. It seems Mr Hobhouse sent a copy of his Letters on France to Sir H. Lowe, requesting he would give

it to Buonaparte; but no mention of it was made; and, some time after, the book was seen at the Governor's, who said 'he had no idea of allowing Buonaparte to know that works of such a nature were permitted to be printed and sold in England; much less to allow *him to peruse a publication in which Lord Castlereagh was spoken ill of!*' All captains of ships are obliged to submit a list of the books and pamphlets in their vessels; and political works are required to be sent to the Governor, before they can be exposed to sale. 'The whole of the copies of interesting works, particularly any Numbers of the Edinburgh Review, are bought up by Sir H. Lowe and Sir T. Keade, pretending that they are purchased for the use of Napoleon, but, in reality, to deprive him of any possibility of procuring them.' In one instance, five copies of a work were bought up in this manner, not one of which ever reached Longwood. From Sir H. Lowe's arrival in April 1816, to the month of August 1818, only thirty-four volumes had arrived there, and no French papers of any description. Among those books sent out as new, some had been published during Buonaparte's reign. Sir H. Lowe even examines the papers sent out by the Government, and sends such as he pleases, sometimes withholding ten or twelve numbers together. Mr O'Meara was himself forbidden to lend any books or papers, or to communicate to any person at Longwood, information contained in these, 'on pain of being considered a *bearer of unauthorized communications.*' This appears to be an offence created by Sir Hudson Lowe; and the reader will be somewhat surprised to hear, that this great lawgiver has thought fit to make it at once a capital felony. He was pleased to issue a proclamation, declaring, that whoever held any communication or correspondence with Buonaparte, or any of his followers, 'without authority in writing from himself, should be considered as having acted against the provisions and express objects of the acts passed in 1816, and be proceeded against accordingly.'

4. The principal matter of all, however, is the *Health* of this celebrated captive. The Governor's party, in their pamphlet, assert that he never had been better since his arrival, than he was at the date of the last declaration respecting him, at the beginning of winter. But it was impossible for them to have any authentic accounts respecting him, as he had refused to see the medical man sent by Sir H. Lowe. Mr O'Meara, on the other hand, positively asserts, that he left him last summer in extremely bad health; and he gives all the particulars of the disease under which he then laboured—a confirmed liver complaint.

'I can positively aver, that Napoleon Buonaparte had been, for some months previous to my departure from St Helena, affected with

symptoms of confirmed hepatitis; and that, after having given purgatives, and the other remedies usually prescribed in such cases, a fair trial, instead of diminishing, I found that the symptoms of his disease aggravated daily. Apprehensive, therefore, that the result might be fatal, as had so frequently occurred to others afflicted with the same complaint, subsequent to my arrival in the island, I prevailed upon Napoleon to allow me to employ mercurial preparations, which were accordingly commenced on the 11th of June 1817, and continued, with some interruptions, principally produced by a severe catarrh, caused by the dampness and bad state of his apartments, the floors of which are level with the external ground, until my removal from Longwood on the 25th of July following.

‘ On the 10th of July, *alarming symptoms* having appeared, and being anxious about the fate of my patient, as well as my own reputation, reflecting on the insinuations which had been made to me, and the great responsibility attached to the charge of such a patient, I became scrupulously cautious, and insisted upon obtaining, what I had before most forcibly urged the necessity of, viz. the advice and assistance of other professional men; and for that purpose, proposed to call in any of the following medical gentlemen, namely, Messrs Baxter, Stokoe, Livingstone, Henry, and Verling, recommending the two first from their seniority of rank. Napoleon, however, manifested great repugnance to Mr Baxter, whom he designated as having been “*Chirurgien Major d’un regiment dont Sir Hudson Lowe avoit été Colonel, et parcequ’il a assisté à la rédaction des faux bulletins sans avoir vu le malade,*” and for other reasons; but consented to see Mr Stokoe, who was sent for early in the morning. On his arrival, he examined the medical journal of Napoleon’s treatment; but being apprehensive of the resentment which might be wreaked upon him, if his opinion, after seeing Napoleon, were not in unison with the views of others, and possessed of too much honour to sacrifice truth to interested motives, he begged leave to decline seeing Napoleon, unless in the presence of some other surgeon, specifically chosen by Sir Hudson Lowe. After having attentively considered the journal, however, he gave it as his opinion, that the complaint was HEPATITIS, and recommended a continuance of the mercurial plan.’ *O’Meara*, pp. 41—43.

The proceedings of Sir Hudson Lowe respecting the bulletins during this important period, are so strange, that we deem it wholly inconceivable how he can have left them unexplained. They throw a discredit upon every communication which comes from him respecting Buonaparte’s health.

‘ In 1816 Sir Hudson Lowe ordered me to make out, whenever he thought proper, bulletins of the state of Napoleon’s health, from whose knowledge he desired that they might be concealed, and which he sometimes caused to be altered. In September 1817, Napoleon having fallen seriously ill, bulletins were made daily (by Sir Hudson Lowe’s order), and Napoleon became acquainted with their formation

in the beginning of October, through *authorized* persons. He did not like this practice, and thought it was very extraordinary, that his private surgeon should be obliged to make bulletins of the state of his complaints, *unknown* to him; and informed me, that, unless I gave my word of honour I would write no more, without having first obtained his consent (or if he was so ill as to render it improper to consult him, that of Count Bertrand), and also that I should leave the originals in the hands of one of his suite, he would receive me no more. I did not like to enter into this engagement, without first acquainting Sir Hudson Lowe, who returned an evasive answer, and made Napoleon wait a considerable time for a decisive reply. After the latter had been several days without seeing me, Sir Hudson Lowe authorized me to tell him, that no more bulletins should be asked from me, without first making him (Napoleon) acquainted with the demand. Some difficulties had presented themselves in the compilation of the bulletins;—Sir Hudson Lowe insisted, that Napoleon should be styled General Buonaparte in them. After some discussion on the subject, however, Count Bertrand authorized me to drop all titles, and to make use of the word "*patient*." This I communicated verbally to Sir Hudson Lowe, on the 15th of October 1817. All difficulties appeared to be removed by this proposal; and as the originals must have been left in Count Bertrand's hands, there could have been no possibility of causing any falsification of them. Sir Hudson Lowe, however, did not approve of this proposal, and refused to comply with it: consequently *no more bulletins were made by me*. Sir Hudson Lowe then had recourse to an expedient, perfectly consistent with other measures which he had introduced in St Helena, but which I believe cannot be justified by any principle of probity.—*He caused surreptitious bulletins to be made, and employed for that purpose a surgeon who never saw the patient, and who, consequently, could not be a judge of his complaint; which bulletins were sent to England and the different courts of Europe, by Sir Hudson Lowe, and by the Commissioners of the Allied Powers (to whom they were furnished by Sir Hudson Lowe), from November 1817, until April 1818; at which period a discovery of the transaction was made to the French by one of the Commissioners of the Allied Powers (from whom Sir Hudson Lowe had kept secret the mysterious nature of the measure which he had caused to be adopted), having accidentally said to General Montholon, "We saw in the bulletin of this morning, that Napoleon was so and so."* This led to an explanation amongst the parties most interested, and a discovery was made of the expedient which had been adopted by the Governor.—When I resumed my medical functions at Longwood, on the 9th of May 1818, Napoleon, in order to put a stop to the fabrication of any more bulletins, required that I should make out a report of the state of his health weekly (or oftener if necessary), a copy of which should be given to the Governor, if he required it. This I immediately communicated to Sir Hudson Lowe, who not only did not

require it, but *prohibited* me from making any written report whatsoever to him; and even sent back those which I wrote to him, compelling me to come to Plantation House, whenever he thought proper to send for me, to make *verbal* reports, in the presence of a *witness of his own selection*; not failing, according to his general custom, to vent his spleen on me, whenever the caprice or malice of the moment stimulated him.' *O'Meara*, pp. 121—124.

On the 25th of July Mr O'Meara was removed, as we formerly stated, upon the ground, real or pretended, that he refused to repeat to the Governor all the conversation which from time to time passed between Buonaparte and himself. An interval of five months then elapsed, during which Buonaparte refused to see the surgeon appointed by Sir H. Lowe. In January last, according to a letter of Montholon's, he had a very severe attack of an *Apoplectic nature*,—which at one moment was so alarming as to induce a belief that dissolution had taken place. No medical man being near, they called in Mr Stokoe,—who did not arrive however for four hours. The orderly officer was not authorized to send for him without asking the Governor's leave. The Admiral too, was to be consulted, before a navy surgeon could give his attendance; and he lived at some distance. Mr Stokoe was at length permitted to come; and his reports fully confirm Mr O'Meara's account of Buonaparte's disease, with this addition, that 'alarming symptoms of a determination of blood to the head' had been superinduced; and that this malady 'may prove fatal, if medical assistance is not at hand.' These are Mr Stokoe's own words. On his return to the town, he underwent a long and minute examination both by the Governor and Admiral; the former of whom repeated the demand which he had made to Mr O'Meara, that he should give information of all that passed in conversation with his patient. After one or two visits, the treatment which he experienced from Sir H. Lowe, produced a letter to Bertrand from Mr Stokoe, in the following terms.

' *St Helena, January 21, 1819.*

' From the occurrences of to-day, I have strong reason to suspect that my visits to Longwood will be suspended, either by an order from my superiors to that effect, or that the duty will be rendered so unpleasant to me, as to compel me to decline it: in either case, I may not have an opportunity of communicating with you on a subject in which I now feel myself deeply interested.

' I therefore request you will use your utmost endeavours to induce the patient to adopt a course of medicine, which will afford a hope of avoiding the danger he is now threatened with.

' Hepatitis, in any shape, is a disease not to be trifled with in the climate of St Helena; and although the symptoms he has experienced for a long time indicate the chronic stage, there is no knowing

how soon it may change its type, and become fatal. The torpid state of the liver, with the frequent constipated state of the bowels and derangement of the digestive organs, may tend also to increase the natural determination of blood to the head, which showed itself in those alarming symptoms of Saturday night.

‘ I therefore entreat you (if I am not allowed the honour of pre-arranging for him myself) to use every means in your power to obtain his consent for Dr Verling to do so. —(O’Meara, pp. 178, 179.)

A few days after this, Mr Stokoe was informed, that he must either quit St Helena forthwith, or be tried by a Court-martial, for ‘ having given written documents to the French, ’ which, according to the Admiral, (through whom the notification was made), amounted to a disobedience of orders. These documents consisted of the Reports of Buonaparte’s health, and the directions for administering the necessary medicines, copies of which had been given by him to the Admiral also. We cannot close this strange scene better than in the words of Mr O’Meara.

‘ It is very natural to suppose, that the great responsibility felt in attending such a patient as Napoleon, would point out to any medical man the imperious necessity of giving written directions, in order to prevent the possibility of any mistake being made in the administration of the remedies; and to show hereafter, in case of a fatal event, that the mode of practice which had been adopted was correct, and also that no mystery had been made use of with the French, in the treatment of their fallen master. There is but little necessity for any comment upon such conduct. The imputations which are likely to be cast upon the nation by Sir Hudson Lowe’s having removed, in succession, the only medical men in whom Napoleon had confidence, at the moment when he was labouring under a formidable disease, in a climate where it was weekly sending numbers to the grave; and moreover, *directly after Napoleon had experienced an attack of apoplexy*, a repetition of which, if *immediate medical assistance* was not at hand, would most probably prove fatal, are too obvious to escape the observation of the public, which will not fail to form its judgment, in spite of all that either anonymous compilers, or the more accredited agents of misrepresentation and calumny can advance.’—(O’Meara, pp. 181, 182.)

At length, however, it should seem that Sir Hudson Lowe had overstepped the line chalked out by his secret instructions, and had, by his zeal, staggered the courage of his employers. They could not feel quite comfortable under the load of responsibility thrown upon them by this obstinate determination to deprive their prisoner of medical aid in an alarming illness; and though they had borne the dismissal of Mr O’Meara, trusting to the effects of bold official assertion for working the discredit



of his reports, they began to think a second physician joining in the same testimony, and receiving the same treatment for doing his duty, might not be so easily rejected by the public:—So they sent him back to attend his illustrious patient, almost as soon as they knew that their Governor had sent him home.

When Buonaparte was, by the authority of Parliament, confined in St Helena, both they who proposed, and they who acceded to the plan, agreed that his detention, being only justified by necessity, should be limited to the period during which the peace of Europe imperiously required it; and that, while it lasted, it should be accompanied by no one circumstance of rigour, which was not absolutely essential to his secure custody. Whether the time be yet arrived when he may be safely permitted to withdraw, is not now the question; but we have no difficulty in giving our opinion in the negative. The manner of his treatment; the grievous injury which the character of England is suffering in consequence of it, and the still more fatal blow which it may at any moment sustain by his death happening before every mystery, suspicion, and doubt, shall have been thoroughly removed, are the points for the consideration of those who have attended to the foregoing pages, and who value the fair fame of their country.

We have said nothing of the charges brought by the French themselves; we have never cited either the complaints of Buonaparte, or the published statements of his followers: But it is quite impossible to disregard the testimony of Mr O'Meara; and, if it stood alone, we should be clearly of opinion that it rendered inquiry absolutely necessary. He was appointed as medical attendant upon the prisoner, by the Government itself; his professional character is unattacked; his private worth is unstained; nothing deserving of notice has been brought forward to refute him. But he is confirmed in some essential points by the admissions of the Governor's advocates; he is still more supported upon other charges, by the ominous silence which has been preserved; and he is finally, upon the most important matter of all, the health of his patient, backed by the professional reports of his successor. The result of the evidence is undeniable; no man who reads it will entertain any doubt, that much unnecessary restraint, and vexation, is practised; that Buonaparte's health is seriously affected; and that his malady, a disease of the place where we confine him, may at any moment, by changing from chronic to acute, prove fatal. No one can pretend that the privations to which he is subjected, are necessary for preventing his escape, or interrupting

the communication between him and his few remaining partisans in France? What right have we, for instance, to stop the French and English newspapers? What right to refuse him any books he chuses to read? What right to set spies upon his conversation, and to turn off the only medical advisers who have his confidence, merely because they refuse,—like men of honour refuse,—like *Englishmen* refuse,—to perform this base and cruel service? We have possessed ourselves of his person, which we keep, sharing with none other so delicate a charge, and satisfied that we alone can safely be trusted with it. This surety we have taken against his machinations; and, with this, we should rest contented. Let him read as much abuse of his keepers as he can find printed; let him pry into all the European politics that he can discover in all the newspapers; let him vent his own indignation at whom he pleases; let him form what plans he may for his escape, and fill up his hours with scheming new castles in France and Spain;—how does all this bring him nearer the shores of Europe, as long as the strict custody of his person continues unrelaxed? Nay, even were he to be allowed the last of all dangerous licenses, that of calling himself Emperor, and being so addressed by the two followers of whom the population of his empire consists,—we do not think that his Most Christian Majesty would sleep the less secure in the Thuilleries, while our army and navy were employed in making an actual escape physically impossible.

We are persuaded that the influence of Buonaparte's name, and the attachment to his person in France, is now extremely inconsiderable. The substantial blessings of peace and internal tranquillity form a solid foundation for the present popularity of the restored dynasty; the progress of constitutional liberty, which is daily gaining ground by temperate yet effectual improvements in the government, will confirm the new order of things, and prevent any risk of its being shaken, when the advantages of quiet and order which it secured, shall in some measure have lost their influence by being habitually enjoyed. The arrival of the period when the gates of St Helena might safely be thrown open, would be gratifying on every account; but, most especially, because it would relieve the character of this country from a certain degree of odium which must attach to any nation acting the part of jailor to a dethroned and once powerful enemy—an odium which no circumspection can wholly remove, but which the least misconduct may convert into a deep and lasting stain.

In the mean time, we may rest assured, that the people of England, having long since recovered from their fears of this

extraordinary man, are far more inclined to look upon his sufferings with commiseration than with any degree of vindictive delight. It wants only a little continuance of the system now pursued, to render this sentiment universal and vehement. Englishmen are good haters, and warm, even bitter enemies; but they cease to thirst for revenge, the instant that the fight is over: And we are persuaded that, far from approving any measures of unnecessary rigour towards their most illustrious antagonist, they would now rejoice, if the repose of the world were so far secured as to reconcile his liberation with the dictates of a just and wise policy. We have always regarded with pity, the inconsistency of those friends to peace and freedom, who idolized one of the greatest warriors and tyrants of his day. In his downfall, every man of sound understanding and honest principles must rejoice. But they are equally in the wrong, who childishly refuse his place to the most remarkable man of the age, or absurdly view him as the only living patron of despotism and bloodshed; and we do not believe that any considerable portion of thinking men among us will continue to court for their country the invidious charge, of detaining him longer than is absolutely necessary, or will shut their eyes to the still higher necessity of preserving the English Character certainly untarnished—if possible unquestioned—in the performance of such an office.

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- ART. IX. 1. *On some Properties of Light.* By DAVID BREWSTER, LL.D. F.R.S. Edin. (From Phil. Trans. for 1813. Part I.)
2. *On the Affection of Light transmitted through Crystallized Bodies.* By the Same. (From Phil. Trans. for 1814. Part I.)
3. *On the Polarisation of Light, by Oblique Transmission through all Bodies, whether Crystallized or Uncrystallized.* By the Same. (From the same Work.)
4. *Additional Observations on the Optical Properties and Structure of Heated Glass and Unannealed Glass Drops.* By the Same. (From Phil. Trans. for 1815. Part I.)
5. *Experiments on the Depolarisation of Light, as exhibited by various Mineral, Animal and Vegetable Bodies, with a reference of the Phenomena to the General Principles of Polarisation.* By the Same. (From the same Work.)
6. *On the Effects of Simple Pressure in Producing that Species of Crystallization which forms two oppositely Polarised Images.*

*and exhibits the complementary Colours of Polarised Light.*  
By the Same. (From the same Vol.)

7. *On the Laws which regulate the Polarisation of Light by reflection from Transparent Bodies.* By the Same. (From the same Work.)
8. *On the Multiplication of Images, and the Colours which accompany them in some Specimens of Calcareous Spar.* By the Same. (From Part II. of the same Vol.)
9. *On the Action of Transparent Bodies upon differently coloured Rays of Light.* By the Same. (From Trans. of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Vol. VIII. Part I.)
10. *Description of a new Darkening Glass for Solar Observations, which has the Property of Polarising the whole of the transmitted Light.* By the Same. (From the same Work.)
11. *On the Optical Properties of Muriate of Soda, Fluete of Lime, and the Diamond, as exhibited in their Action upon Polarised Light: also a Notice of a New Optical and Mineralogical Property of Calcareous Spar.* By the Same. (From the same Vol.)
12. *On the Laws of Polarisation and Double Refraction in regularly Crystallized Bodies.* By the Same. (From Phil. Trans. for 1818. Part I.)

THE improvements which have of late years been made in Optical Science, well deserve being recorded in this Journal. We purpose, therefore, upon the present occasion, to enter into a short history of them, with the view of continuing it from time to time, as the further progress of discovery may require.

It may be remarked, that, with the exception of Sir Isaac Newton's brilliant discoveries, the exertions of scientific men have done less for Optics, than for almost any other branch of physical science; and, with those discoveries, the progress of solid improvement seemed, till within these few years, to have begun and ended. Nor was this because the attention of philosophers had been less directed to this science than to others. On the contrary, few branches of philosophy have had greater men devoted to their investigation; and it was discouraging enough to think, that while the general improvements in Mathematics had brought Statics, Dynamics and Astronomy, to a very high state of perfection, and even reduced the complicated and perplexing doctrine of Chances to certainty, the phenomena of Light alone, remained imperfectly explained, and apparently

beyond the reach of human calculations. The extreme difficulty of subjecting the properties of light to precise examination, and of establishing general laws by which they might be governed, rendered the researches of philosophers for the most part unavailing; and the fruits of their labours were little more than a mass of experiments, from which little satisfactory or conclusive could be obtained.

Among all the phenomena in Optics, none had puzzled philosophers more than Refraction. Of those who succeeded Des Cartes and Fermat, some attempted to explain the law of refraction, like the latter, by the doctrine of final causes. Supposing that the refracted ray would proceed from one medium to another in the shortest time, Leibnitz conceived that the ray would choose the track which was least difficult; the difficulty of the path being measured by a ratio compounded of its length, and of the resistance of the medium. Among these fanciful and arbitrary hypotheses, that of Huygens—who, though admirable as a geometer and natural philosopher, nevertheless retained many prejudices of the Cartesian school—is more deserving of notice, as it led him to form an hypothesis for explaining the more extraordinary phenomena of double refraction, which, though vague indeed as any of those originating in the principles of Des Cartes, has yet been found to reconcile, in a singular manner, certain anomalous results obtained by our own countryman Dr Woollaston, and afterwards still further to coincide with the experiments of Malus. Our readers are aware, that Huygens supposed light to consist of certain *undulations* of a fluid, highly elastic and subtle, of extreme tenuity, and capable of expanding, in a circular direction, with great rapidity round a luminous centre. Beside this, he conceived each of the circular waves to consist of an infinite number of particular undulations, whose centres were diffused through every part of the expanded fluid, and which altogether united in forming the principal one. The ordinates of the principal undulation were conceived to depend upon the rapidity of those which formed it; so that if, by any means, the velocities of their expansions varied, the direction of the ordinates was changed,—and in the variation of these ordinates the refraction consisted. Thus, where a ray was incident obliquely upon a medium which was more difficult to penetrate, that is, which was denser than the surrounding medium, he supposed it to move more slowly; consequently the expansions extended with less rapidity, the direction of the ray was changed, and the variation which ensued in the ordinates, or the sines of incidence and refraction, were proportional to the re-

sistance the light met with in penetrating the medium. Now, in the case of double refraction;—when the ray entered a doubly refracting medium, such as Iceland spar, Huygens conceived each undulation would assume the form of an oblate spheroid, owing to the internal construction of the crystal: the centre of this spheroid was the point of incidence, its axis parallel to the shorter diagonal of the rhomboid, and bearing to the perpendicular diameter the ratio of about 9 to 10. The extraordinary refraction he conceived to depend upon the ordinate of the generating ellipse, exactly in the same way as the ordinary refraction was made to depend upon the ordinate of the circle.

Wild and fanciful as this hypothesis seems, and altogether repugnant to every rational principle of induction, we cannot be surprised that it soon sunk into neglect:—and it would in all probability have died away entirely, or been remembered only to amuse the speculations of a learned imagination, had not the ingenious experimentalist before mentioned applied it to explain the singular properties of Iceland spar. By a very simple apparatus which Dr Woollaston contrived, he was enabled to measure, with the utmost accuracy, the refractive power of the minutest body, whether solid or liquid. He examined very attentively the construction of Iceland spar; and found, that the deviation of the extraordinary from the ordinary refracted ray, was not a constant angle, as Newton supposed: He found that it depended on the position of the refracted ray; that it was greatest when the ray bisected the obtuse solid angle of the crystal, and least in the transverse direction. In intermediate positions, the angle of deviation followed some law which Dr Woollaston could not detect, but for which he obtained a consistent explanation, by applying the Huygenian hypothesis, that the undulations assumed the spheroidal form on entering the spar. Several years afterwards, M. Malus made some very delicate experiments upon this interesting subject; and the confirmation they afforded to the first coincidence, gave to that wild theory of vibrations a plausibility which it certainly did not before appear to possess. However loath we may be to admit an explanation which borders so closely upon the vagueness of metaphysical reasoning, we must at least allow it the merit of connecting those results, and of affording, though not a very satisfactory one, at least some classification of phenomena which have always baffled the skill of philosophers, and set their industry at defiance. We have only one observation to make before we leave this subject, and enter upon M. Malus's discoveries. We have seen, from Dr Woollaston's experiments, that there is an

increased attraction in the line which bisects the obtuse solid angles of a rhomboid of Iceland spar: the axis of the crystal is also shortest in this direction. Does not this look like a compression of the particles of the spar? And would it not also seem, that this condensation of molecules, by offering a greater resistance to the passage of a ray, causes the separation of the pencil which is not absorbed in the transmission? Or, may not the more close approximation of the molecules cause that part of the crystal to act upon those particles of light which come within the sphere of their attraction, and thereby to occasion a deflection from the natural course of the ray?—We merely offer these suggestions to such as may hereafter enter more fully into this inquiry; while we confidently trust, that the researches which are making, both in this country and on the Continent, will in time afford a full and satisfactory explanation of these mysterious phenomena.

In the scarcity of optical knowledge, it was natural for the scientific world to hail with joy the discoveries which were published about ten years ago, in the *Memoires de la Société d'Arcueil*, by the ingenious Frenchman whose name we have already more than once mentioned. M. Malus, an officer of engineers, who had all his life shown a singular aptitude for scientific pursuits, retired from the French army after the campaign in Egypt; and, returning to Marseilles, devoted his remaining years to the studies in which he so greatly delighted. He was particularly desirous of finding the cause of double refraction; and it was in a course of experiments instituted for that purpose, that he made the remarkable discoveries on which we are about to enter. 'Par des expériences délicates,' says the learned Secretary of the Institute, 'il decouvrait dans la lumière des propriétés remarquables, ou totalement inconnues, ou qui n'avaient jamais été mise en si beau jour, enfin cette ressemblance de la molécule lumineuse avec l'aimant, qui fait qu'elle acquiert des pôles, et une direction déterminée.' His first experiments, and his reasons for giving the name of *Polarisation* to the properties he detected, will best be given in his own words.

'Dirigeons au moyen d'un heliostat un rayon solaire dans le plan du méridien, de manière qu'il fasse avec l'horizon un angle de  $19^{\circ} 10'$ ; fixons ensuite une glace non étamée, de manière qu'elle réfléchisse ce rayon verticalement, et de haut en bas. Si on place au-dessous de cette première glace, et parallèlement à elle une seconde glace, celle-ci fera avec le rayon descendant un angle de  $35^{\circ} 25'$ , et elle la réfléchira de nouveau parallèlement à sa première direction; dans ce cas on n'observera rien de remarquable;

mais si on fait tourner cette seconde glace de manière que sa face soit dirigée vers l'est ou vers l'ouest, sans changer d'ailleurs son inclinaison par rapport à la direction du rayon vertical, elle ne réfléchira plus une seule molécule de lumière, ni à sa première ni à sa seconde surface ; si, en continuant à lui conserver la même inclinaison, par rapport au rayon vertical, ou tourne sa face vers le sud, elle commencera de nouveau à réfléchir la proportion ordinaire de lumière incidente. Dans les positions intermédiaires, la réflexion sera plus ou moins complète, selon que le rayon réfléchi s'approchera plus ou moins du plan du méridien. Dans ces circonstances, où le rayon réfléchi se comporte d'une manière si différente, il conserve néanmoins constamment la même inclinaison, par rapport au rayon incident. Nous voyons donc ici un rayon de lumière vertical qui, tombant sur un corps diaphane, se comporte de la même manière lorsque la face réfléchissante est tournée vers le nord et vers le sud, et d'une manière différente lorsque cette face est tournée vers l'est ou vers l'ouest, quoique d'ailleurs ces faces forment un angle de  $35^{\circ} 25'$ .

Ces observations nous portent à conclure que la lumière acquiert dans ces circonstances des propriétés indépendantes de sa direction, par rapport à la surface qui la réfléchit, mais uniquement relatives aux côtés sud et nord, et différentes pour les côtés est et ouest. En donnant à ces côtés le nom de pôles, j'appellerai *polarisation* la modification qui donne la lumière des propriétés relatives à ces pôles.'

Again, ' Si on présente à ce rayon une glace formant avec sa direction un angle de  $35^{\circ} 25'$  ; et si, sans changer cette inclinaison, on fait alternativement tourner ses faces vers le nord, l'est, le sud et l'ouest, on remarquera les phénomènes suivans ; Il y aura toujours une certaine quantité de lumière réfléchie par la seconde glace ; mais cette quantité sera beaucoup moindre lorsque les faces seront tournées vers le sud et le nord, que lorsqu'elles seront tournées vers l'est et l'ouest. Dans le premier rayon vertical, on observerait exactement le contraire ; le minimum de lumière réfléchie avait lieu lorsque la seconde glace était tournée vers l'est et vers l'ouest. Ainsi, en faisant abstraction, dans le second rayon, de la quantité de lumière qui se comporte comme un rayon ordinaire, et qui se réfléchit également dans les deux sens, on voit que ce rayon contient une autre portion de lumière qui est polarisée exactement dans le sens contraire à celle du rayon vertical réfléchi par la première glace. Si on emploie dans cette expérience un miroir étamé pour disposer les deux rayons parallèlement et dans les mêmes circonstances, c'est afin de rendre l'explication plus claire ; l'action des surfaces n'altérant pas sensiblement le rayon dans cette circonstance, on peut négliger leur influence.'

The leading phenomena, then, may be briefly stated as follows. When a ray of light falls upon a transparent body, so as to be reflected from it, it is modified or affected in such a manner by this reflection, that upon meeting a second transparent body, it will either be reflected or not, according to the side which it presents to it. It will be reflected if it fall upon



that body on either of the opposite sides, but will not be reflected if it fall upon either of the other two, at right angles to the former. Thus, suppose the ray, after being modified by the first transparent reflector, presents itself to the second, so as to be reflected, and call the side of the ray, on which it meets the second reflector, the *north* side; if the second reflector is turned round so that the *east* side of the ray meets it, there will be no reflexion; and in like manner it will be reflected on the *south*, and not on the *west* sides, respectively. The same modification, whatever it may be, prevents the ray from being *doubly* refracted by passing through Iceland crystal, which it meets on two of its opposite sides; but permits it to be doubly refracted by meeting the crystal on the two other sides. And this modification, with respect to double refraction, may be impressed upon the ray by a first double refraction, as well as by reflexion from a transparent body. But where the modification is produced by reflexion, it is most complete at one particular angle of incidence, which varies in different transparent substances.

Now, the existence of this phenomenon is certain; it is a fact that a change takes place in the ray by the operation of the first transparent body; it is a fact that this change has some kind of reference to the four sides of the ray, and affects those sides, at right angles to each other, differently. The observers of these appearances have explained them, by supposing that each particle of light has its adjacent sides endowed with opposite properties, and that the first reflecting, or double-refracting body, turns or arranges all the particles of light in a ray, in such a manner, that their similar sides are presented in the same direction to the second body. Now this arranging or turning of the particles, or this change operated by the first body upon the ray, whatever it may be, is termed, from analogy to the phenomena of magnetism, *polarisation*. \*

Thus, when a ray of light is incident upon a glass plate, at an angle of  $35^{\circ} 25'$ , all the light which the glass reflects is polarised in one direction. Of the light which is transmitted, part is polarised in a direction opposite to the reflected part, and is proportional to that part: the remainder suffers no modification, but proceeds as a directly transmitted ray; and if this unmodified part be received by another glass placed parallel to the first, and be thus decomposed by a second refraction, the same phenomena are again exhibited; in fact they are ren-

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\* Upon this subject, which is not without intricacy, the diligent reader should consult not only the original papers of Malus, but the fourth volume of Biot's *Traité de Physique*.

dered more apparent than by the first arrangement only, of the apparatus; for the light which is polarised by transmission at each passage, is less reflected the oftener it is refracted, and thus the effect in a manner accumulates, and becomes more and more perceptible. It also appears, that when a polarised ray is any how obtained, there is always a corresponding ray polarised in a direction diametrically opposite, and bearing a certain relation to the first. All diaphanous bodies polarise light at certain angles, different for each body; and in every instance there is some angle at which the degree of polarisation is a maximum.

When a ray of light falls upon a rhomboidal crystal of Iceland spar, it is split in its passage through the crystal, one part suffering the ordinary refraction, and therefore, upon emergence, continuing in the direction of the incident ray; while the other undergoes the extraordinary refraction, by which it deviates by a certain angle from the first. An object viewed through this crystal will be seen under two distinct images; and if the crystal be turned about the axis of vision, the object will still appear under the same form. Now, let another rhomboid of spar be placed behind the first, and in a similar position, and the luminous object from which the ray of light proceeds will appear exactly as in the first instance. Hence the pencil, which proceeded in the direction of the ray incident upon the first rhomboid, will continue in that direction; and the pencil, which suffered the extraordinary refraction, will be refracted by the second, but only in the extraordinary manner. But let the second crystal be made to revolve slowly round, the first remaining fixed, and it will appear that each of the pencils begins to separate into two; and when the crystal has turned through an arch of  $45^\circ$ , the separation will be complete; so that there will now be four pencils of rays, and consequently the object viewed through the two spars will appear quadrupled. When the second crystal, proceeding in its revolution, has completed a quadrant, the four pencils are again reduced to two; but with this remarkable difference; that the pencil which suffered ordinary refraction in the first crystal, now suffers extraordinary, *only* in the second; while that which, in passing through the first, underwent extraordinary refraction, now sustains ordinary, *only* while it passes through the second. When the second rhomboid has revolved successively through arches of  $135^\circ$ ,  $225^\circ$ , and  $315^\circ$  degrees, each pencil is wholly split into two, and four images are visible. At the end of half a revolution, the pencils are refracted *exactly* as in the first position: and when an arch of  $270^\circ$  degrees has

been completed, the four pencils have collapsed to two, under the same circumstances as at the end of the first quadrant. The luminous object has then appeared under the forms of two and four images, alternately, as the crystal has been turned through  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{3}{4}$ , and  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a revolution: the pencils which have formed these, and which have been produced by the division and subdivision of the incident ray, being modified according to the particular position of the two crystals: these different modifications of the light, apparently proceeding from some unknown cause, which prevents the ray penetrating the second rhomboid when placed in certain positions with respect to the first.

This is a simple and easily exhibited case of *polarisation*. Again; if the luminous object—for example the flame of a candle—be reflected from water, at an angle of  $52^{\circ} 45'$ , and viewed through a crystal of Iceland spar, in one position of the crystal, two images are seen: let the crystal be turned through an arch of  $45^{\circ}$ ; and one of the images will be found to disappear. After revolving through  $90^{\circ}$ , it becomes visible again; and so on alternately through the other parts of the whole circuit. The light has therefore evidently acquired the same properties as it it had been transmitted through a rhomboid of spar, previous to the second crystal being applied: that is, in being reflected from water at the angle we have stated, it has become *polarised*. It has been found, that the angle at which light must be incident upon the reflecting surface of a transparent body, in order to be polarised in the most distinct manner, varies according to the refractive power of the body.

Independent of the effect which the particular kind of crystallization of Iceland spar may have in producing the phenomena of double refraction, it appears very evident, that the facts we have just stated, point out the existence of certain attractive and repulsive forces which operate upon the particles of light, and thus confirm the Newtonian hypothesis of the materiality and actual emission of light.

These are the remarkable properties which the researches of Malus first detected. Their discovery has opened to philosophers a field of the richest nature—presenting at every step new phenomena—which are developed by experiments of the most entertaining kind—and holding forth to inquirers constant hopes of throwing new light upon a branch of science hitherto considered as obscure and almost inaccessible. But they who rejoice at the prospect thus opened, cannot but deeply lament the hard fate which snatched away, in the prime of his life, the able and ingenious person to whom science has been so largely in-

debated. From what we have seen of his writings, it may safely be pronounced, that, had his life been prolonged, even for a very few years, he would have successfully pursued his inquiries with the same spirit which first excited them. His whole proceedings, indeed, manifest the patience and sagacity that mark the true philosopher; and nothing is more affecting than the unabated ardour with which he continued his investigations to the last, that, even when disabled by sickness from attending the affairs of the Institute, he caused his researches to be regularly read for him by a friend, till very nearly the day of his death. It must next be said, in justice to the living, that much has been done in the subject by the exertions of his followers; and by none more than by those of Dr Brewster. The progress which has been made by the skilful experiments and unwearied attention of that able inquirer, we now proceed to detail.

After Dr Brewster had repeated the experiments of Malus, upon reflexion it immediately struck him, that light would probably receive a like modification when *transmitted* through bodies wholly or imperfectly transparent. A numerous course of experiments, however, appearing to give no new result, he had almost abandoned the inquiry, when a very singular appearance of colour, in a thin plate of agate, was accidentally presented to him. The plate he employed was about the fifteenth of an inch in thickness, and was cut by a plane perpendicular to the laminae of the agate. The agate was very transparent, and gave a distinct image of any luminous object: in addition to this, there appeared on each side of the image another, highly coloured, and forming with it an angle of about 10 degrees; and, what is most singular, these images, when examined with a crystal of Iceland spar, exhibited all the phenomena of polarisation;—they alternately vanished and reappeared as the crystal revolved, just as if the rays had been transmitted, in the first instance, through a prism of doubly refracting spar. When the common colourless image was viewed in the same manner, the like appearances were seen. When the flame of a taper, reflected as in the experiments of Malus before described, is viewed through the plate of agate, a remarkable appearance is observed. If the laminae of which the agate is composed are *parallel* to the plane of reflexion, the image of the taper appears perfectly distinct; but when the plate is turned round, so that its laminae become *perpendicular* to the plane of reflexion, the light which forms the image of the candle is *entirely reflected*, and not a single ray is transmitted, or penetrates the agate. A si-

milan character is observed when an object is seen through two plates of agate; While they are held in such a position that their planes are parallel to each other, the image is seen plainly; but if one of the plates is turned about till its lamiæ are perpendicular to those of the other, then the light is wholly reflected, and the luminous object is no longer visible. There was another appearance observed, of considerable importance, as it seems to throw more light upon the phenomena of double refraction than any experiment yet mentioned. The bright image which was viewed through the plate of agate, appeared surrounded by a large mass of nebulous light, extending about  $7^{\circ} 30'$  in length, and  $1^{\circ} 7'$  in breadth, on each side of the image. Upon interposing a prism of Iceland spar between the agate, and the eye, and turning it slowly round, the nebulous light grew brighter and brighter as the bright image vanished, and became almost imperceptible when the bright image was seen in its fullest lustre. The nebulous light, then, and the bright image, seemed to undergo the same modification as two images formed by a doubly refracting spar; and Dr Brewster from this conjectured, that the nebulous light was in fact caused by the same structure in the refracting medium, which, in the case of Icelandic spar, produces two distinct images: in other words, that the agate was an approach to that particular kind of crystallization, and that the haziness was an imperfect image arising from that imperfection of structure. It has always been supposed, that, in a doubly refracting medium, the two images were produced by two different refractive powers: reasoning then from analogy, the bright image and the nebulous light produced by the agate, could be separated, the one from the other, by making the agate into a prism; and the separation would be proportional to the angle formed by the refracting planes of the prism. Dr Brewster accordingly tried this experiment, but without success. For some time he abandoned the inquiry, and began to look upon the phenomenon as one of those unaccountable appearances which so often attend the passage of light through diaphanous media. Future experiments have, we think, very satisfactorily established the fact, that this nebulous light is an approach to a second image; they depend, however, upon some appearances which we have not yet mentioned, and which we must first proceed to consider, before concluding our remarks upon this part of the subject.

When a transparent substance, such as rock-crystal, is held in a certain position before a ray of polarised light, the light becomes depolarised, or converted into common light. This remarkable property is common to almost all transparent bo-

dies, when they are held in certain positions; and there are some, as gum arabic, horn, glue, and tortoise-shell, which depolarise light, in whatsoever position they are held. Among the substances which possess this property, may be noticed more particularly Mica and Topaz, as exhibiting some curious phenomena.

If a square plate of mica be set in a vertical position, and a crystal of Iceland spar be placed either horizontally or vertically with respect to it, as it were upon a line bisecting any two opposite sides of the square, and a ray of polarised light be viewed through both, no change whatever appears to take place upon the ray. These lines may therefore be called the *neutral axes* of the mica. Now, let the crystal of Iceland spar be placed upon either of the lines bisecting two opposite angles of the square, the polarised light will now be seen converted into common light, that is, it will be *depolarised*.—these lines are properly called the *depolarising axes*: and these axes,—the two neutral in a horizontal and vertical direction, and the two depolarising in a direction bisecting the right angles formed by the neutral,—are common to all substances which have the power of depolarising light. There is another remarkable property which attends plates of mica, and many other crystallized bodies, in addition to those just mentioned. Let a polarised ray be observed through the Iceland spar and mica: When the spar is placed upon the *vertical neutral axis* of the mica, as we have just seen, the ray still continues polarised: but, let the plate of mica be inclined forwards, at an angle of  $45^\circ$  to the horizon, and the image that was before invisible from polarisation, will now distinctly appear, and consequently the light to which it owes its existence has become depolarised. The mica then possesses an *oblique depolarising axis*; and only this one; for a similar experiment, made by adjusting the spar upon the *horizontal neutral axis*, produces no such effect. We must here take notice of a slight inaccuracy in Dr Brewster's statement of these phenomena. He says, 'Plates of mica, while they possess the properties of all depolarising crystals, exhibit phenomena peculiar to themselves,'—namely, the oblique depolarising axis. Now, this axis is also common to several other crystallized bodies, as topaz, rock-crystal, &c.: And the circumstance, that these and other substances possess this property, is afterwards remarked by Dr Brewster himself in another part of the same paper.

We now recur to the nebulous light. When a pencil of light, first polarised and afterwards depolarised, is transmitted through a plate of agate, the red rays go to the formation of the bright image, while the green, which are complementary to the red

composes the nebulous light by which the bright image is surrounded. The appearance thus presented, is that of a *red image* enclosed in a cloud of *green* light. Let the agate be turned round, the colours are reversed, and the appearance now presented is that of a *green image* enclosed in a cloud of *red* light. In the common experiment, when a doubly refracting crystal is used instead of the plate of agate, it will be found that the ordinary image is green, while the extraordinary one is red; and, while one crystal revolves, an alternation of these colours will be observed in every quadrant of its circular motion. We may hence very satisfactorily conclude, that, as the light in this instance is known to be polarised, so, that which is viewed through the plate of agate, since it exhibits exactly similar phenomena, has undergone a like modification; and as the nebulous light appears thus to have the same relation to the bright image which the image formed by the extraordinary has to that produced by the ordinary refraction in double refracting crystals, we may consider the agate as possessing, *imperfectly*, the property of double refraction,—(in opposition certainly to the analogy of all doubly refracting crystals, that the two images are produced by different refractive powers,)—but that it gives two images, and polarises them like other crystallized bodies, only that the one image is placed in the centre of the other.

Before leaving the subject of depolarisation, we must mention some curious results which Dr Brewster was led to in a subsequent inquiry, but which are so connected with the preceding statements, that we cannot conveniently omit them in this place. We have seen that light, which is polarised by one substance, can be depolarised by another. Thus two substances were necessary to deprive light of its polarity. But in all bodies which have the oblique depolarising axis, light may be polarised and depolarised by the *same* substance: and this is the case, when the position of the depolarising body is such, that the angle which the *oblique* depolarising axis makes with the under surface of the body, is nearly equal to the complement of the angle at which the incident ray is polarised by its first reflection. If a plate of topaz be held in this position, and the observer look into the topaz in the direction of emergence of the *depolarised* ray, through a plate of agate having its laminae perpendicular to a vertical section of the topaz, he will perceive about ten brilliantly coloured elliptical rings, formed round two central spots, composed of different colours. Each ring also consists of several colours, such as blue shading off to green, then green shading to red, and lastly, crimson. The colours in the rings grow fainter as they recede from the central spots.

Those now enumerated belong to the second ring; but, in the sixth ring of the same set, the colours are only very faint blue, and still fainter crimson. The part of the first ring which is nearest to the central spots is always black. If the plate of agate be turned round  $90^\circ$ , so as to have its laminae parallel to the section of the topaz, another set of elliptical rings will be observed; and the colours in these are invariably complementary to those in the first set: the *green* rings of the second set will always be found to correspond with the *red* rings of the first set; the *blue* with the *yellow*; in the outer rings the *blue* with the *red*, and so on. The colours of the central spots, also, in the second set, are complementary with those in the central spots of the first; and the *black* space which surrounds these spots in the first set, is found to be *white* in the second. If a doubly refracting crystal be used instead of the agate in one position, the first set of rings will hold the place of the first image; and, upon turning the crystal about its axis through  $90^\circ$ , that set will occupy the second image, and the second set will keep the place of the first image; and so on alternately through every quadrant. In these and similar experiments upon coloured rings, the *first set* is always the most distinct of the two; probably because the light reflected from the first surface is destroyed by the polarising body: which is not the case in the position of the crystals that produces the *second set*. If, instead of common light, a beam of polarised light be transmitted through the plate of topaz, phenomena still more varied and interesting are exhibited. When light thus obtained by reflection from any transparent body, so placed that the plane of its reflection be perpendicular to the plane of the reflection from the topaz, part of the rays transmitted through the topaz having been already polarised, will be depolarised in passing along the oblique depolarising axis of the topaz. If the observer looks into the topaz in the direction in which these depolarised rays emerge, he will see the *first set* of elliptical rings coloured, as in the last experiment; the colours being remarkably brilliant and distinct. Let these depolarised rays be now received upon a plate of agate placed as in the last experiment, with its laminae perpendicular to a vertical section of the topaz, and a *third set* of rings will be visible: differing from the *first set* only in having smaller central spots. This *third set* rather corresponds with the *second set* in the last experiment, as their colours are complementary, and their central spots of the same magnitude. Now, let the agate be turned round, so that its laminae are parallel to the plane of the topaz, and a *fourth set* of rings will be seen, much less brilliant than any of the others, and in structure rather re-



sembling the *first set*. These phenomena are produced also when the polarised light is obtained by a doubly refracting crystal; and, as might be expected, the *third set* is seen in one position of the crystal, occupying the place of the *first image*, and the *fourth* in that of the second; and they alternate in every quadrant of its revolution.

Dr Brewster made many other very interesting experiments upon this part of the subject. What we have analysed is sufficient for the purpose of illustrating these amusing phenomena; and it would be useless, even if our limits would permit us, to enumerate more. With respect to any law to which these rings can be referred, he informs us, that by actual measurement of the angles which the colours subtend, using a plate of topaz of one thickness, compared with the angles they subtend, when topaz of a different thickness is employed, he has ascertained, that the *conjugate diameters* of the rings are *inversely as the thickness of the plates*. Rock crystal, emerald, amber, nitrate of potash, and many other substances, produce elliptical coloured rings, in as great perfection as the topaz.

We have already mentioned some bodies which have the property of depolarising light, in whatever position they are held. Of this sort are gum arabic, caoutchouc, and several others, which are all formed by a successive deposition and induration of layers. The nature of their formation very satisfactorily explains the reason of this peculiar character. Let us conceive, that in a piece of gum arabic, for example, the first layer only is deposited and crystallized. It will obviously possess both neutral and depolarising axes, like any other crystal. In like manner, the second layer will also have these axes; but when it is deposited upon the first, there is no reason why their axes should coincide; on the contrary, they will probably hold very different directions. Thus, after a great number of successive layers, there will be different depolarising axes lying in every different direction. Now, it is found, that if one plate of mica be placed upon another, so that the depolarising axis of the one coincides with the neutral axis of the other, all the axes will assume the character of depolarising axes; and the two plates will act upon light exactly like gum arabic. Hence since the depolarising axis coinciding with the neutral, produce a *depolarising axis*, we may conclude, that in a piece of gum arabic, or caoutchouc, consisting of a great many layers, all the axes will be depolarising axes. This explanation is likewise verified by making a very fine film of either of these substances; it will be found to have neutral axes, and to have lost the power which it before had, of depolarising light in every position. W

shall only mention one more of the curious results which Dr Brewster obtained in his experiments on the depolarisation of light, namely, a remarkable property which is produced by simple pressure, in soft transparent solids, by which they acquire all the characters of crystals that both polarise and depolarise. The substance which Dr Brewster operated upon was calves' feet jelly. A solid portion of this, about half an inch in thickness, was placed between two plates of glass, and was observed to have no power whatever in depolarising light. When it had remained some days in this situation, it began to depolarise about its edges; and in a fortnight this property was extended over the whole of its surface. In three weeks the jelly began to lose its transparency, and also its depolarising quality: it was now much indurated, and reduced to about one-fourth of its original bulk; its tenacity it very much resembled caoutchouc. Upon interposing it between the light of a taper polarised by reflection, and a prism of Iceland spar, it appeared to produce no effect; one of the images of the paper regularly vanishing as the spar was turned round  $90^\circ$ . While the spar was in such a situation that only one image of the taper was seen, Dr Brewster pressed together the two plates of glass, and was astonished to find the vanished image instantly become visible. Hence the jelly had, by pressure alone, acquired the power of depolarising the light, to which this image owed its existence. When the pressure was removed, the image again disappeared, the jelly being by its elasticity restored to its original state. We here have an instance how useful a few plausible words are in an attempt to explain phenomena which are difficult to account for. Dr Brewster conceives, that depolarisation is produced by a certain species of *crystallization*. He finds it also convenient to consider, that the jelly is *crystallized* by induration: but jelly in this state produces no effect in destroying the polarity of light. So that to be consistent with the first hypothesis, crystallization ought not to be produced by *induration*, but by *pressure*, as it is from the action of this force that the depolarising quality is communicated to the body. But Dr Brewster cannot afford to abandon the useful term *crystallization*; and so, when he talks of pressure, he makes no mention of the crystallization by induration. 'Upon removing the pressure, the image again vanished, and the cake resumed its *uncrystallized* state: 'And when he talks of induration, he says nothing about crystallization by pressure.' As the cakes of jelly used in the preceding experiments, had both been *crystallized* by induration, I took another cylindrical portion that had never possessed that crystalline structure which is necessary to depolarise light. —

*Phil. Trans. for 1815, Part 1st, p. 62.*

We have already been imperceptibly led on to more minute details in many parts of this very interesting subject, than we can find space room for: But there are still some results so important, that we cannot pass them over altogether. We shall, however, endeavour to be as concise as possible, not suffer our minds to be carried away by phenomena the most entertaining perhaps within the whole range of physical science.

While Dr Brewster was engaged in some experiments upon the oblique depolarising axis of mica, he observed, in a certain position of the mica, some indication of a polarisation of the incident rays: and, upon turning the mica round, the quantity of polarised light increased as its obliquity to the incident pencil increased. When a plate of glass was substituted for the mica, the same phenomena were visible, but in a less distinct degree; but they became more perceptible upon increasing the number of the glass plates; and when the plates amounted to fifteen, the transmitted pencil was wholly polarised at an angle of about  $70^\circ$ . The light, thus modified, has all the characters of light polarised by reflection, or by any other means. For instance, if a beam polarised in this way, is viewed through a plate of agate, having its laminae parallel to the plane of refraction, the bright image vanishes, and the nebulous light which surrounded it attains its greatest lustre: and, when the agate is turned round, so that its laminae are perpendicular to the plane of refraction, the nebulous light disappears, and the bright image recovers its full brilliancy. Hence light transmitted obliquely through all transparent bodies, suffers polarisation, like one of the pencils formed by doubly refracting crystals. By a number of experiments made with a great variety of series of plates, Dr Brewster arrived at the law which determines the relation between the number of plates and the angles of incidence at which the light is polarised. He found that *the number of plates multiplied by the tangent of the angle at which the pencil polarises light, is a constant quantity*. He also discovered by experiment, that as the refractive power of the plates increased, the angle of incidence at which the light was polarised, diminished. This discovery of the polarisation of light by oblique refraction, is certainly of much importance. It affords an explanation which was wanting to a part of the phenomena which the experiments of Malus did not account for. The polarisation of one of the images formed by a doubly refracting crystal is effected by refraction, and not by reflection. The discovery of Malus extended only to the polarisation by oblique reflection; but afforded no explanation of the manner in which the polarisation of the transmitted light was produced.

It has long been known, that some specimens of calcareous spar have the property of multiplying images, which are, in almost all instances, tinged with very brilliant colours. Philosophers have generally concurred in the opinion, that the multiplication of the images was produced by fissures or fractures within the crystal, and that the colours proceeded from films of air, included in those fissures, and were the same as those of thin plates. Some experiments which Dr Brewster made on this subject, led him to believe that such opinions were erroneous; that the interrupting plane was not a fracture; and that the colours were analogous to those produced by the action of crystals upon polarised light. According to his view of the subject, there is, in every specimen of calcareous spar which has the above properties, a plane, which he denominates the *interrupting plane*, lying across the crystal, so as to divide it into two equal prisms: and resembling a thin film, or connecting vein, by which the prisms are bound together. This plane is not a stratum of air, as had been conjectured; for in that case, light incident at a certain angle would be wholly reflected from the surface of the second prism; but experiment has demonstrated, that there is no angle of incidence which produces a total reflection at the second surface. If the colours were produced by a fissure, they would appear where the fissure is bounded by parallel faces; but if the solid angles on each side of the interrupting plane, are ground down, till two perfectly smooth and parallel faces are produced, it will be found, that when a ray of light is transmitted through the plane, there is neither a multiplication of images, nor the slightest appearance of colour. From these and other experiments, which it would be tedious to enumerate, Dr Brewster concludes, that the interrupting plane is a crystallized vein or stratum of calcareous spar, cohering firmly to the adjacent masses: and that a multiplication of images and colour is produced, only when this vein is interposed between two solid prisms. To confirm this reasoning by experiment, he separated a rhomboid into two prisms; and interposed between them a thin layer of cement, of a different refractive power from the calcareous spar; and he found that a ray transmitted through the mass emerged in four pencils. Hence the multiplication proceeded from the pencil being divided into two by passing through the first prism—and each of these two again subdivided into other two by refraction at the first surface of the second prism. From the way in which the colours arrange themselves, namely, those of the middle images being always complementary to those of the extreme images, they are obviously produced by polarised light being transmitted.

ted through the interrupting vein—which in this instance holds the place of the plate of agate in the experiments already detailed respecting coloured rings. This hypothesis was also verified in a very satisfactory manner, by placing a thin plate of sulphate of lime between the two prisms: when it was centred in a proper position to each of the prisms, the same phenomena were produced by this artificial rhomboid, as by the natural one. Hence the colours depend upon the thickness of the stratum, as they are caused by the separation of the oppositely polarized pencils, there must necessarily be a multiplication of images when colours are produced; although the converse does by no means necessarily hold. We may further add, that this explanation of the colours produced by calcareous spar, will account for the appearance of colour in veined agate, while specimens which are free from veins do not exhibit it. For if we conceive a vein to lie between the equiangular prisms of agate, it will exactly correspond to the interrupting stratum which has been assumed in the case of calcareous spar.

We have already extended our remarks to such a length, that we cannot follow the researches of Dr Brewster in the latter parts of this subject, as minutely as might be wished. They are, however, too important to be passed over, as they relate to certain laws which regulate the phenomena of polarisation and double refraction in crystallized bodies. We shall now consider, as briefly as possible, some of the most important results; and, for the further details, we must refer our readers to a very excellent paper, chiefly upon these matters, in the first part of the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1818.

In the early part of this article, we remarked, that the experiments of Dr Woollaston, and we may add also those of Dr Young, had appeared to demonstrate the agreement of the theory of Huygens with the phenomena of double refraction exhibited by calcareous spar. The inquiries of Malus tended still further to confirm this agreement. He examined very carefully quartz, aragonite, and sulphate of barytes; and the results of his researches identified their optical properties with those of calcareous spar. Hence he supposed that the law of Huygens might safely be extended to all crystallized bodies. We shall show, from the experiments of Dr Brewster, that the Huygenian law is not general; that it is not even correct for the phenomena of calcareous spar; and that the explanation which Laplace attempted, of the deviation of the extraordinary ray, by referring it to the action of those attractive and repulsive forces which produce the ordinary refraction and reflection of light, as it rests entirely upon the law of Huygens, falls to the

ground. In the first place, the experiments of Malus upon the three crystals are erroneous; for two out of the three have more than one axis of double refraction: consequently the aberration of the extraordinary ray cannot be explained by a single ellipsoid. The Abbé Haily observed the property of double refraction in twenty crystallized bodies. The patient research of Dr Brewster has detected this phenomenon in no less than 165 crystals. In about 100 of these, he ascertained whether they have one or more axes: and by measuring the tints which they exhibit at different angular distances from the axis of double refraction, he has been conducted to a general principle, to which most of the phenomena of polarisation may be referred. By a multitude of experiments, which it is unnecessary to describe, he found that beryl, ruby, potash, and about twenty other crystals, have one apparent axis of double refraction, and one apparent axis of polarisation, which are coincident: and wherever it was possible to cut the substances into transparent prisms, with large refracting angles, he was enabled to ascertain the relation between the force of double refraction and the polarising force. He found that the force producing the deviation of the extraordinary ray, increases and diminishes with the polarising force which produces the systems of coloured rings. In considering the nature and properties of these rings, he had recourse to plates of various thicknesses; and the conclusion he at last arrived at was, that the tints produced at different inclinations to the axis of the crystal, are to one another as the square of the sine of the angle which the polarised ray makes with that axis. Hence the tint will be a maximum when that angle is  $90^\circ$ . Let  $\phi$  be another angle, which any diameter perpendicular to two parallel faces of the rhomboid, makes with the axis of the system of rings, and the tint  $t$  at the extremity of that diameter will vary as  $\sin^2 \phi$ . Therefore, if we determine experimentally the tint  $t$ , produced at any given thickness  $B$ , the maximum tint  $T$ , for that thickness, will be  $\frac{t}{\sin^2 \phi}$ ; and for any

other thickness  $b$ , we shall have  $T' = \frac{b}{B} \cdot \frac{t}{\sin^2 \phi}$ .

Dr Brewster has found, that the compound structure indica-

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\* We cannot greatly commend Dr Brewster's technology.—Thus, he explains the tints, by supposing the crystal cut into a sphere; and the lines in the diagram to which he refers us, are called by such, cumbersome names, as the diameter of no polarisation, the equator of maximum polarisation, the meridian of direct or of inverse polarisation, the isochromatic lines or curves of equal tint, &c. &c.

five or two or more axes of double refraction, belongs to various classes of crystallized substances; and, from the list he has given, it appears that the combinations of the sulphuric and tartaric acids, with earthy, alkaline, and metallic bases, possess this property more particularly. There is a striking coincidence between the primitive forms of the crystals, and the number of their axes. Thus we find, that when the primitive form is a cube, or regular octohedron, the crystal possesses *three* axes;—when it is a right quadrangular prism with a rectangular base, the number of axes is *two*; the number is also *two*, when the crystal is an octohedron, in which the pyramids have a rectangular or a rhomboidal base;—and when there is only *one* axis, the primitive forms are either hexaedra, prisms, rhomboids, with obtuse summits, or octohedrons, in which the pyramids have square bases. We have no doubt that future experiments will still further generalize these appearances, and establish an arrangement of classes among crystallized substances, and their optical properties, which will greatly assist the mineralogist in ascertaining the primitive forms of many doubtful crystals, and in reconciling those anomalies which frequently perplex us in the mineral kingdom.

We have given the law for tints in crystals with one axis; but the process by which a general law is deduced for those with two or more axes, is somewhat more complicated. Indeed, it would hardly be possible to give it intelligibly in its details without the assistance of a diagram. The law itself, however, may be thus expressed, when the crystal has *two* axes: At any point of the sphere into which the crystal is supposed to be cut, so that one of its diameters coincides with the axis of double refraction,—the tint produced by the joint action of the two axes, is equal to the diagonal of a parallelogram, whose sides represent the tints produced by each axis separately, and whose angle is double of the angle formed by the two planes passing through the point of the sphere, and the respective axes. So also, if there are *three* axes, the tint produced by two may be combined with the third, and the resultant may in the same way be calculated. In like manner, the rule may be extended to any number of axes.

In a paper published by Biot, in the *Memoires de l'Institut*, he says, that from a great number of experiments, he has been induced to believe, that in calcareous spar, the deviation of the extraordinary ray is *necessarily* produced by the action of a repulsive force. This opinion is considered by Dr Brewster as erroneous; and he proceeds to demonstrate that the phenomena of double refraction and polarisation, may be explained by the

action of forces totally different from those which have been assumed by Laplace and Biot. He first shows, that the action of two equal rectangular axes of a positive character, is equal to the action of one negative axis, whose intensity is the same as that of either of the other two, and lying at right angles to the plane of the positive axes: that is to say, that one negative axis may be resolved into two positive of the same intensity, lying in a plane perpendicular to it. \* By a similar process, he proves that the effect of one negative axis may be represented under certain conditions by three rectangular negative axes; and that the same is true of positive axes, *mutatis mutandis*. And several other combinations of axes are deduced, by which we are told we shall have no difficulty whatever in representing all the phenomena of double refraction and polarisation. Now, really all this explanation appears to us about as vague and hypothetical as the theory of repulsive forces approved of by Biot; and it is moreover considerably more complex and difficult to understand; and after all the reference to positive and negative axes, we are left as much in the dark as before, respecting the *nature* of the polarising forces. The phenomena of polarisation, to be sure, indicate some opposition—some modification by which the forces regulate each other's action;—but, taken as an explanation, this is not more satisfactory than the attempts to explain electricity and magnetism by similar reasonings; and if an opposition appears, of a like nature, in the action exerted on polarised light, we are by no means entitled to conclude, from analogy, that such forces are co-existent in crystals. We are equally ignorant with regard to the *position* of these axes; nor are there, as far as we can see, any data by which we can ascertain it. Indeed, it does not always appear, that we can determine whether a preference is to be given to positive more than to negative axes; in Iceland spar, for example, there are no peculiarities to induce us to fix upon the one more than upon the other. We cannot, therefore, agree with Dr Brewster in the theory which he has devised. His laws respecting tints are legitimately deduced from the facts; they are comprehensible, and highly ingenious; but his theory of double refraction appears to be merely an effort of the imagination. It will, however, be useful if it leads to further investigations; and an increase in the valuable collection of facts which his experiments have already amassed, may possibly convert this hypothesis into

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\* The terms *positive* and *negative*, have nothing to do with the *nature* of the polarising forces, but are merely used to mark their *opposition*.



a solid system. Perhaps we may be forgiven if we add, that however expedient it may be to give *experiments* to the world speedily after they are performed, a more deliberate step is advisable in proceeding to the promulgation of a *theory*. The makers of verses are not the only artificers to whom the *linæ labor et mora* may be safely recommended; and there is this additional reason for applying the rule to inductive reasoners, that the premature publication of a conclusion hastily formed, may warp the mind in the further observation of the phenomena.

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ART. X. *Chambre des Pairs de France—Session de 1818—Séance du Samedi, 8 Mai 1819. Rapport, fait à la Chambre par M. LE DUC DE BROGLIE, au Nom d'une Commission spéciale chargée de l'Examen du Projet de Loi relatif à la Répression des Crimes et Délits commis par la Voie de la Presse, ou par tout autre Moyen de Publication. Imprimé par l'Ordre de la Chambre. pp. 57. Didot & Ainé. Paris, 1819.*

NOTHING can be more delightful to every lover of rational liberty, than the spectacle which our neighbours in France are now exhibiting,—of a great nation reclaimed from the wicked and miserable pursuits of war, and applying themselves to establish, upon solid grounds, the truest glory and happiness of any nation—a Free Constitution. Many years have not elapsed since the name of French liberty was odious or despicable in England; \* and now, happily, our ancient enemies are become our rivals in the pursuit of real freedom. They are affording a splendid exception to the observation so often made, that a restoration is the worst kind of revolution: For they are not only wisely and vigorously consolidating and extending the improvements which they have so dearly purchased by the sufferings of thirty years; but are taking the only security for the permanence of the comparative independence at present enjoyed by the body of the people, by enacting such good laws as may

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\* It will hardly be credited, in after times, that there was a period, in the 19th century, when a scholar, and a man of mild demeanour (though not certainly of very powerful understanding), could begin a note upon France, in a book of antiquarian criticism, by calling it a country 'which every friend to the welfare of mankind, and the peace and true interest and happiness of England, must wish blotted from the map of the world.'—(*Shakespeare Manuscripts*, p. 40.) Mr Malone follows this up with a long invective against that nation; and a confident prophecy, that any peaceable intercourse with her must ruin England.

stand them in stead; if less auspicious times should come. A good subject of this country ought to regard these happy changes with unmingled satisfaction—as highly propitious both to our liberties and our commercial prosperity. Every step made by France in political improvement, is a point gained to her neighbours; nay, her cultivation of the arts of peace—and of eloquence the first among them,—is at once an indication that the season of tranquillity is arrived, and a pledge of its continuance. ‘*Non enim in constituentibus rempublicam, nec in bellis gerentibus, nec in impeditis ac regum dominatione devinctis narci cupiditas dicendi solet. Pacis*’—(adds the great Artist, most exquisitely)—‘*Pacis est comes, otique socia, et jam bene constituta civitatis quasi alumna quædam Eloquentia.*’

Among the founders of rational liberty in France, a distinguished place is justly due to the Duc de Broglie—a nobleman eminently qualified for the work of constitutional legislation, not merely by the acuteness of his understanding, but by his indefatigable industry and habits of business, the knowledge which he has acquired of our institutions, and his firm attachment to the principles of liberal and enlightened policy. The Document now before us, although the result of the united labours of a Committee, is, we presume, principally the work of the Reporter or Chairman; and it does him very great honour. The Committee was composed of four other distinguished individuals, together with the Duke; the celebrated Laplace; M. de Jaucourt, the Count de Tracy, and the Duc de Plaisance. It appears to be the practice of the Chambers, as often as a legislative measure is propounded, to refer the *projet de loi*, or what we should call the Bill, to a select Committee, consisting of a very few members, whose duty it is to examine all its provisions closely, and to report upon them in detail. Were it not certain that almost all our Parliamentary forms are most excellently adapted to the conduct of business, having in truth been the gradual result of long and varied experience, and that the utmost caution ought to be used even in hinting at any change or addition for the purpose of improving them, we should be disposed to think, that this French method of scrutinizing new measures has considerable advantages. Certain it is, that for want of some such certain and compulsory investigation, a good deal of slovenliness has of late years marked the legislation of this country. The great increase of all branches of Parliamentary business, has introduced a carelessness, in the House of Commons, to the details of Bills, and a disposition to leave them in the hands of the individuals who propose them, in

the confidence that the House of Lords will correct all their defects; one evil consequence of which has lately been, to occasion, not the more minute examination of the Bills sent up, but their rejection by wholesale. If we mistake not, the Lords have lately adopted a new standing order, formed upon the principle of the French practice, as to all Bills for the regulation of trade: and it might be desirable to extend this scrutiny by a Committee to all Bills proposing any change in the established polity or jurisprudence of the State; confining, of course, the labours of the Committee to reporting their opinion in detail, and in no manner binding the House to the adoption of that opinion. It is fit, on the other hand, to remark, that care must be taken not to increase one of the greatest evils of the present day, the subdividing Parliament into Committees, which both supersede the functions of the House at large, and afford a screen to the Ministers, materially diminishing the load of their responsibility. Nor ought it to be forgotten, that, in France, all legislative measures are proposed originally by the Government; and, consequently, that the select Committees can never be called upon to discuss the measures devised by individual members.

The subject of the Report before us, is the final arrangement of the Law respecting the Liberty of the Press; a part of the constitution so important in every free State, that it may, without impropriety, be reckoned the foundation of the whole fabric: Since even the plan of conducting all State affairs in representative assemblies, in which modern liberty consists, depends practically for its salutary effects upon the publicity given by the press to their proceedings, and the controul exercised over them through the press by public opinion. It is well known, that, upon the restoration of the Bourbons, it was deemed impossible, consistently with the security of the Government, to permit the unlicensed freedom of printing. The state of the public mind, in Paris especially; the habit which the population of that capital had acquired, during the Revolution, of controuling the whole country; and their want of those habits of temperate discussion which the gradual acquisition of popular rights is best calculated to form, appeared to prohibit, for some time at least, the unrestrained handling of all questions in daily newspapers, and occasional tracts of a similar description. Accordingly, a Censorship was established for these in 1814; and was continued at the return of the Princes in the following year. It was admitted to be only temporary; and, after undergoing some alterations in 1817, it was suffered quietly to expire during the early part of the last session. In consequence of this

most salutary change, which placed the press upon the same footing as in England and America, with respect to the right of printing and publishing, it was deemed necessary to revise, or more properly to frame, laws which should regulate the treatment of offences committed by the abuse of the right thus secured: For as long as the press is subject to a censorship, offences, in the strict sense of the word, cannot be committed by means of it; a right of civil action alone can arise (and even that is somewhat anomalous) from any act of publication which the State has authorized by not exercising its *veto*. It is true that, by a great solecism in jurisprudence, there coexisted with the censorship in France, a law punishing libels; and, to render the solecism still greater, the deposit of the copies required for the purpose of exercising the censorship, was deemed the criminal act of publication. But this contradictory provision, which led to innumerable absurdities in practice, cannot affect the truth of the principle as we have stated it; and the Legislators of that country may be strictly said to have had the task imposed upon them of devising, rather than of amending, this important branch of jurisprudence.

The noble author of the Report before us, indeed, denies that the Law in question is one upon the Liberty of the Press. He allows that it materially concerns that right; but maintains, that in itself it is only a law for regulating the treatment of certain offences which may be committed, either by means of the press, or by writing, or speaking, or even painting or engraving, or by signs; in short, by every means which men have of communicating their thoughts to each other. The mode of the communication makes no more difference in the offence, than the instrument does in the crime of murder; and this, he adds, is the view taken of the subject by the Law of England, which, though it distinguishes spoken from written defamation, so far as to denominate the one *slander*, and the other *libel*, treats them in all respects alike, except that it makes the former only the ground of a civil action, while the latter may also be the subject of criminal prosecution; a distinction, which, he most justly observes, is reconcileable to no reason or principle whatever, and which, he might have added, the same Law utterly disregards in the case of words spoken respecting the Government. Now, on all this part of the Report, we have nothing material to observe, except perhaps that the press may be deemed such an instrument of publication as alters in some degree the offence committed with it. A murder is exactly the same offence, whether perpetrated with a dagger or a pistol;

but a person's character is very differently injured by a newspaper and by a whisper. The Reporter admits, that poisoning is by some codes of law (the French among others) distinguished from other kinds of assassination, merely because it presupposes a more perverse and deep-rooted malice, because it is committed in greater secrecy, and because it exposes many lives to danger in attacking one. Now, considerations of this nature apply to attacks upon character by the instrumentality of the press. They are more deliberate, and betoken a greater degree of malice; and they may be more conveniently perpetrated in secret by the intervention of some person merely instrumental. We do not attach any great importance, however, to this metaphysical part of the discussion; and we agree with the noble Reporter in thinking, that the law ought not to be confined exclusively to the abuse of printing; for the offence is the communication of certain sentiments, culpable in themselves, but not punishable by man as long as they are confined to their author: In whatever manner the publication is made, an offence of the same general description is no doubt committed, though varying in degree, according to different circumstances,—among which certainly the mode of publication is the most important. But there seems no reason for singling out the aggravation which arises from the use of the press, any more than that which arises from a speech delivered to a multitude, or that which arises from the deliberate and secret preparation of calumny by writing it, and dropping it in the streets. The former of these aggravations has one of the qualities which render the use of the press an aggravating circumstance; the latter has another of the qualities. We equally agree with the Report in considering any positive or general law for defining the bounds within which the license of printing may be exercised, as a vain and chimerical project, and likely to prove pernicious, if it could be realized. As this is a topic much insisted upon by some of the injudicious friends of liberty among ourselves, and as we have on former occasions pointed out the absurdity of asking for a Law of Libel, analogous to the Law of Treason, we gladly avail ourselves of the authority and the excellent reasoning of the following very sensible passage, in illustration of this position.

‘ En agrandissant ainsi le point de vue sous lequel il envisage un sujet, si souvent controversé depuis quatre ans, le gouvernement qui vous propose cette loi, croit simplement faire retour au droit commun et aux principes généraux de la législation criminelle; selon lui, traiter séparément des abus de la presse, ce n'est pas simplifier une matière déjà très épineuse par elle-même, c'est au contraire la compliquer et l'embarasser davantage; il pense enfin que la liberté de

la presse sera éternellement en question, tant que la presse elle-même n'aura pas été replacée au rang de simple instrument propre à servir au bien et au mal, en un mot tant qu'on ne cessera de faire des lois soit contre elle, soit sur elle, soit même pour elle.

Après une mûre délibération, votre commission a partagé ce sentiment. Voici les raisons qui l'ont convaincue. Une loi sur la liberté de la presse, telle qu'une partie notable du public et plusieurs membres très éclairés des deux chambres l'ont comprise et désirée pendant long-temps, seroit conçue comme il suit, ou à-peu-près. Elle auroit soin d'abord de consacrer solennellement le principe renfermé dans l'article 8 de la Charte ; puis de définir d'une part ce qui est utile et permis, et de l'autre ce qui est nuisible et par conséquent prohibé ; d'indiquer les torts et les écarts que les écrivains doivent éviter ; de donner en même temps une nomenclature détaillée des diverses matières qu'il importe au bien public de traiter avec indépendance ; de recommander cependant la décence et la modération, et de régler enfin les rapports des auteurs, des imprimeurs et des libraires, soit entre eux, soit avec la police administrative.

Nous le dirons avec sincérité, Messieurs, la rédaction d'une loi semblable nous a paru, après y avoir bien réfléchi, une entreprise de la plus haute imprudence. Qui ne voit en effet que la bonté de cette loi dépendroit essentiellement d'une chose tout-à-fait inexécutable ; savoir, l'énumération, la description bien complète de tous les sujets qu'on peut abandonner, sans aucun inconvénient, aux disputes des écrivains ? Or, comment se flatter de réussir dans une telle tâche ? Comment y procéder autrement qu'à l'aide d'une multitude de définitions, tantôt insignifiantes à force d'être vagues, tantôt sophistiques à force d'être subtiles ? Comment sur-tout ne rien négliger ? Car, remarquez-le bien, le plan une fois ainsi conçu, tout oubli deviendroit fatal, toute omission prendroit nécessairement, et de plein droit, le caractère d'une interdiction absolue ; nul ne pourroit plus rien publier que la loi ne lui eût ouvert la bouche et mis la plume à la main. Cette entreprise seroit de plus, selon nous du moins, tout-à-fait inconstitutionnelle. La Charte en effet porte en propres termes : " Les François ont le droit de publier et de faire imprimer leurs opinions. " Elle reconnoît et respecte ce droit ; ce n'est donc point à la législation de 1819, ni à aucune autre, à prétendre le leur concéder à son gré, et dans la mesure qui lui convient. L'exercice d'une faculté quelconque est de droit naturel ; les lois posent des limites ; les lois prononcent des restrictions ; voilà leur but et leur langage. Demander au législateur qu'il enseigne, qu'il explique ce qui est permis, c'est renverser l'ordre des idées ; demandez-lui ce qu'il défend ; cela seul peut être dit par avance ; cela seul importe à savoir. Raisonner autrement c'est aller contre le principe même des lois pénales, c'est déclarer aux citoyens qu'ils ont besoin d'une autorisation spéciale pour écrire et pour imprimer, c'est leur signifier que le législateur entend gouverner en maître leurs pensées et leurs opinions, tandis qu'il n'en est que le modérateur et le surveillant. Nous pensons

donc que le gouvernement agit sagement en se bornant à vous présenter un système de répression approprié aux besoins de l'ordre public, sans prétendre, de sa pleine autorité, assigner à la liberté de la presse son domaine.' pp. 4-7.

Publication, then, or the communication of ideas to others, is alone the object of punishment. The new French law accordingly, confines itself to publication—but deals with every kind of publication; and, moreover, it requires that the publicity shall be effectual and complete. Thus, if we rightly understand it, 'words spoken in the presence of a single person, or writings communicated only to the workmen of a printing-house,' are not regarded as published; for the Noble author, when he states, that, by the English law, these are acts of publication, adds, that the measure under discussion, 'more favourable to liberty, and more correctly following the true sense of the word, enumerates the means and modes of publication, annexing to each the condition of an effectual and complete publicity.' (p. 14.) We cannot quite agree in the approbation thus bestowed; and we hold our own law to have the advantage here. The Duc de Broglie would not surely deny, that defamation of one man, by merely telling the calumny to another, is an offence; yet this is the case of 'words spoken in the presence of a single person.' We would say, then, that the publicity is here 'effectual and complete,' regard being had to the nature of the thing published; although cases might be figured in which such a communication would not amount to publishing. Does not this, therefore, show that the law ought not to define here, but to leave the question, as one of circumstances, to the Jury? It would surely be going too far to hold, that even in the case of seditious words or writings, a disclosure to a single person, nay, to the printer, should never be deemed an act of publication; and, if it be said that such cases are covered by the terms of the law requiring 'complete publicity,' and leaving it to the Jury to determine what shall be held as complete,—what is this but saying, that the Jury in France, as with us, shall judge whether or not the circumstances amount to an act of publication?

Now publication, in itself, is an indifferent act; its *harmlessness*, or *hurtfulness*, must depend upon the nature and tendency of the ideas published; and its *innocence* or *guilt* must depend upon the intention with which the act is done. The new French law considers the injury which may be done by publication as of two kinds: The sentiments published may injure the community or individuals in their substantial interests, as life and property; or they may affect the moral interests of the community or of individuals, as public decency or private character. The for-

mer injury can only be done indirectly, by promoting or facilitating the commission of some act in itself criminal, and which immediately affects the interests in question; the latter injury is immediately and directly committed by the sentiments themselves; and their publication completes the damage done, without the intervention of any other offence. Thus the Law divides the offences of publication into two classes; the publication of that which instigates to the commission of some crime cognisable by the laws,—and the publication of that which injures the morals of the community, or the character of individuals. These two classes are termed, in the language of the law,—‘1. *la provocation au crime ou delit* ;’ and, ‘2. *les outrages, offenses, injures, diffamations.*’

The offence of instigation (or *provocation*) is, as the Report observes, very wisely left by the proposed law without any addition of qualifying terms, or any distinction of direct or indirect. The word is sufficiently significant in itself; the manner in which the instigation is given makes no difference in the act; and the Jury are to determine whether any given sentiments, when published, amount to an instigation,—just as they are to determine whether any given expression of those sentiments amounts to a publication. But the Law affixes a most important limitation to the description of this offence, by requiring that the crime to which the given sentiments are accused of instigating, should be specifically stated: so that it is not enough to set forth in an indictment, that the defendant published certain things (stating them), and to allege that, by so doing, he instigated to wickedness, or crimes;—still less is it enough to set forth the things published, and aver that their tendency is injurious to the constitution, or to good order, or to the peace of the community. The *particular offence* must be stated which he is charged with having instigated—and it must be an offence known in law. The Code Napoleon had provided, that the instigator to any particular offence actually committed, should be punished as an accessory to it;—this comprehends the cases of gifts, promises, threats, &c. used to induce any person to commit the offence; and we presume (although it is not stated in the Report) that such acts are punishable by the same code as lesser offences, even where the crime is not committed, and where, consequently, there can be no accessories. The new law punishes the instigation generally, by communicating sentiments which have a tendency to produce the offence: if the offence is in consequence committed, the instigator is dealt with as an accessory—he is deemed to fall within the former provision of the Code: if no offence follows, the instigator is pu-



nished as such, being held guilty of a lesser offence. Upon this provision, we insert the following just remarks of the Report.

La chambre, sans doute, appréciera dans sa sagesse une précaution qui, emprisonnant chaque provocation dans la définition même de délit qu'elle a pour but, expulse par-là le vague, l'arbitraire, empêche la pensée de s'égarer sur les conséquences générales d'une phrase ou d'un livre, et réduit la question posée au jury au rapport immédiat de la publication qu'il a sous les yeux, avec un article particulier du Code, dont il ne lui est pas permis de détourner son attention. En ce point, comme à tous autres égards, nous ne craignons pas de l'affirmer, le nouveau projet de loi est infiniment plus favorable à la liberté et à la raison que la législation angloise. Que trouvons-nous en effet dans cette législation? Quels sont les actes, analogues à ceux dont nous nous occupons, qui soient incriminés et punis? Ce sont des tendances à aliéner l'esprit du peuple de la constitution sous laquelle il vit, à le rendre mécontent de l'administration, à engendrer la méfiance ou la malveillance, à avilir le gouvernement; des excitations à un acte illégal, sans expliquer lequel. Aussi, qu'est-il résulté de ces indications vagues et sans rapport avec aucune donnée positive et uniforme? Que l'histoire de la législation angloise, en cette matière, est presque aussi célèbre par des absolutions scandaleuses que par des condamnations oppressives; que la loi sur le libelle a tous les caractères d'une arme placée entre les mains du plus fort, mais qui ne peut être maniée que par lui; qu'enfin si, ce qui n'est pas rare, le plus fort dans l'opinion du jour n'est pas le gouvernement, il n'y a plus aucune justice à espérer; la licence marche le front levé. On a vu, dans le court intervalle de trois ans, quarante-deux poursuites pour libelles, commencées par l'Attorney général, et abandonnées par lui. On a vu, dans un seul jour, vingt écrivains politiques traduits en justice, et ces vingt écrivains mis hors de cause bientôt après, sans avoir même été jugés. Ce mélange d'injustice et d'impunité ne peut certainement résulter des trois premiers articles du projet de loi; ils sont conçus avec une sagesse digne de remarque, et sur laquelle nous prions la chambre de fixer son attention.

Ainsi, par exemple, tel homme qui, sous l'empire de la loi du 9 Novembre, ou même, si on l'aime mieux, sous l'empire de la législation angloise, en supposant qu'on l'eût transportée en France, auroit été accusé d'avoir publié un libelle, un écrit séditieux, un écrit tendant à avilir le gouvernement, à affaiblir indirectement le respect qui lui est dû, et auroit vu le ministère public et les juges s'ériger en docteurs, je dirois presque en casuistes politiques, et rechercher péniblement si telle ou telle doctrine ne se trouvoit pas virtuellement et en substance, dans telle ou telle phrase; le même homme, sous l'empire de la loi nouvelle, devra être accusé de complicité de sédition, si la publication se lie immédiatement à une sédition effectuée, ou de tentative de sédition si la publication est restée sans effet; car la provocation, dépourvue de toute suite, a une analogie parfaite avec la tentative, sur laquelle

les jurés prononcent tous les jours sans aucune difficulté. Son crime sera d'avoir voulu renverser le gouvernement, ou seulement d'avoir voulu arrêter dans son exercice l'autorité légale. La tentative résidera dans le fait de la publication, et son écrit alors sera donné en preuve contre lui ; il servira de pièce de conviction, absolument comme dans un complot concerté d'intelligence avec l'ennemi, une correspondance saisie sert à incriminer une ou plusieurs actions en elles-mêmes parfaitement indifférentes. Les deux cas sont absolument analogues. Dans l'un comme dans l'autre, le fait matériel est insignifiant. Dans l'un comme dans l'autre, l'écrit doit être scruté et interprété en raison de son but et des circonstances. Dans l'un comme dans l'autre, c'est l'intention qui est le véritable et l'unique siège du crime. Votre commission a reconnu qu'il y avoit du bonheur dans cette combinaison, de l'art à placer la provocation perpétuellement en regard d'un délit positif auquel le ministère public et le jury seront toujours obligés de la comparer ; elle a reconnu que c'étoit une grande garantie pour la liberté de la presse, qu'un système dans lequel les doctrines, les pensées, les opinions sont laissées libres, tant qu'elles ne sont que des doctrines, des pensées, des opinions, et ne tombent sous la main de la loi qu'alors qu'imprégnées d'une volonté malfaisante et employées à un but certain et incriminé d'avance, elles deviennent de véritables actions.' pp. 19-23.

The Report objects to two particular sections of the Law, which particularize certain acts, and declare that these shall be deemed and taken to be instigations. The acts are attacks (by means of publication) upon the inviolability of the King's person, the order of succession to the Crown, and the constitutional power of the King and the Two Chambers ; seditious cries in public ; defacing or carrying off emblems of Royal authority, with the intent of insulting it ; wearing badges not authorized by the King or the Police. The Noble Reporter goes through these heads in detail, and satisfactorily shows, by reference to the other provisions of the Criminal Code, that each of them falls clearly within the general description of an instigation to some specific known offence ; and that, consequently, the declaratory enumeration is quite superfluous. He objects still more strongly to the absurd addition to this tautology, made by the sixth article, which, it seems, was added in the Chamber of Deputies, that ' all instigation to disobey the laws shall be punishable as above ; ' an enactment which is plainly mere repetition, whether the obscure term of general disobedience means to indicate rebellion, or breach of particular laws. The Report, however, after demonstrating the inaccuracy and inutility of these articles, very wisely in our opinion, abstains from recommending their rejection, as they may afford salutary warnings to a people about to exercise rights in a great measure

new to them; and it cites the example of the political offences created in England after the Restoration and Revolution.

Such, then, as we have seen them, are all the provisions which the authors of the new law have deemed necessary for the preservation of the public peace and good order against the licentiousness of political discussion, what shape soever the free communication of opinions may take among the people. The Report coincides in this opinion. The Committee conceive that these precautions are sufficient. 'They are satisfied' (says the Duc de Broglie) 'that the Penal Code affords a remedy for all the disorders to which the political system is subject; and, of consequence, that a law punishing the acts which excite every one of those disorders without distinction, is complete in itself. The Penal Code under which we live,' adds the Duke, 'has never been accused of omissions, or of too great lenity; its author has not been much reproached with neglecting either the rights of unsparing justice, or the interests of supreme power.'

II. The other class of crimes that consist in publication, is composed of those which at once, and of themselves, without any other intermediate offence, injure either society or individuals. Attacks upon morals and religion form the first of this class, and are termed, generally, '*outrages*;' the other three consist of attacks upon character.

The enactment respecting '*outrages*,' appears to have created the most discussion, and to have been attended with the greatest difficulties. It was on the one hand manifest, that not only morality might be outraged by vicious publications, \* the criminality of which no man could doubt; but that the discussion of speculative questions, respecting both morality and religion, might be carried on with such indecency, as to offend persons of good principles, whatever opinion they professed. It was, on the other hand, most dangerous to open the door of the Courts to the zealots of different sects, and to put the sword of justice, as a weapon of persecution, into the hands of casuists and school divines.

'Dans un pays où la liberté des cultes est un droit constitutionnel, et où la liberté des discussions philosophiques est un droit acquis par une prescription plus que centenaire, si une loi étoit rendue qui permit à quiconque se verroit contester avec quelque vivacité, soit un sentiment qu'il trouve bon, soit

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\* Under '*attacks*' and '*publication*,' it is to be borne in mind, that every communication of ideas, by whatever mode, is comprehended.

‘ une opinion qu’il trouve juste, soit un dogme qu’il estime vrai, soit une pratique qui découle de ce dogme, de porter plainte en justice, et de voir sa plainte accueillie, les tribunaux retiendroient incessamment des cris de l’école, leurs arrêts deviendroient des décisions de théologie et de métaphysique ; les diverses communions religieuses, qui vivent en paix aujourd’hui, ressaisiroient bientôt les armes, et peut-être verrions-nous avant peu une grande partie de la population tourmentée et dégoûtée de ces débats, s’égarer de nouveau jusqu’à imputer à la religion le tort du législateur. ’ In this difficulty, we will not say that the lawgiver has steered a course perfectly free from danger, for that was plainly impossible ; but we do think that he has extricated himself as well as the nature of the case permitted. The offences in question were described by the terms ‘ *outrages à la morale publique* ; ’ to which, says the Report, there are added, in order to quiet the apprehensions of well-meaning persons who were fearful of this description not being large enough, the words ‘ *et à la morale religieuse*. ’ It is left of course to the Jury, in all cases, to say whether any given publication outrages morality and religion ; and we are told, that the impression of the Jury’s mind may be taken as a test of criminality in this particular.

The offences against Character are subdivided into three species, which it is unnecessary to discuss minutely. These are termed ‘ *offenses*, ’ or attacks upon the character of persons or bodies, who are supposed beyond the reach of the attack, and therefore are deemed incapable of being defamed—‘ *injuries*, ’ or insults, which irritate without hurting the character—and ‘ *diffamations*, ’ slander or defamation. We will not say that these distinctions are supported by no real differences ; but the first of them, at least, appears to be in no little degree childish, courtierlike, and inaccurate. We marvel that the great acumen displayed through the rest of the Report, did not serve to discover objections to this piece of false classification. The King, the Princes of the Blood, the Chambers and Foreign Sovereigns, are, it seems, so invulnerable in the eye of the Law, that it is not to be imagined that their reputation can be damaged by any slander. We presume, however, that the very same thing may be said of every virtuous character, with as much truth. A temporary effect only, perhaps no effect at all, will be produced by attempts to defame it ; but still we speak of its being injured ; and if it be said that calumny unchecked will sometimes succeed in blackening the fairest fame, so may the unrestrained publication of falsehood or of truth (for they both fall within the description of ‘ *offenses* ’) reach even the loftiest individuals, or most pow-

erful bodies in the State. Besides, if we understand aright the meaning of 'injures,' this class ought to comprehend 'offenses,' for an abortive attempt to defame—an exhibition of impotent malignity—seems to come strictly within the description of 'insult.' We are ready indeed to admit, that these questions of arrangement are not very important; but a far more interesting point occurs under this head, and affects, more or less, the whole of this branch of the second class; we mean, the question of the Truth or Falsehood of the matter published, when it assumes the form of a specific imputation upon the character of any man or body of men.

It is to be regretted that the Report does not, in any one place, state with sufficient precision, and in detail, the provisions of the law upon this most essential particular; but, as far as we can gather them from the whole document taken together, we apprehend them to be as follows. The truth of any defamatory statement respecting the Private character or conduct of individuals, is not allowed to be a defence for the person who publishes it; upon this incontestable ground, that no one has a right to violate the secrecy of domestick life, and drag the frailties, or even the faults of his neighbour, into view, for the gratification of an idle or malignant curiosity. The Penal Code had adopted the word *calumny*, to designate every imputation, the truth of which could not be proved by the production of a judicial sentence; and it had permitted that evidence and no other to be given; but, when given, it was an answer to the charge of calumny. The consequence of this provision was, that statements notoriously true, but not proved by the sentence of any court, were termed calumnious, and punished as such. The New Law avoids this absurdity in the language, by rejecting the term '*calumny*,' altogether; and it avoids the more important error of suffering a malicious publication of a fault, forgotten through length of time, or unknown from distance of place, and expiated by a course of virtuous conduct, to escape unpunished, because founded upon a conviction. It forbids the fact of that conviction to be given in evidence at all; not only deeming it inconclusive of the question before the Jury, but holding it immaterial to that question.

With respect to the conduct of Publick men, the case is different. Imputations cast upon them in their private character fall within the case of defamation of private individuals; but imputations upon their publick functions are only held to be defamatory when they are false. Here, then, evidence of the truth is not merely admitted; but it is conclusive, and rebuts the charge. The Noble Reporter justly observes, that it would have been

better to retain the word calumny for this species of defamation, and reserve the general expression for attacks upon private character. He also regrets that the punishments are not varied according to the kind of defamation, so as at least to make a distinction between the imputation of crimes cognisable by law, and the allegation of matters which, if true, would subject the person accused to no judicial proceedings.

The important distinction which the Law takes between defamation of publick and of private conduct, is plainly stated; but we are left somewhat in the dark as to the other crimes. Thus, it does not clearly appear, whether the truth of any statement contained in what is termed an '*offense*,' may be proved in defence of the publication. That an imputation cast upon those to whom the general principles of jurisprudence ascribe perfection, should be deemed criminal, whether true or false, we can conceive to be a provision consistent with the other part of the law respecting publick functionaries; but we do not so well see the consistency of permitting the truth to be spoken of those functionaries acting in their publick capacity, and yet prohibiting it with respect to Princes of the Blood and the Two Chambers; yet we apprehend that such is the provision of this law: And there can be no doubt, that the proof of the truth of any statement complained of as instigating to an offence under the first head, would be inadmissible.

The Law concludes with certain provisions which the Report deems superfluous; that the privileges of the Legislative Bodies do not extend to publications of speeches by their members; that the editors of newspapers shall be punishable for publishing false or wilfully garbled reports of the legislative proceedings, but not for fair reports of them; and that the printers shall be deemed accomplices of the writers, if they are aware of the wilful falsification. The noble Reporter asserts, that these are so many self-evident propositions. He says, the law might as well have enacted that every one is responsible for his actions; that no one shall be punished for acting in good faith, and with good intentions; and that speaking in the Chambers, and writing for the publick, are different things. But he is yet more severe upon a general provision which follows, and which exempts from all punishment the printers of works, the publication of which is cognisable by this law, unless they can be shown to have known their contents, or to have failed in complying with the regulations of the law 1814—requiring them, we believe, to declare the names of the authors. The Report stigmatizes this provision as inconsistent and incapable of being executed, because it deems the conviction of a man impossible.

in every case where he is truly ignorant of the offence laid to his charge. Unfortunately, however, this is the law of England at the present moment; and, ridiculous as well as unjust though it may seem to the Duc de Broglie, instances occur constantly, with us, of Juries being compelled, either to violate the law under which they act, or to find printers guilty, upon a negation of their general responsibility, when they are proved to have been completely ignorant of the act being done for which they are tried.

We have now gone through the very interesting matter of this New Law of Libel; and although undoubtedly it contains much that will tend to secure the liberties of France, and to promote the most salutary improvements, both in the frame and in the administration of her government, and presents one or two provisions which we should do well to imitate, it must at the same time be allowed to be, in one important particular, extremely defective.

The exclusion of all vague charges of libel would be an inestimable benefit, if it were made completely strict. The classification of different kinds of libel, and the specification which the prosecutor is bound to make of the particular offence instigated by the publication, is extremely useful, as it checks vague and uncertain accusations. But there is a very great defect in this branch of the Law; and we are astonished that the Report does not point it out. The intention of the act is the principal matter for consideration in every criminal trial. Now, in order to ascertain the intention of the publisher, the truth or falsehood of any statement complained of as *instigating* to the commission of an offence, is plainly most material: It is not the only matter which may throw light upon the intention; but it is always among the chief *indicia*. Yet the Law allows no such inquiry. A statement, though perfectly true, may, from the time and manner of its publication, and the comments with which it is accompanied, be criminal, as instigating to the commission of a certain offence—for example sedition. But who shall say, that a knowledge of the truth or falsehood of the statement can give no help to the Jury in ascertaining the guilt or innocence of the person who published it? Who can deny, that, if false, the inventor or propagator may be justly deemed to have published it with the view of exciting sedition; while, if true, the probability is the other way? That the degree of the guilt and the punishment to be apportioned must vary with the truth or falsehood of the thing published, where conviction follows, there can of course be no doubt. Yet the Judge is not allowed to know any thing upon

this point, so material to aid him in passing the sentence. Here, then, the worst of the defects of our Law of Libel is retained in the new French Law. It must be admitted, that ours would be essentially amended, by adopting the provision requiring the prosecutor to specify the crime which the libel is accused of inciting; but as sedition is a vague term, unless Juries are enabled to probe the intention more accurately, by examining the nature of the statement, as well as the circumstances of the publication, the certainty so desirable in such proceedings cannot be attained.

The provisions respecting Defamation, are in some respects more wise than our own. They have at once got rid of the glaring absurdity of the English law, that the most malignant attack upon private character is not punishable, unless it be reduced to writing.\* They have also, with great soundness of judgment, enacted, that the truth of the matters published *for the purpose of defamation*, shall be no defence; whereas, in the only redress which our law gives for this grievous injury, the truth is an answer to the action. But the New Law is again defective in this branch as in the former, by excluding the truth or falsehood of the defamatory matter from the knowledge of the Jury and of the Court. The malicious defamer should be punished, though his story be true, if he is proved to be a *malicious* defamer; but in order to ascertain the malice, it is most fit that the Jury should know whether the tale is true or false; they may convict him of malicious defamation, though it be true; but the proof of its truth may also, in many cases, rebut the presumption of malice. In like manner, the Court should know this, in order to mete out an adequate punishment.

The salutary provision which allows the truth to be freely published of all public functionaries, deserves the highest commendation. It is a mighty step, indeed, towards a Libel Law, as perfect as the nature of things will permit; and it holds out to this free country an example most worthy of imitation. Here too, indeed, we should have preferred adhering to the great principle, that in all questions of libel, the *truth or falsehood of the statement is a matter for the Jury*, in ascertaining the guilt or innocence of the publisher's intentions, and is not to be held in any case conclusive evidence. Nevertheless, as the cases are extremely rare and difficult to be put, in which a public man may be defamed in his public capacity by the *malicious* publication of *truths*, no considerable harm is likely to arise out

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\* It is also punishable as an excitement to fight a duel, if offered as an insult to the individual, but not if published of him.



of the departure from the general rule in this case. The wise and just principle which exempts printers from responsibility, where the author is known, and the printer is ignorant, deserves equal praise, and affords a wholesome lesson to our own Legislation.

**ART. XI.** 1. *Relation circonstanciée de la Campagne de 1813 en Saxe.* Par M. LE BARON D'ODELEBEN, l'un des Officiers Generaux de l'Armée. Traduit de l'Allemand sur la Seconde Edition, par M. AUBERT DE VITRY. Paris, 1817. 2 Tomes. 8vo. pp. 308-334.

2. *Histoire de Guerre soutenue par les Français en Allemagne en 1813.* Par le Général GUILLAUME DE VOUDONCOURT. Paris. 4to. 1819.

THE first of these publications is, more properly, a sort of personal narrative of Buonaparte and his staff—their ‘manière d’être et d’agir,’ as the author has entitled one of his chapters,—than a detail of the Campaign of 1813: and it is incomparably more entertaining than any such detail could have been. The author was placed precisely in such a situation as to qualify him for the task he has undertaken. An officer of rank, attached to the head quarters of Buonaparte, and serving under the most faithful of his allies, he was close enough to see and hear a great deal of what was going forward, yet not sufficiently familiar with those extraordinary scenes, to have lost the interest which their novelty was calculated to excite. He fortunately confines himself to the transactions which fell under his own immediate observation; and his book gives certainly the best account of the machinery of which Napoleon was the main spring, that has ever yet come before us. It has all the internal evidence of fidelity; and it is not probable that a work of such extent would have been translated and published at Paris, if it had not been generally relied on.

We have prefixed also to this article, the title of General Voudoncourt’s account of the Campaign, to serve as a reference for our military readers; but we shall not enter into the detail of the operations, which he describes with great clearness, and with tolerable impartiality. The maps and plans of battles which this volume contains, are very satisfactory; and they supply an important deficiency in the work of M. Odeleben;—to which a good map would have been a very useful addition.

At the close of 1812, the only resources of the French beyond the Rhine, were the strong places remaining in their pos-

session, and the shattered force collected under Beauharnois after the retreat from Moscow. The Russian army, on the other hand, was already on the Vistula, and Prussia was in arms, or preparing for a general defection. But the skill and resolution of that distinguished officer gained time for Buonaparte to organize his new levies: And the rapidity with which the French army was regenerated, is certainly an extraordinary proof of his influence in France. He arrived in Paris in December, while the retreat from Russia was still unfinished; yet his conscripts were advancing in high spirits to the frontiers, in the month of March. The greater part, however, of the new troops were absolutely boys, totally unfit for the exhausting efforts that were before them; and though skilful officers, and privates of experience, were judiciously distributed amongst them, they were scarcely acquainted with the use of the musket, and were all, of course, unpractised in the business of manœuvre. The veterans of Russia could not, in fact, be replaced. The greatest efforts were necessary to supply the loss of artillery and *materiel* which had been totally destroyed or taken in that disastrous campaign. At first, the French had only 350 cannon; and it was not till the armistice in August, that the number was increased to 1300 pieces. But the chief defect of the new army was the want of cavalry, the formation of which is always a work of time and difficulty; and the condition of the horses, hastily brought together from all parts of France, and hurried on under the weight of the new accoutrements, is described by the author as very miserable.

A corps of the best conscripts was organized, to supply the place of the Guards who had perished in Russia. The officers of this body, which was called the Young guard, were all select; and the vacancies in the Old guard, which had consisted of 8000 men, were to be supplied from it. The guards, in general, were indulged with various privileges:—They were under the immediate command of the Emperor; their extreme licentiousness was winked at; and their exactions, when in quarters, were intolerable. They had always better clothing, quarters, and provisions, than the other troops; but, in return, they were put forward, on all occasions, in service of the greatest danger; \* and in the midst of slaughter and fatigue of every description, their bravery and devotion were unbounded.

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\* During the attack on Dresden, the greater part of the soldiers in one of the redoubts had been killed or wounded, and the survivors began to waver; when seven of the guard, who were called upon to

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On the 17th of April, Buonaparte joined his army at Mentz, having come with a single officer from St Cloud, a distance of near 400 miles, in 48 hours. He had already ordered up a reserve of 30,000 marines and naval artillery; cannon were cast; horses and clothing prepared in various quarters with astonishing rapidity; and new masses of recruits were continually on their march into Germany. In this state of things, it would have been easy, perhaps, for the Allies to have advanced: but the course of events which actually took place, was probably more fortunate for the cause of Europe. Time and continued failure were required to deprive Napoleon of the support of public opinion, as well as to develop fully the spirit of resistance in the subjugated States. It was necessary, perhaps, to his destruction, that he should again advance, and exhaust himself, at a distance from his own territory. In the mean time, the rapacity and insolence of the French, were everywhere increasing the dissatisfaction of their German Allies. The officers coldly witnessed every kind of outrage. Their only apology was to shrug their shoulders, exclaiming, 'C'est la guerre!' or, sometimes, the assurance, that great sacrifices must be made for peace.—'Mais on sait déjà,' adds the author, 'ce que Napoléon entendait, pour lui, et pour les autres, par un grand sacrifice.'—During his stay at Mentz, Buonaparte was restless and uneasy; doubting, probably, as to the plan of his campaign. 'Il nous fera lancer, comme dans les autres campagnes,' was the expression of his officers during this uncertainty. But it was soon evident that Saxony was to be the seat of war; and on the 29th of April Napoleon mounted his horse, and never resumed his carriage till the armistice was announced, in June.\* He was very minute in his inquiries, as the army advanced, and reconnoitred circumspectly, with a view to the approaching battle. His questions bore a good deal on the effect which his movements produced among the people; he appeared to delight especially, in the impression made upon the populace by his numerous trains of artillery; and his confidence in his own skill was unbounded.

'Il ne reconnaissait pas, dans ses adversaires, la faculté d'employer habilement les forces qu'ils avaient à leur disposition,—se croyant seul capable de diriger de si grandes machines. Par sa sévérité, la vo-

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raise their spirits, sprung upon the parapet, without paying the least attention to the shower of bullets that was poured upon them; and continued to promenade, with the utmost coolness, until two or three of them were killed, and the parapet was almost entirely shot away.

\* He was reported to have said on this occasion, 'Je ferai cette campagne comme le General Buonaparte, et non pas en Empereur!'

lonté et l'exécution étaient, pour ainsi dire, fondues ensemble; et de cette manière, dans les derniers temps de son gouvernement, la marche des affaires était très-simples et sans art. *Les ordres émanaient de lui; très-brefs, en grand; ayant pour but l'ensemble.* L'expédition des détails était abandonnée aux généraux, aux officiers subordonnés, qui, depuis la révolution, avaient acquis une grande pratique, et appris l'art de se tirer d'embarras. Celui de Napoléon consistait surtout en ce que, *pour l'exécution d'un plan qu'il embrassait en grand, et qu'il avait calculé, il choisissait, avec une volonté ferme, inflexible, les moyens qui devaient le conduire, au plus vite et le plus vigoureusement à son but.* Sa redoutable autorité dissipait comme une chimère toute objection, toute représentation, toute preuve d'impossibilité, pour les choses même les plus insignifiantes. Si, par exemple, on lui eût représenté qu'un chemin était impraticable, c'était à ses yeux un ridicule, qui lui faisait dire ironiquement: "Ah! on ne peut pas!" Et il ne revenait de sa prévention, que quand l'impossibilité lui sautait, pour ainsi dire, aux yeux. Tant la fortune avait gâté cet homme.' Tome I. pp. 43, 44.

The hostile armies were now very near each other. While Buonaparte was at table with Berthier, at Norimburg, he was informed of the junction of Beauharnois; and, after learning that his advanced posts under Ney had been engaged, he was incessantly in motion till the battle of Lutzen, on the 2d of May. In this great action the French force, according to Vaudoncourt, was 166,000, the Russian and Prussian army only 107,000 men; but the want of 'ensemble' was very discernible in the movements of the French, who felt also, severely, their great deficiency in cavalry. We shall not enter into a detailed account of this important battle; M. Odeleben's animated description of which, places in a strong light the promptitude and military tact of Buonaparte. The French were marching upon Leipsic, when they were unexpectedly attacked.—'Tout à coup, entre dix et onze heures, il s'éleva une forte canonnade sur le derriere du flanc droit, dans la direction du grand et du petit Gerseken. Le Maréchal Ney était à Kaia, et les environs avaient été attaqués avec furie par les Prussiens: Napoleon resta tranquille, observa pendant quelques minutes la fumée et le bruit éloignés, et sur le lieu même changea son plan, faisant retourner toutes les troupes qui s'avançaient encore sur la route, et les faisant retrograder sur Lützen.' (p. 50.) He was just in time;—for Ney could hardly maintain his ground at Kaia, which was the key of the French position;—and Napoleon, who placed himself behind the village, was more exposed to personal danger, upon this occasion, than during any one of the remaining battles of the campaign;—he felt, in short, the necessity of making every effort to gain the victory in this first trial of strength.

Je n'ai jamais apperçu des signes plus visibles d'embarras sur son visage, que dans ce jour, au moment où peut-être la troisième attaque sur Kaia et Ranu avait été repoussée; et où une de ses brigades, fuyant ouvertement, avait été chassée du premier de ces villages. Dans ce moment, Napoleon reçut un rapport par un de ses officiers d'ordonnance, avec un terrible *Ha!* \* il se le fit répéter, et jeta en même temps un regard long, incertain, et timide sur Berthier et Caulincourt, comme s'il eût voulu dire;—Est-ce que vous croyez que mon étoile disparaît? ' pp. 53, 54.

There was now no time for the distribution of eagles and crosses of honour, his usual expedients when he wished for the greatest efforts; but he showed himself everywhere to his soldiers, and used every art that time would allow, to excite their enthusiasm. ' Peu de temps auparavant Napoleon, pour quelque faute, avait privé un bataillon de son chef. Il savait que cet officier, d'ailleurs très brave homme, étoit fortement aimé de ses soldats. Il courut au-devant de bataillon, à la tête duquel il le remplaça, après lui avoir adressé un petit discours. Les cris de joie de cette troupe retentirent au loin, et elle forma aussitôt la tête d'une colonne qui s'avança pour attaquer un hauteur derrière Starriedel. Tous les autres régiments l'accueillirent par des acclamations, même au milieu du feu de l'artillerie. ' p. 55.

The combat at Kaia was maintained with great violence, till half past six in the evening, when the enemy's fire gained ground very rapidly, and those around Buonaparte showed visible signs of apprehension. They were relieved, however, by an attack of the young guard; and Buonaparte immediately ordered up a battery of sixty pieces of cannon, which rapidly advanced, and was followed by himself at the head of his second line of attack. ' Ce fut le moment où il se montra avec l'ardent désir de vaincre. Il volait d'un point à un autre, poussant toujours, pour obtenir quelque avantage de terrain, afin que l'ennemi, tourmenté par la vivacité du feu de l'artillerie ne put se maintenir dans sa position, ni persévérer dans sa résistance.— Napoleon apela un général polonais, qui étoit à sa suite, et lui dit, très brièvement; " Allez à Cracovie, et dites que j'ai gagné une bataille. "—Ce fut la seule dépêche expédiée du lieu de combat. ' p. 57.

The cavalry of the allies enabled them to make an excellent retreat: But the French advanced without opposition to Dres-

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\* ' Cette syllabe *Ha!* prononcée par Napoleon, avait tant de significations, et il savait la moduler d'une manière si étonnante, qu'on pouvait reconnaître de loin si la nouvelle qu'il recevait étoit gaie, ou triste; et dès qu'il saisissait le sens d'un discours, il exprimait encore, par cette syllabe, de la manière la plus significative, sa satisfaction ou son mécontentement. '

den, where the magistrates were ordered out to meet the Emperor; and the interview was a tolerable specimen of the consideration with which he regarded his allies. He asked them, drily, whether they had any bread; and, without paying the least attention to their remonstrances in behalf of their unfortunate city, already exhausted by the numberless troops which had been quartered there, he ordered an immediate supply of bread, meat and wine; and turned his horse abruptly towards the suburbs. The inhabitants, it may well be supposed, were in the utmost consternation; the allies had burned the wooden bridges, and the French had previously destroyed that of stone, which was one of the chief ornaments of the city. It was necessary to employ a considerable force of artillery, to protect the workmen in erecting new bridges: and, for this purpose, General Drouet was ordered to bring forward a hundred pieces of artillery. 'Comme Drouet revenait de Kreisnitz, et qu'il rendait compte à Bonaparte de l'exécution de ses ordres, celui-ci ne trouva pas les canons bien placés à son gré, et dans la première effervescence de sa mauvaise humeur, il prit le général par le bout des oreilles, et les lui tira; mais celui-ci ne faisait pas contenance, et lui assura d'un ton modeste, mais décidé, qu'on ne pouvait pas mieux les placer. Aussitôt l'air mécontent de Napoleon fit place à un rire amical. Il parut avoir seulement voulu plaisanter, et se tranquillisa. De semblable mouvemens d'une colère très-vive n'étaient pas rares de sa part.' p. 72.

The cannonade which followed, was very severe on both sides. 'Plusieurs boulets et grenades vinrent tomber auprès de Bonaparte; une de ces dernières enleva tout près de lui une pièce d'une cloison de planche d'un magasin à poudre, et lui en lança un morceau de bois à la tête—"S'il avait touché le ventre, c'était fini," dit-il, en relevant et examinant le morceau de bois. Quelques minutes après, une grenade tomba à terre entre lui et un bataillon Italien, qui avait marché vingt pas derrière lui. Les Italiens se courberent un peu pour éviter l'effet de l'explosion: il le remarqua, se tourna de leur côté, avec un rire moqueur, et leur cria, "*Ah! c'èjoni non, fa male.*" A la fin, la place devint un peu désagréable, et il se dirigea au-delà de Cotta.' p. 72.

The bridges over the Elbe were very soon repaired; and Buonaparte, resuming his good humour, ordered his army to advance into Silesia, in pursuit of the allies, who had retired to Bautzen; and after repeated solicitations, he prevailed at last upon the King of Saxony to return to his capital: where he remained a sort of state prisoner, till the final retreat of the French. The poor King came slowly and reluctantly, expecting perhaps the declaration of Austria in favour of the alliance; but he was received with great pomp by Napoleon, who employed every artifice of cajolery to keep his prisoner in good

humour. He himself directed the arrangement of the troops for the reception of the King, and used all his affability to calm his anxiety, and cultivate his good opinion. He went regularly to mass, on Sundays and Holidays; frequently waited upon him in person; and gave him, with scrupulous attention, the earliest intelligence as to the movements of the troops. And he was so successful, that this unfortunate prince, was the last of the Saxons to forsake him. During his stay at Dresden, Buonaparte was indefatigable, in examining the environs, and reviewing his troops. Ney was ordered to advance upon Berlin; and he himself waited only to receive intelligence from that General. After a long interview with Count Bubna, the Austrian minister, he left the city on the 16th of May, with all his suite, to join the army in Silesia. On the march he was absorbed in deep reflection, and talked very seriously with Caulincourt, upon whose cool judgment, he seems to have placed great reliance. But, whatever doubts he may have secretly entertained, the tone of confidence, both of himself and his troops, was undiminished. Even afterwards, when the Austrians had declared for the allies, they still continued to hope. ‘*Vous verrez,*’ was the language of his officers, ‘*qu’ils commettront des fautes; nous tomberons sur eux,—nous les écraserons.*’

At the battle of Bautzen, the French again had the advantage in numbers, being 180,000 against 150,000 of the Allies: but the battle was gained, in a great measure, by the skill of Buonaparte; who was so certain of success, that he despatched a courier to the Empress to announce the victory, before the fighting was over. The Allies, however, again retired in admirable order; and the French sustained the greatest loss in the action. The death of Duroc, who was killed soon after by a cannon-shot, which passed very close to himself, appears to have affected Buonaparte’s feelings severely. He examined the point from whence the shot had been fired, and his dejection was visible to all who surrounded him.—‘*Qu’on se représente Napoleon, le soir d’une bataille, gagnée à la vérité, mais dans laquelle il avoit prodigué, sans résultat décisif, les forces immenses, qui lui étoient confiées. Qu’on l’imagine à l’entrée d’une carrière incertaine, et qui devoit être si fertile en résultats importants. Qu’on le contemple privé du confident le plus cher, que cet homme, d’ailleurs si peu sensible, eût au monde, et qui lui parlait peut-être avec la franchise d’un camarade de collège. Qu’on l’imagine couvert de sa capote grise; assis sur un plûent au milieu de ses braves, les bras pendans, la tête penchée, isolé de sa suite brillante, qui, à une distance respectueuse se forment en groupes, dans lesquels on osait à peine articuler que l’ami de Napoleon étoit sur le point de rendre le dernier soupir—le lugubre silence qui régnait tout près du chef suprême, contrastent avec*

le mouvement des soldats preparant leur repos et leur couches !— Des milliers de feux bivouac semblaient errer dans la plaine,' &c. pp. 101, 102.

During the operations of this period, more than twenty villages were burned ; and the troops were guilty of every kind of violence and excess. The losses sustained by Ney, in the affairs which followed, were carefully concealed from Buonaparte, —a deception commonly practised by his generals, after their reverses,—the French dead and wounded being speedily removed from the field, while those of the enemy were allowed to remain. Upon the whole, M. Odeleben asserts the total loss of the French, up to the period of the armistice, exceeded that of the Allies. Buonaparte was now in high spirits : he was pleased at the enemy's appearing to fly before him—' Il parlait beaucoup, et en route il fredonnait souvent des fragmens de chansons italiennes et françaises, s'occupant de tous les objets qui le frappaient, comme aurait pu faire un homme libre de tout soin.' But moving through a new country, in the midst of the enemy, he was very attentive to the complicated manœuvres of the troops, in which he exhibited admirable tact. In the mean time, negotiations were begun ; and Caulincourt was despatched to arrange the terms of an armistice. The anxiety of Buonaparte on this subject was extreme ; and every body at his head-quarters wished for peace. He laboured incessantly in his cabinet ; his spirits rose with the prospect of a cessation of hostilities, and he showed a great desire to gain over the inhabitants of Silesia—' *Je sais bien,*' he said to a deputation from Breslau, ' *que le roi a été égaré.*' At last an armistice of two months was agreed to, on the 4th of June ; and, on the 10th, Buonaparte returned to Dresden.

M. Odeleben has, judiciously, availed himself of this repose of the armies, to describe the economy of Napoleon's establishment, and the mode in which things were conducted at headquarters : and this is, by far, the most entertaining part of the book. His observations on the character of Buonaparte are tolerably fair, especially when the injuries entailed on Saxony by the French alliance are taken into the account. He praises freely his extraordinary talents, which the vicissitudes of this campaign brought out in all their force ; but, though himself a soldier, he censures with great warmth and justice his insatiable passion for war, and his unprincipled ambition—which he ascribes, in part, somewhat fancifully, to his determined hatred to England ; and, in the same way, he refers the extreme irascibility and restlessness of Napoleon to the ' southern temperament, which rendered him incapable of repose.'



In the talents of a general, Buonaparte was far beyond all his officers. His forte was, consummate skill in estimating and combining time, distance, and number; in calculating the movements of great armies; and a coup-d'œil, astonishingly rapid and correct, by means of which he became acquainted with new positions, in countries which he had never seen before, with a promptitude that was quite surprising. A single glance through his telescope, in the midst of smoke and confusion, gave him instantly the actual state of affairs, at moments of the greatest danger;—of which, the author says, he saw repeated proofs during this campaign; the great want of cavalry and of experienced subalterns frequently compelling Buonaparte to act entirely upon his own judgment, and without any previous information. But he relied too much upon these extraordinary powers; and continued success had produced in him a blind confidence in his fortune: so that his plans and combinations became every day less regular; till at last, in Russia, he seems to have committed himself altogether to chance.

He disliked, also, every thing of detail, and was often the dupe of designing persons, whose gross mismanagement in the lower departments of the army, frequently caused infinite mischief and disappointment. His power of enduring bodily fatigue and want of sleep, was not the least important of his military qualifications; and his penetration and facility in the cabinet, were very remarkable. Those around him spoke with astonishment of the copiousness and ease with which he dictated to his secretaries. He was absolutely indefatigable in business; very seldom postponing any thing that came before him; and he was not more sparing of his assistants than of himself.

On ne se fait pas l'idée des fatigues et des peines endurées par les adjutans, les secrétaires, les officiers d'ordonnance, enfin, par tous ceux qui entouraient Napoléon, depuis le grand écuyer jusqu'au dernier de ses valets. Caulincourt pouvait être appelé l'infatigable, Comme lui tous les autres devaient se tenir prêts (et même en habit assez élégant) au service de Napoléon à chaque heure et à chaque instant. Dans le palais tout était encombré, et sous dessous.—Un homme d'une naissance illustre, tel que le General Narbonne, fut obligé pendant la dernière moitié de cette campagne, de coucher sur la paille, ou sur deux chaises, dans l'antichambre de Napoléon, où il faisait le service d'adjutant. En cette qualité il devait être toujours là, pour l'éveiller jusqu'à sept ou huit fois par nuit, lorsque quelques dépenses ou quelque rapport important exigeaient qu'il en fût informé sur le champ.—Cette antichambre ressemblait souvent au ventre du cheval de Troie. Rustan le fameux Mamcluck que Buonaparte a amené d'Egypte, couchant toujours par terre près de la chambre de Napoléon, et ordinairement près de l'entrée. Il n'était

véritablement que son palefrenier, qui le suivait partout comme Sancho Pansa ; mais avec la seule différence, que Rustan ne pensait pas son cheval, et qu'il avait autant de chevaux de relais que Napoléon lui-même.—On lui ferait trop-d'honneur si l'on croyait qu'il jouit de quelque confiance, où qu'il occupât un certain rang. Caulincourt et les plus anciens serviteurs de Napoléon le tutoyaient ; et il vivait avec les domestiques les plus considérés de la maison impériale. Cet homme, qui est devenu tout-à-fait Français, et qui a épousé une parisienne, dont le portrait est toujours sur son cœur, a une physionomie qui annonce la franchise, et ses grands yeux noirs expriment une certaine cordialité, et une bonhomie, qui semblent justifier la confiance que Napoléon a cru pouvoir lui accorder, en comptant entièrement sur sa fidélité. Cependant Rustan n'a pas suivi Napoléon à l'isle d'Elbe lorsque celui-ci descendit du haut de sa gloire.—Il y avait en outre, au quartier général, une façon de Mameluck natif de Versailles, destiné aussi au service de Napoléon.' I. 134, &c.

The best apartment in the quarters of Buonaparte, was chosen as a sort of cabinet for himself and his secretaries. There was always a large table in the middle, with a map of the theatre of war spread out upon it, the positions of the troops being marked with pins, which had heads of different colours. This map was always arranged by the Director of the Bureau-topographique ; and great care was taken to have it in readiness immediately after Buonaparte's arrival ; ' car c'était la chose, à laquelle il tenait plus qu'aux autres besoins de la vie.' And during the night, it was surrounded with twenty or thirty candles with a compass in the middle of them. \* There was a little table in each corner of this sanctuary for the secretaries ; and Buonaparte dictated to them ' en se promenant, très souvent avec le chapeau sur la tête.'

' Etant accoutumé à voir exécuter avec la plus grande célérité tout ce qui sortait de sa tête, personne n'écrivait assez vite pour lui, et ce

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\* In the field, Caulincourt, as Grand Equerry, always carried a map attached to one of his buttons. ' Un jour, Bonaparte demanda " la Carte," et celle-ci n'étant pas plié de manière à ce qu'on y vit distinctement la position dont on avait besoin, ne pouvant pas y reconnaître, il se mit en colère ; parce que continuant sa route à cheval, il devoit donner des ordres d'après la position qu'il cherchait, il tacha de la plier autrement ; malheureusement un coup de vent la fit renverser : dans un accès de colère il jeta la carte sous les pieds de S. Sec. le Duc de Vicence, qui fut obligé de mettre pied à terre, pour la ramasser, et parvint aide d'un page, à l'arranger comme elle devoit l'être. Bonaparte fut fâché de son emportement ; car, quelques minutes après, il dit, d'un ton plus modéré, " Donnez moi la carte." Il signifia à Caulincourt de la plier, à l'avenir, avec plus de soin.' p. 137.

qu'il dictait devait être écrit en chiffres.—Il est incroyable comme il dictait vite, et comme ses secrétaires avaient acquis la capacité de le suivre en écrivant.—Mais cela n'était que le quart de la besogne ; les secrétaires devaient ensuite commencer à déchiffrer ce brouillamini, mot par mot, et l'arranger d'après le sens que les phrases exigeaient. —Aussi devaient-ils s'accoutumer à différentes sortes de travaux regardant tantôt la politique et tantôt la tactique.—Il arrivait, par exemple, un rapport d'un Maréchal qui commandait en Silésie, &c.—Alors un secrétaire devait se soumettre à écrire un A, B, C, pour le Roi de Rome ;—ou à copier les positions de vingt brigades des différents corps d'armée, qui toutes lui étaient parfaitement connues.—Ces secrétaires vivant toujours dans la sphère de cet homme extraordinaire, dont l'esprit volcanique enfantait mille idées diverses, étaient comme des fils qui se rattachaient aux départements administratifs et de la guerre ;—Il est étonnant qu'avec si peu de monde Napoléon ait su suffire à une foule d'affaires, sans en déranger la marche régulière, (p. 138, &c.)—Ceux qui écrivaient sous sa dictée, surtout les secrétaires, devaient être à même de répondre sur toutes sortes de demandes politiques ou militaires. Lorsqu'il recevait des dépêches, il questionnait les officiers qui se trouvaient près de lui, sur la position des lieux mentionnés dans les dépêches, avant qu'ils pussent savoir si ces lieux étaient en Silésie, en Espagne, ou ailleurs. Ce n'était qu'après avoir jeté un regard sur la signature de celui qui avait envoyé la dépêche, qu'on pouvait deviner ce que Bonaparte voulait dire, et lui indiquer sur la carte ce qu'il demandait.—Lorsqu'il attendait des nouvelles de ses généraux, et qu'on présumait que quelque bataille pouvait avoir en lieu, il était dans la plus vive inquiétude, et au milieu de la nuit, il faisait appeler un ou plusieurs de ceux qui travaillaient dans son cabinet : “ *Appelez d'Albe ; que tout le monde s'éveille !* ” s'écriait-il. Cela arrivait toujours vers une ou deux heures du matin. ’ I. pp. 182-3.

He retired usually about eight or nine in the evening, and slept but rarely during the day, after great fatigue, or a night en bivouac ; and, once only, when the armistice was agreed upon, he was in bed for ten hours de suite. But he was frequently employed all night in his cabinet. Rustan brought coffee ; and he dictated ‘ en robe de chambre ’ with a silk handkerchief wrapt round his head like a turban. On these occasions he used the warm bath about day-break, as a refreshment ; but his more general practice was, to rise about two, and go again to bed at four in the morning.

‘ Son carrosse de voyage était disposé de manière à ce qu'il y put dormir et s'étendre sur des matelas. Entre le siège qu'il occupait, et celui de Berthier il y avait quelque différence ; ensuite que celui qui l'accompagnait ne pouvait pas se coucher. Habillé en uniforme, et la tête enveloppée dans un mouchoir bizarre, il pouvait dormir en voiture comme s'il eût été dans son lit. L'intérieur de sa voiture avait

une quantité de tiroirs fermés à clef, et contenant les nouvelles de Paris, des rapports qui n'avaient pas encore été ouverts, et des livres. Vis-à-vis de Napoléon était placée la liste des endroits où les relais étaient prêts ; et une grande lanterne accrochée sur le derrière de la voiture en éclairait l'intérieur ; tandis que quatre autres lanternes répandaient leur éclat sur la route. Les matelas, que Rustan arrangeait, étaient emballés avec adresse dans la voiture, et au-dessous du magasin étaient casés quelques flambeaux de réserve. Rustan tout seul, était assis sur le siège, et six gros chevaux limosins, conduits par deux cochers, tiraient le carrosse, qui était simple, vert, à deux places et bien suspendu.' I. p. 185.

The 'materiel' of the bureau-topographique, which followed the movements of head quarters, consisted of two carriages containing a collection of maps and plans, of great value : but this department was entirely annihilated in Russia ; not a fragment having been brought back from that disastrous campaign. The whole were under the care of a Gardien-du-portefeuille, a person of extraordinary calmness and gravity of deportment, and two Chasseurs-du-portefeuille, who always followed Buonaparte on horseback, and took care to ride over every thing that came in their way. Caulincourt, who was appointed grand equerry on the death of Duroc, managed all the domestic establishment ; and it was he that opened the despatches from the Emperor.

Lorsqu'il était en voiture tout allait au grand trot et au galop. Caulincourt, descendant de cheval à la hâte, conduisait le courrier à l'écart, ouvrait la malle, courait après la voiture de Napoléon, et lui remettait les dépêches,—après quoi on voyait une quantité d'enveloppes sortir des deux côtés de la voiture. Ces papiers tombaient quelquefois sur les chevaux qui bordaient les deux côtés du carrosse ; car lorsque Napoléon voyageait en carrosse, on y fourrait tous les papiers qu'il n'avait pas eu le temps de lire, dans son cabinet. Tous les rapports inutiles étaient coupés et jetés par la portière. Les morceaux voloient dans l'air comme un essaim d'abeilles, et finissaient par être triturés sous les roues. C'était probablement Berthier qui était chargé de les couper, car on en a vu qui étaient coupés avec soin. Lorsqu'il n'y avait ni rapports, ni listes, ni états à lui soumettre, on remplissait toutes les poches de la voiture de journaux, et d'autres écrits périodiques venant de Paris. A peine les avait-il parcourus rapidement, on les voyait voler plus léger que le vent qui les emportait. Quelquefois on pouvait même profiter de cette circonstance pour se procurer une petite bibliothèque de campagne ; car lorsqu'il n'y avait ni journaux, ni écrits périodiques, les poches de la voiture étaient remplies de nouveautés, même de romans assez volumineux, mais seulement brochés. Si les premières pages ne lui plaisaient pas, ces malheureux livres étaient jetés par la portière, comme de coutume.' Tome I. p. 145, &c.

On the march, every thing was arranged with great precision respecting the quarters of the household; provisions and necessities were paid for very punctually; and fourteen carriages conveyed the apparatus and provisions of the whole establishment. The Emperor's bivouac consisted of five tents, placed in the midst of the guard: two of these were connected; one of which served as his cabinet, and opened into his own apartment; another was devoted to Berthier, ('il voulait avoir Berthier toujours sous sa main,') and the rest to the remaining members of the suite.

M. Odeleben's account of the principal officers of the staff, is also very entertaining; but we can mention only a few of them. The person next in importance to Napoleon was *Berthier*; who seems to have been regarded by all the army with the highest respect. In spite of his age, he retained unusual fire and activity.—'Toujours vil, il allait grand train à cheval, et était toujours bien monté; ce qui s'accordait parfaitement avec ses fonctions de grand veneur. Il aimait passionnément la chasse, au point que, quand une vieille corneille lui passait au-dessus de la tête, il laissait tomber les rênes, même en galopant, et faisait mine de lui lâcher un coup de fusil.' I. 197.

It was through him all the details of their movements were arranged: He had consequently a greater number of aides-de-camp than even Buonaparte himself; and he was honoured also with a distinct body guard, composed of his own countrymen, natives of Neufchatel, who wore crab-coloured jackets, with scarlet facings, (couleur d'écrevisse avec des paremens rouges) and had a very strange appearance. In his air, he had some resemblance to Napoleon, whom he appeared to imitate; and like him he wore a little hat; but, notwithstanding their familiarity and unlimited confidence, his conduct towards him in public was always exceedingly respectful. His deportment also to his inferiors was gentleman-like, and wholly free from the coarseness which disgraced so many of the French officers of rank; and was often excessively disgusting in Buonaparte himself.

*Murat*, notwithstanding his immoderate vanity and bad taste, was treated with great distinction by Napoleon, whose conduct to his relatives in general, was far from polite;—and he was universally considered as the best cavalry officer in the service. 'Son coup d'œil perçant, son habilité à juger des positions et des forces de l'ennemi, son intrépidité calme dans les plus grands dangers, et sur les points les plus exposés, ainsi que sa contenance guerrière, sa taille forte et régulière, et son allure noble et ferme sur de beaux et vigoureux coursiers, tout contribuait à lui donner l'aspect d'un héros. A la tête de sa cavalerie, il ne craignait aucun danger, et se jetait au milieu des ennemis dans toute la force du terme.' I. 199.

The contrast, in point of exterior, between Buonaparte and his brother-in-law, was even ludicrous; and the author details the habiliments of the latter, and of his horse, with a copiousness, which even the author of *Marmion* could not excel. He first describes Napoleon—' Avec son petit chapeau à trois cornes, sa redingote grise, sa petite taille, son gros ventre, ses chevaux sans apparence, sa mauvaise tenue à cheval.' And then Murat—' Qui, marchant à sa gauche, attirait et fixait les regards des curieux, par sa taille, par son costume brillant, et par les riches harnois de son cheval: sa figure, ses beaux yeux bleus, ses gros favoris, sa chevelure noirs bouclés, qui tombaient sur le collet d'une *kurta* (habit à la polonaise) dont les manches étroites avaient une ouverture au dessous de l'épaule, excitaient l'attention. Le collet de son habit était serré par une ceinture dorée, à laquelle pendait un sabre léger, droit et à lame étroit, à la manière des anciens Romains, sans branche ni garde.—Un pantalon large, couleur de pourpre ou de sang, dont les coutures étaient garnies en or,—et des bottines de peau jaunée, ou de nankin,' &c. &c. (p. 201.) His dress, in short, was a compound of Polish, Swedish, Spanish, Roman, Turkish and Neapolitan costume, mixed in the worst possible taste; and his liveries were either crimson or sky blue.

The zeal and minute accuracy of *Caulincourt's* services, were truly surprising. He entered into all the details of house-keeping, and was the great cause of the steadiness and tranquillity with which things went on at head-quarters: he excelled, too, in that brevity of style with which all the affairs of Napoleon were conducted: but though he sometimes gave him good advice, he was in general too fond of flattering and 'feteing' his master: and, like too many of the French generals, his language was often intolerably gross and vulgar.—*Drouot*, the general of artillery, a very skilful officer, was distinguished by his respect for the Bible; 'dont la lecture faisait ses delices,—particularité bien extraordinaire à cette époque, et bien remarquable dans un général Français.' But one of the most original characters of the suite, was Colonel *Bacler d'Albe*, director of the Bureau Topographique, who seems to have been a very respectable man. He was eminent for geographical knowledge, and his industry was most extraordinary; and he was absolutely devoted, even to the caprices of his master, in whom few traits were more remarkable, than the sway which he retained over all those around him, while he continued to exact from them the most severe and unremitting exertions.—'Napoléon s'exprimait en peu de mots: d'Albe le comprenait, et exécutait à sa manière et avec indépendance, la tâche qui lui était imposée. L'habitude de converser avec Bonaparte, lui donnait aussi le droit de prendre quelquefois un certain ton, que celui-ci (chose bien singu-

lière), souffrait de lui, lorsqu'il contredisait avec fermeté et avec connaissance de cause. Je sais que Napoléon fit un jour un tapage épouvantable à l'occasion d'un plan, d'un rapport, ou enfin d'un autre papier, qu'il supposait entre les mains du colonel. Dans cette conjoncture, quelques reproches sur l'inadvertance ou sur le peu de mémoire de ses serviteurs, étaient échappés à Bonaparte; enfin d'Albe perdit patience, et dit : *Je sais bien que S. M. a une parfaite connaissance des chiffres, une excellente mémoire ; mais enfin je sais ce que je sais*, etc. Enfin Napoléon se tut, et le papier fut trouvé dans un autre endroit.' I. p. 156.

\* M. d'Albe, with his two assistants, and five other officers, formed a sort of privy council, who had a separate table in the palace. Two other tables were kept for the rest of the staff; and all were served with great attention. Berthier alone dined with Napoleon, unless Murat or Beauharnois were present. There were generally from twelve to sixteen covers; they talked but little, and Buonaparte was very abstemious. He frequently received despatches while at dinner, eating very rapidly as they were read to him. Once, and only once, a French actress, 'pour laquelle il avait une inclination particulière,' was honoured with an invitation; her appearance in the antichamber, waiting till the door was opened, was quite a phenomenon; and the author gravely affirms, that he never saw, but on this occasion, a figure that had any attraction within the circle of the court. The arrangements just now mentioned were permanent: but the movements of Napoleon and his suite were utterly irregular as to time. 'Tout ce qui passait au quartier général se faisait à l'improviste; et cependant chacun devait être sur-le-champ prêt à remplir sa tâche. Des momens de repos inattendus, des départ's inopinés, les changemens des heures fixées, se succédaient continuellement. Les affaires, les rapports, les estafettes qui arrivaient, étaient la pendule d'après laquelle Napoléon distribuait son temps.' I. p. 161. And when they travelled, it was always with extreme rapidity. 'On se précipitait ainsi comme un orage, au grand trot, de jour ou de nuit, en parcourant plusieurs lieues; et celui qui était obligé de suivre ce tourbillon pendant la nuit, était assez mal à son aise. Là où la route était étroite, on courait, pour ainsi dire, les uns sur les autres, avec un zèle brutal. Ceux qui se trouvaient le moins gênés, étaient les deux officiers d'ordonnance, qui précédaient la voiture, ainsi que les deux chasseurs qui étaient encore plus en avant. Tous les autres risquaient de se casser le cou et les jambes: car les domestiques qui conduisaient les chevaux de Napoléon, se regardaient comme les chefs du cortège; le chasseur du porte-feuille, les officiers d'ordonnance et les pages n'étaient pas plus modestes.' I. p. 163.

The legion of honour was one great instrument of Buonaparte's influence over the soldiery. When decorations were distributed, some enterprise of danger was always expected;

but if he harangued the troops, and gave their eagles to his regiments, a desperate affair was soon to follow; and his mortification was evident, when such exhibitions failed of their effect. These eagles surmounted the staffs which bore the regimental colours, but were kept shut up in leathern cases till the day of ceremony. On these occasions, he appeared in all his pomp, himself dressed plainly, in the midst of a very splendid suite; and the scene, as described by M. Odeleben, was certainly very imposing. The regiment was drawn up in three sides of a square, the fourth occupied by Napoleon, and his suite:—and the flag being unfurled by Berthier, or some other officer of rank, and placed in front of the battalion, ‘Bonaparte levait sa main gauche vers l’aigle, en tenant les rênes avec le droite, \* ensuite il prononçait, par exemple, le discours suivant, d’une voix sonore, solennelle, mais pas trop forte, que l’on pourrait designer par l’expression musicale *mezza voce*: “Soldats du 26<sup>me</sup> regiment d’infanterie legere! Je vous confie l’aigle Français; il vous servira de point de ralliement! Vous jurez de ne l’abandonner qu’en mourant! Vous jurez de ne laisser jamais faire un affront à la France! Vous jurez de preferer la mort au deshonneur! *Vous jurez?*” Il appuyait particulièrement sur ces derniers mots, avec un certain ton, et beaucoup d’énergie. Ce mot était le signal, auquel tous les officiers elevaient leurs épées; et tous les soldats, d’un commun accord, criaient, pleins d’enthousiasme, à haute voix, et avec les acclamations accoutumées —*Nous jurons!*’ I. p. 173, 4.

By these, and numberless other arts of popularity, Napoleon contrived to retain the affection of his soldiers, till long-suffering had fairly worn them out. The Guards were the last to waver; and during the retreat from Dresden, they gave their *Vivats!* with unusual animation, as if to console him under his misfortunes: But at last even their patience was exhausted, by merciless and incessant marches, and want of every kind; they were silent; and some were heard to mutter, as he passed them—‘Personne ne veut crier!’

The life of Buonaparte at Dresden during the armistice, was very uniform: His sole amusements were the reviews, and theatrical entertainments,—Talma having come from Paris, and Madam George from Russia, to attend him. The utmost tranquillity prevailed at all times in the palace. There was a levee at nine in the morning, for all persons above the rank of Colo-

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\* ‘On le voyait souvent commettre cette faute contre les regles du manege. Lorsqu’il trottait ou galoppait, il laissait ordinairement tomber sa gauche avec nonchalance, tandis qu’il tenait les rênes avec la main droite en l’agitant sans cesse.’—He was, altogether, a bad horseman, and his stud was very indifferent.



nel; then came the parade, inspection of the works at Dresden, or employment in the cabinet,—dinner at seven or eight in the evening, and lastly the spectacle; and every body was at liberty after 10 o'clock. Notwithstanding the excessive rapidity of Buonaparte, all his movements were directed by system; and in every ride he had some definite object in view,—the inspection of a fortress, a defile, or an important position.—He was fond of quitting the public roads, and striking through new and unfrequented paths; and always passed the scene of any disaster very rapidly, and with an expression of peevishness.—On one of these occasions, where a convoy of ammunition had been taken, and blown up,—‘ En voyant les premiers débris, qu’il trouva à la sorte du bois, il piqua son cheval, et le mit au grand galop, en se detournant de la route. Un petit chien qui se mit à aboyer après son cheval, le mit dans une telle fureur qu’il tira un de ses pistolets et voulu tuer le chien. Le pistolet ne prit pas feu, et il le jeta dans l’access de sa colère. Rustan accourit ramasser le pistolet, et le remit à sa place : Alors on partit au grand galop et tout se passa dans le plus grand silence.’ I. 189.

In the mean time, reinforcements of every description were pouring into Dresden. The French army was now estimated at 500,000 men, with 1300 pieces of cannon; and it was obvious, from his laborious reconnoissances, and the measures taken to prepare the city for defence, that Buonaparte expected an attack, and was determined to maintain himself upon the Elbe. Upon the expediency of this measure, in comparison with that of an immediate retreat to the Rhine, M. Vaudoncourt conceives, that it was impossible to retire, without transferring the seat of war to France; and in that case, even if the French continued faithful, it did not suit the policy of Napoleon, as a despot, to excite the spirit of patriotism and independence among his people. His situation, however, was becoming critical in the extreme; for the defection of Austria threatened to expose his rear, and to furnish a dangerous example to the rest of his German Allies.—At the end of July, Caulincourt was despatched as plenipotentiary to Prague, and Buonaparte himself set off with the utmost secrecy and expedition to meet his Empress at Mentz. He now foresaw the rupture of the armistice; and on his return, anticipating his birth-day, held a grand review on the 10th of August; but he seemed melancholy and dissatisfied during the whole ceremony; and the most gloomy anticipations soon began to prevail at head-quarters. At last, on the 15th, he proposed to depart.—‘ Napoléon se promenait au grand pas dans l’allée du jardin Marcolini, accompagné du roi de Naples, qui était arrivé depuis huit à dix jours. On lui annonça que

Le général Narbonne venait d'arriver de Prague, et qu'il se rendait à Paris, après de S. M., " *Qu'il vienne,*" dit Bonaparte d'un ton sec et froid, qui lui était ordinaire. Narbonne arriva quelques minutes après. Le roi de Naples se retira. Le duc de Bassano (Maret) fut mandé; et alors, il s'engagea entre Napoléon et ces deux hommes d'état, une conversation qui dura près d'une heure. — Le duc de B. reçut des ordres de vive voix; et se retira vite avec son portefeuille: — Alors le roi de Naples revint. Napoléon monta en voiture avec lui, et partit — pour commencer une nouvelle scène sanglante.

I. 234.

As the junction of Austria with the Allies being known, the object of Buonaparte was to beat the Prussians, before the Austrian army could advance. On his march, he pointed out to Murat the place where Düröc had been killed; and made a handsome present to the farmer at whose house he died—leaving also a sum for the erection of a monument to his memory. On this occasion, too, he met Poniatowski, whose noble frankness and great military talents appear to have won his entire confidence; for, from the first, he conversed with this officer with less reserve than with any of his other generals. He showed little surprise or emotion of any sort, when he was informed of Moreau's arrival at the Allied quarters; and seemed to wait for the enemy's movements, that he might take advantage of their mistakes: but on the 21st August he gave directions for a general battle, and distributed his eagles to some of the regiments; " *c'était pour lui une joie, dont la seule idée le transportait.*" Blücher, however, with Kleist and Langeron, who were in command against him, refused to fight, retiring very deliberately; and even Buonaparte seems to have been deceived, and flattered with the idea that he was driving the enemy before him. But the news from Dresden on the 23d compelled him to return with the main body of his army by a forced march, which was one of the most remarkable exploits of the campaign. The troops, already harassed by preceding manœuvres, passed over nearly twenty German leagues in seventy-two hours; and arrived at Dresden in the morning of the 26th. They were pressed forward, as they approached, with the utmost rapidity; and the young soldiers entered the place in the most pitiable state of fatigue! But there was no time for refreshment; they traversed the city as fast as they came up, to act against the enemy in the Fauxbourgs. The allies were confident of success. L'infanterie légère des Prussiens était déjà dans le grand jardin. — Napoléon parut tout à fait à l'improviste devant le château royal, suivi de son armée, qui avançait avec la rapidité d'un torrent. Son arrivée excita le plus grand étonnement à la cour, et dans la ville; on le supposait avec ses forces

principales, en Silesie: on était sur les point de soumettre aux ordres des puissances alliées, &c.— Dans ce moment, au contraire, un armée immense défilait sur les ponts de l'Elbe.' *It p. 250.*

We need not detail the events of this great battle, in which the success of Buonaparte was evidently the result of his promptitude and skill.—M. Vaudoncourt asserts, that General Jominé advised the Allies to attack on the 25th; in which case it is almost certain that the city would have been taken: But Schwartzembourg thought it more prudent to wait for his reserve. The knowledge of the environs which Buonaparte had acquired, now of essential service: he perceived at once the vacancy on the left of the Allies, occasioned by the delay of Klenau's force, and directed his main attack against that wing of their army. The rain, which fell in torrents during the night and following day, enabled him to make all his arrangements without discovery; and the Austrians, who little expected such a reception, were surprised and overwhelmed by superior numbers. About three in the afternoon of the 26th, he was informed of his complete success; from 16,000 to 20,000 of the Austrians being taken, besides colours and cannon.

'Napoléon montrait dans ce moment un culme aussi parfait que s'il eût joué une partie d'échecs près de son feu de bivouac; mais il crut sans délai un ordre au général Vandamme d'avancer des environs de Koenigstein vers la route de Bohême. Au fait, on ne peut se figurer rien de plus commode que la manière dont Napoléon gagna cette bataille; puisque le succès ne dépendit que de la combinaison des marches, de l'effet du canon, et de quelques accidens fâcheux: car, excepté la pluie qui l'inonda, ainsi que tout son monde, et le voyage vers la route de Pirna, il ne quitta pas sa place, où il était fort à son aise près du feu de bivouac. Il déjeunait avec Berthier, et il avait l'air de tout faire négligemment, lorsque le feld-maréchal lieutenant Metzko, qui était blessé, lui fut amené, il ordonna sur-le-champ de le faire asseoir et panser. Regardant les opérations de la journée comme terminées, il demanda son cheval; l'eau degouttait des manches de sa capotte grise, et le retroussa de son chapeau pendant en arrière vers la nuque du cou.—En trottant, ainsi que de coutume, comme un boucher, il entra au château vers le six heures.' *It pp. 261, 262.*

The next morning he examined attentively the place where Moreau had been killed, and gave some pieces of gold to a peasant who brought in a dog with his name upon the collar; and having arranged for some distance, and received various reports, observing the Allies in full retreat, he appeared satisfied, and said to the Count Lobau, 'Eh bien! je ne vois plus rien—faites réamener la vieille garde à Dрезда; la jeune garde restera ici an bivouac!'—Then getting into his carriage, he returned in

high spirits to Dresden; little apprehending that this ~~loss~~ would enable the Allies to destroy one of his principal detachments: For the author asserts, positively, that if he had continued his march in that direction for another day, he might have prevented the defeat of Vandamme, who was utterly routed on the 29th and 30th, on the frontiers of Bohemia. This great loss, which was concealed as long as possible, was the first of a series of disasters, that continued during all the rest of the campaign: and the efforts of Buonaparte were, from henceforth, wasted in marching and counter-marching, like a tiger rushing from side to side against the bars of his cage, in vain endeavours to break through. The Allies now advanced in every direction, but always declined battle: Their plan was evident; and no doubt was entertained in any quarter as to the result: The depression, even of Buonaparte himself, was visible—*chemin faisant, il arriva à une ferme abandonnée; accablé de fatigue, il s'assit sur de la paille, et se livra à la plus triste et la plus profond rêverie. Aucun bruit de canon, aucun mouvement qui annonçait une bataille; tout était tranquille autour de lui; ses nombreuses troupes continuaient d'avancer sans but et sans dessein.*—Soon afterwards, the news arrived of Ney's defeat, at Dennewitz, by Bulow and Bernadotte: and, after vainly endeavouring to break into Bohemia, being in want of every necessary, the main army returned to Dresden on the 21st of September—a melancholy and foreboding silence pervading all the staff. The state of the city was now so wretched, as to render it impossible for such an army to continue there. After labouring all night in his cabinet, and directing Murat to join him at Leipsic, Buonaparte took the warm bath, and finally left Dresden, at six in the morning of the 7th October, followed by the King of Saxony. The parting address to his subjects, of that unfortunate prince, who had the merit at least of good faith to his dangerous ally, was affectionate and tender; But the Saxon troops already began to waver; a languid speech from Napoleon, translated into bad German by Caulincourt, had little effect in rousing their attachment; and the intolerable arrogance of the French increased their alienation. The inhabitants of the city, furnished, insulted, and infected with pestilence, were absolutely in despair.—And the spirits of the French themselves, on the retreat, were not much better.

' J'ai vu Bonaparte à cette époque attendant des nouvelles de l'Elbe, tout-à-fait desespéré; assis sur un sofa dans sa chambre près d'une grande table, sur laquelle était une feuille de papier blanc qu'il remplissait de grosses lettres: Son géographe L'Albe, et un

son collaborateur restaient dans un coin de la chambre aussi de-  
mourant pour lui, attendant ses ordres.' II. p. 9.

On the 15th October, Buonaparte distributed some eagles, and made other preparations for the approaching battle at Leipzig, the events of which are familiar to all our readers: But no arrangements were made for the retreat; and he appears to have been deceived with respect to the allied force. He was exposed during the 16th to great personal danger; but his calmness was undisturbed, and every thing around him was tranquil. He sent messengers into the city, several times during the action, to announce his successes to the King of Saxony; but nevertheless passed the night in great uneasiness—and his generals were often called to his bed-side. He still persisted, however, in retaining his position; conceiving that he had won the battle on the 16th, and ignorant perhaps of the numbers now opposed to him. This obstinacy was certainly one of his greatest errors during the campaign; for even Vaudoncourt allows, that the battle of the 18th was altogether unnecessary, even admitting the prudence of any interruption of the retreat between Dresden and the Rhine. The French, in fact, ought to have retired during the night of the 16th, and on the following day.—At last, however, the retreat began at two in the morning of the 18th; but it was too late:—the Allies were advancing on all sides, and the slaughter of the French was immense. The efforts and activity of Buonaparte, during this day, were astonishing; but, after six or seven hours of dreadful firing, the French ammunition failed to such a degree, that, for the first time in his life perhaps, he gave directions that it should be spared.† When he was informed that the Saxons had gone over to the Allies, he rode instantly to the position which they had occupied, and ordered a detachment of the old guard to supply their place.—This was his last effort:—and the close of that eventful day is described in the following passages with considerable effect.

Jusqu'à ce moment, Napoléon s'était montré dans le plus grand calme, toujours égal à lui-même. Pendant la bataille, il était presque toujours, comme à son ordinaire, froid, réfléchi, concentré. Ce revers même ne produisit aucun changement dans son maintien, quoiqu'en eût observé des symptômes de découragement sur son visage. Il se dirigea vers le sud de Naples, que les attaques les plus violentes n'avaient pu faire rompre. Il causèrent quelques temps à

† Vaudoncourt states, that between the 15th and 18th, the French had expended 250,000 cannon shots, and had not more than 16,000 left.



ils le rencontraient à quelque distance de la grande route avec Ney, Augereau, et quelques autres. II. 45, 46.

His own abasement, and the extreme misery of the troops, appeared at this time to have calmed the violence of his temper; and he listened with patience even to those who talked of peace:—But his chagrin broke out in frequent bursts of passion, and his ambition was still untamed; for he asserted at Erfurt, that before the 1st of May, he should have 250,000 men again upon the Rhine. Upon the whole, however, he bore his misfortunes with admirable patience and composure. *M. de M.*, le 25 Octobre, à trois heures du matin, l'homme qui avait mis en mouvement, des forces aussi nombreuses et aussi imposantes, qu'il a aussi la ville (d'Erfurt) au milieu de la pluie, du vent, et des ténèbres, pour aller à la rencontre de sa future destinée, qui ne lui présageait que des angoisses. Il avait l'air sérieux et calme. Berthier était avec lui, dans sa voiture; Caulincourt, Maret, et tous ceux qui appartenaient à sa maison, le suivaient à la manière accoutumée. II. p. 60.

We shall here close this article with the termination of M. Odeleben's account of this extraordinary campaign. The greater part of the second volume is occupied with a detailed journal, by a different author, of what passed at Dresden, during the year 1813; which confirms and fills up the preceding statement, and places in a very strong light the sufferings of that unfortunate city, especially during the blockade which followed the retreat of Buonaparte: And the work concludes with a collection of public documents, among which, the proclamations addressed to the inhabitants of Germany by the Allies, are particularly interesting: They show the force of eloquence that is founded on truth, with liberty for its object. Notwithstanding the copiousness of our extracts, we have omitted numberless anecdotes, which illustrate the character of Buonaparte, and exhibit very forcibly the despotism that marked his entire system—from the government of his dominions, down to the regulation of his household. But perhaps there is no trait more remarkable in the domestic history of himself and his chief officers, than the total absence of every thing approaching to that elevation and nobility of soul which distinguished the warriors of Charles V., Henry IV., and Louis the XIV.; Bayard—Henry himself—Villars and Eugene. Even the few facts indicating kindly emotion, of which these volumes give an account, are more like exhibitions, intended for public effect, than the natural and spontaneous movements of a generous and gallant spirit. There is proof enough in all the operations of Buonaparte, of various and consummate ability, and of immense courage and activity, corresponding with this energy of mind. But all these gifts were degraded by their applica-

tion: And his designs against the liberties of mankind; were pursued with such cold-hearted and undeviating selfishness—such utter contempt for the feelings of those whom he oppressed, as to deprive him in a great measure of the sympathy and commiseration which his exemplary reverse of fortune might otherwise have claimed.

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ART. XII. 1. *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana.*

By MAJOR AMOS STODDART. Philadelphia.

2. *The Western Gazetteer, or Emigrants' Directory; containing a Geographical Description of the Western States and Territories.* New York, 1817.

3. *Views of Louisiana.* By H. M. BRACKENRIDGE, Esq. Pittsburgh.

4. *The Emigrants' Guide to the Western and South-Western States and Territories.* New York, 1818.

WHILE in Europe the aggrandisement of one State can seldom take place but at the expense of another, it is the singular felicity of America, to contain within herself the means of indefinite increase; and to secure, by the more pleasing process of domestic improvement, the same object which other nations endeavour to attain by war and conquest. America has no temptation to attack the independence of her neighbours, for the purpose of reducing them under her authority, and of extorting from them an unwilling allegiance. National greatness, if that be her object, is within her reach, by other and more certain means; and of late years, those legitimate means of aggrandisement have been prosecuted with extraordinary diligence and astonishing success.

Louisiana and the Floridas, are the only countries which it ever was the interest of America to add to her original dominions; and to the vigilant policy of her rulers she now owes the peaceful possession of those extensive regions. This important acquisition of territory excited in this country a great outcry against the ambition of the United States; and the impolicy of those useless additions to dominions, already too extensive, was loudly censured. The slightest attention, however, to the interior structure of North America, connected as it is with the course and distribution of its numerous rivers, will be sufficient to show the great utility of Louisiana, or the southernmost part of the



valley of the Mississippi, to the United States; and that, in striving to acquire this important country, their rulers may fairly allege that they have been less actuated by the ambition of enlarging their territories, than by the wish of providing for the security and well-being of those they already possessed.

The Allegany Mountains, it is well known, extend through North America in a direction W. of S. from the 42d to the 34th degree of north latitude; and, for a long period, they formed the western boundary of the settled country. These mountains preserve, throughout their whole extent, an average distance of about 250 miles from the Atlantic Ocean, into which all the waters which have their rise in them, flow in a multitude of separate streams; and as the progress of population began from the Atlantic Ocean, along the banks of these rivers, the whole stream was necessarily within the territory occupied by each tribe of settlers. But when the overflowing population of the Eastern States began to overtop this mountainous barrier in its progress westward, it immediately met with a different configuration of the ground, from which it seemed to be threatened with disadvantages of a peculiar nature. After passing the Allegany Mountains, a vast and uniform valley stretches westward as far as the Rocky Mountains. This valley has a gentle declivity to the south; and all the waters that rise within its compass, are poured by a variety of tributary streams into the common channel of the Mississippi, which falls into the Gulf of Mexico, and of which the lower part, while Louisiana remained in the possession of Spain, was wholly without the precincts of American authority. All the rivers which descend the western declivity of the Allegany mountains,—the great river Ohio, which has its rise in Pennsylvania, and which waters the most populous and best cultivated parts of the western territory,—and the Illinois,—with all their tributary streams, to within sixty miles of the Canadian Lakes, including a range of more than 1000 miles in extent from north to south, —ultimately terminate in the Mississippi: And thus this extensive country, so long as Louisiana belonged to a foreign power, must have depended on its caprice or indulgence for an outlet to its vast produce.

These evils, of course, must have increased with the increase of population and improvement in the Western Settlements; but they had been practically felt at an early period, and in no slight degree. The United States, at the peace of 1783, claimed, without, we believe, any well supported title, the right to navigate the Mississippi: This right was contested

by Spain, whose fixed determination it was, rigorously to interdict the Americans from the lower part of the stream, partly from an aversion to allow the free importation of their produce into the markets of New Orleans, and partly from a dread of American principles, from which it has always been reckoned a capital point, in the policy of Spain, to defend her colonies. As the country of Kentucky, however, gradually advanced in improvement and population, and as other States began to be established on the tributary streams of the Mississippi, the want of a ready communication with the sea became a serious obstruction to the further cultivation of the country. Large quantities of surplus produce were accumulated. The distance from the markets of the Atlantic States was great,—and they were rendered almost inaccessible by the intervention of a great wilderness, and a chain of stupendous mountains,—while the Spaniards resolutely excluded them from the ready outlet of the Mississippi. In these circumstances, the inhabitants of Kentucky petitioned Congress for the redress of these grievances; and a remonstrance to the Spanish Government, produced a temporary relaxation of the usual restrictions. But indulgences thus extorted were followed with no beneficial consequence. The Spaniards secretly thwarted what they durst not openly oppose; and the Western States, still suffering under the obnoxious exclusion, continued in a state of general turbulence and discontent. New remonstrances were made by the American Government, in a tone which Spain, conscious of her weakness, could not resist; and a treaty was finally concluded, in 1795, which conceded to America the free navigation of the Mississippi. This treaty, however, was as usual infringed by Spain; and it is stated, by a respectable American author,\* that the right of deposit at New Orleans was even formally denied. So grievous was the operation of these restrictions on the commerce of the Western States, whose wealth and population had now greatly increased, that a plan is understood to have been devised by President Adams, for making a sudden descent on the Spanish territory with twelve regiments of infantry, and seizing on New Orleans by a coup de main. This plan was abandoned, however, on the accession of Mr Jefferson to the Presidency; and Louisiana having, in 1801, been ceded by Spain to the French Republic, it was again ceded by the latter Power, for a pecuniary compensation, to the United States, whose commissioners took formal possession of it in the year 1804.

\* *Historical Sketches of Louisiana*, by Major Amos Stoddart, p. 100.

Such was the conclusion of this controversy; and it is manifest, from the nature and relative importance of the object in dispute to the two different powers, that it could have had no other issue. America never would have been satisfied without the complete command of the whole course of the Mississippi. The free navigation of this river was claimed immediately on the conclusion of the peace of 1783; and though this claim was never formally agreed to by Spain, she was compelled reluctantly to grant as an indulgence, what was demanded by America as a right. On this footing, however, matters could not possibly remain for any length of time. The exercise of this privilege by America, would have been a never-ending source of perplexing disputes; and though these disputes might have been adjusted for a time, they would have at length terminated in war; in which case, Louisiana would have belonged to the stronger party. By fraud or violence, therefore,—by policy by the sword,—the Americans must sooner or later have acquired possession of this important country.

As soon as the treaty was concluded, and the cession carried into effect, the American Government began to prosecute the advantages of this new acquisition with all its characteristic vigour. An expedition of discovery, under Lieutenant Pike, was immediately sent to explore the sources of the Mississippi, and the country along its shores; and the same officer was sent to examine the sources of the Arkansaw and of Red River, which flow from the Rocky Mountains,—and, from a distance of 1100 and 1500 miles, join the Mississippi from the west. A more splendid expedition of discovery was also fitted out to trace the Missouri to its source, and afterwards to proceed across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. This enterprise was successfully executed by Captains Lewis and Clark; and a Journal of their travels has been since published, of which an account will be found in our 48th Number. The country of Louisiana has also been carefully examined, as to its products and the nature of its territory; and several valuable works have been published in America, although little known in this country, containing curious and important information on these interesting subjects. The *Emigrant's Guide*, by Mr Danby, is particularly deserving of attention. The author was one of the surveyors employed by Government to examine the newly acquired country; and, in the prosecution of this task, travelled over every part of Lower Louisiana. His information is therefore accurate and valuable; and his work, while it contains the utmost precision of local detail, displays a capacity for

general and scientific views, and for pleasing description, which we seldom meet with among topographical writers. The information which is scattered through the different publications, the titles of which we have prefixed, we propose to collect into a brief and general sketch, that, without encumbering ourselves with local details, we may give our readers some notion of what is most striking and important in the character of this interesting country.

The limits of this extensive region have never been very exactly defined, and, since it has become part of the American territory, it has been divided into the State of Louisiana, the State of the Mississippi, the Territory of the Missouri, &c.—We do not propose, however, to accommodate our description to these arbitrary and artificial boundaries; but considering Louisiana in its most extensive signification, it will include the west-slope of that great valley, which is drained of its waters by the waters of the Mississippi and its confluent streams. In this view the Mississippi will form its eastern boundary; and a line drawn from its source westward in lat.  $47^{\circ} 42'$  N. may be considered its northern boundary. To the west, the Rocky Mountains form a natural barrier; and to the south, the Gulf of Mexico.

The country included within these limits will be found to extend 2000 miles in length north and south, and 650 miles in breadth east and west; and the Mississippi, running the whole length of the valley, is the common channel by which all its waters are carried into the Gulf of Mexico. Within this immense space, not a single rivulet arises whose tributary waters do not ultimately swell the main stream of this great river.—The course of the Mississippi, including its windings, is 3000 miles; and the principal rivers which it receives from the east, or from the Allegany Mountains, are, the Illinois, 1213 miles from its mouth; the Wabash, 1150 miles from its mouth; the Tennessee, a tributary of the Ohio, 1050 miles; and the Ohio, 1000 miles from its mouth; besides numerous other streams of inferior note. From the west, or from the Rocky Mountains, it receives a variety of important rivers, the principal of which are the Missouri with all its tributary streams, 1200 miles from its mouth; the Arkansaw, which has a course of 1500 miles, 650 miles; and the Red River, which has a course nearly as long, 800 miles from its mouth. All these rivers have numerous tributary streams, and are the channels by which the waters of extensive valleys are carried to the Mississippi. The country from the mouth of the Mississippi to Red River, a distance of

300 miles, forms one uniform level; not the slightest rising ground occurring within this space to diversify the extensive flat. And this, which is the most populous and fertile part of the whole country, is perhaps the most aquatic region on the face of the earth.

During the periodical rains, all those vast and various streams which terminate in the Mississippi, are in flood: The tribute of their collected waters, poured into one common channel, causes a general inundation of the main river; and the extreme flatness of the country spreads far and wide the effect of this inundation. If there were a greater degree of declivity in the ground, the surplus water would be rapidly carried into the sea. But, being nearly a dead level, the water accumulates in the channel of the river; and it is only by the pressure of the superincumbent and still increasing mass, that it receives an impulse forward. In the mean time, all the water which cannot be conveyed to the ocean by the ordinary channel, escapes over the banks of the river, and, finding an immediate level, spreads far and wide over the adjacent country, forming swamps and lakes, and innumerable rivers and small canals, which, during the inundation, are in constant motion, interlocking in a thousand mazes, and intersecting a tract of country from 140 to 150 miles broad at the mouth of the river. This country is quite impassable except by water, and a considerable part of it is actually submerged. In ascending the river, the space which is reached by the inundation is gradually contracted within narrower limits. At New Orleans, 100 miles from the Gulf of Mexico, its general breadth may be estimated at from 80 to 90 miles. About 80 miles higher up, and to the mouth of Red River, which is about 80 miles further, the medium breadth of the inundation does not extend much above 40 miles; and above the mouth of Red River, to the 33d degree of north latitude, a distance of about 120 miles, the width of the inundated lands diminishes to 20 miles.

That portion of the country from the mouth of the Red River downwards, to the Gulf of Mexico, in which all the waters of this great valley converge as to a common centre in their passage to the sea, and in which therefore the inundation is the most complete, may be properly called the Delta of the Mississippi. And it is here that the main stream, in place of receiving, as formerly, the tribute of inferior rivers, and of carrying the surplus waters of the country to the ocean, now sends forth numerous branches from its own copious stores, which, forming extensive and navigable rivers, slowly wind their way to the sea.

Of these outlets or branches, one of the most important is the Chafalia or Atchafalia river, which diverges westward from the Mississippi about 300 miles from its mouth, and flows into Chafalia Bay in the Gulf of Mexico, about 150 miles west of the mouth of the Mississippi. This outlet of the Mississippi, including its windings, is 180 miles in length, from its mouth in the Gulf of Mexico to the point where it breaks off from the parent stream. On leaving the river, it is 200 yards wide. During the season of low water, its depth is 18 feet, and in high water 38. It flows with extreme rapidity while the river is in flood; but, at other times, it has scarcely any current, and becomes stagnant throughout its whole course. Near its mouth, it is generally choked with timber brought down by the periodical floods. This extraordinary phenomenon, which in this and other rivers of Louisiana is known under the name of the *Raft*, extends on the Chafalia twenty miles, in ten of which the stream is completely choked up. About 128 miles below the Chafalia, is the outlet of the Plaquemine, which is 70 yards wide, and is navigable for boats. Its main stream unites with the Chafalia; but it has other communications intersecting the country in different directions. Thirty-one miles below the Plaquemine, and 81 above New Orleans, is the outlet of La Fourche, which communicates with the Gulf of Mexico by two mouths, and which is navigable for boats of 60 tons burden when the Mississippi is in flood. At other times, the channel is nearly dry. Below the outlet of La Fourche, there are numerous other smaller canals and streams, branching off from the river at various points; and, on the east, it is in like manner connected by several channels with the lakes Maurepas, Pontchartrain, and Borgne.

But although the Delta of the Mississippi, as being the common recipient of all the waters which are accumulated in this extensive valley, is more especially liable to be overflowed, the inundated lands are by no means confined within this tract. On the contrary, all the other great rivers overflow the adjacent grounds at and above their points of junction; and the inundations of the Mississippi continue to some distance above the mouth of the Ohio, which is more than 1000 miles from the Gulf of Mexico. Red River, which, as already mentioned, falls into the Mississippi from the west after a course of 1100 miles, spreads out into a number of channels and lakes, forming an inundated morass, 6 miles wide and 50 miles long. This overflowed tract on the Red River may be properly called the commencement of its Delta; as its water never again unites into one body, but divides into innumerable canals, separating and

again uniting, so that it becomes impossible to trace the main stream amid so many complicated channels. About 27 miles from its mouth, the course of Red River is within three miles of the Mississippi; and these rivers flow in nearly a parallel direction, until they finally unite. Here it has been calculated, that the water rises, during the season of inundation, above 50 or 60 feet higher than at other times; the land is of course annually flooded; and the country presents to the eye a wide and gloomy expanse of waters, through which are seen partial and scattered heights rising above the level of the inundation. The great river Arkansaw, for many miles before it joins the Mississippi, exhibits nearly the same appearances, overflowing the country to a great extent; and it may be generally observed of the minor streams which enter the Mississippi from the west, that they wind through an alluvial country which is full of lakes and natural canals, and which presents in every respect a similar picture, but on a smaller scale, with the overflowed country near the mouth of the Mississippi itself.

All these extensive tracts adjacent to the shores of the great rivers, though they are reached by the overflowing stream, the extent of the inundation increasing as the collected waters approach the sea, are not however overspread by one continued sheet of water. Large tracts are, no doubt, actually inundated to the depth of 25 and 30 feet; but others are at the same time left perfectly dry. In all those rivers, it is remarkable that the banks are considerably elevated beyond the level of the adjacent country,—which is probably occasioned by a more copious deposition along the margins of the stream than at a distance from them. Hence it happens, that all those rivers are skirted with a rich border of alluvial land, from 400 yards to a mile or a mile and a half in breadth, and elevated for the most part above the reach of the inundations; while the whole country, in the rear of this, is either buried under the water, or completely broken up with lakes and swamps, and innumerable branches of navigable canals. It would be difficult to estimate the extent of surface reached by these inundations. Mr Danby, the author of the *Emigrant's Guide*, has calculated, that, from the 33d degree of N. lat. to the mouth of the Mississippi, being a space of about 600 miles, the country liable to be overflowed falls short of 12,000, and the area actually submerged, of 5000, square miles; being less than the eighteenth part of the two States of Louisiana and Mississippi, where the inundation spreads to its greatest extent.

Above the mouth of the Mississippi, for about 50 miles, the coun-

try is one continued swamp, entirely destitute of trees, and covered with a coarse species of reeds, four or five feet high. Nothing can be conceived more dreary than the prospect from a ship's mast-head, while passing this melancholy waste, where the eye ranges without relief over a vast exposure of pestilential marsh. As the stream is ascended, the soil gradually becomes firmer; and it is then that rich stripes of alluvial land begin to crown its banks. These commence at the head of the river called the Plaquemine, 70 miles below New Orleans; and from Point le Hache, 30 miles higher up, the settlements continue compactly, on both sides of the river, to New Orleans. On the outlets, also, of the Mississippi, and on the navigable canals by which the country is intersected in all directions, there is generally a rich border of alluvial land, which produces in great abundance cotton, rice, indigo, and, within the 31st degree of north latitude, sugar. On La Fourche, an outlet of the Mississippi, already described, both banks are covered for fifty miles with plantations, in all of which sugar is produced. These plantations extend to the depth of about one mile,—beyond which, the country is, as usual, one vast morass, intersected by creeks and lakes. The banks of the Chafalia, being less elevated than those of the La Fourche, and more liable to be overflowed, are not so thickly settled. But whenever they are without the reach of inundation, they are found to be in the highest degree fertile and productive: And thus it appears, that the whole cultivation of this extraordinary region is carried on, as it were, on a range of gigantic dykes, overlooking the waste and unimproveable desert of the original soil.

Those fertile tracts which everywhere border the shores of the Mississippi, have given rise to an artificial work of great extent, for confining the stream of the river, and for securing the country from the effect of the annual inundations. This work is an embankment of the river, and is usually called the *Levéé*. On the eastern side of the Mississippi, the embankment commences about sixty miles above New Orleans, and extends down the river for more than 130 miles. On the western shore it commences at Point Coupée, 172 miles above New Orleans, including the windings of the river. Mr Brown, the author of the *Western Gazetteer*, gives the following description of the country from this Point.

‘It is here,’ (he observes) ‘that the country assumes a new aspect, and that the navigator emerges from the gloomy wilderness, presenting detached settlements at long and tedious intervals, into charming and finely cultivated plantations. Here the beauty of the Mis-



Mississippi, and prospect of the country, exhibit a view so enchantingly delightful, as scarcely to admit of description. On the side of this elevated artificial bank, is a range of handsome neatly built houses, appearing like one continued village, as far as the city of New Orleans. They are one story, framed buildings, elevated on piles six or eight feet high, and well painted; the paint generally white. The houses for slaves are mostly placed in straight lines, and nicely white-washed. The perpetual verdure of numerous orange trees, intermixed with fig-trees, surrounding the houses, and planted in groves and orchards near them, highly beautify the prospect; while the grateful fragrance of constant blossoms, and the successive progress to ripened fruit, charm the eye and regale the senses.

The *Levé* consists of a mound of earth raised up at the distance of 30 or 40 yards from the natural bank of the river, varying from 4 to 6 feet in height, with sufficient breadth at the top for a foot-path, and usually no more than from 6 to 9 feet broad at the base. The substance of which this embankment is formed, is commonly a close stiff clay, found in the lower parts of the river. Sods are placed on the sides and at the top, and cypress slabs are often put in the inside, for the purpose of preventing the water, where there is a current, from wearing away the earth. A ditch is made for the purpose of draining off the water which oozes through, and the road which lies between the embankment and the cultivated lands is crossed at intervals by drains, covered with plank, like the sewers of a city, for the purpose of carrying off the water to the swamps. This embankment being too slight to resist the river, or to turn it from its course, necessarily follows all its windings; and if the stream encroaches on any point, a new embankment is constructed behind the first—so that there are frequently double *levées*; and a person standing within the outward embankment during a flood, seems, from the height to which the waters are raised by being thus artificially confined, to be considerably below the surface of the stream, which literally appears to roll over his head.

A breach in the *levée*, or a *crevasse*, as it is termed, is the greatest calamity which can befall the landholder of Louisiana, as the river, in this case, sweeps with wide inundation over the most valuable tracts of cultivated ground, on which houses and buildings of every description are erected, and destroys in one moment the improvements of years. The rapidity with which the river will burst upon the adjacent country, may be easily conceived, when it is considered, that, according to the most accurate calculations, the Mississippi in general rises above

its banks, for at least 150 miles above New Orleans, to the height of from two to three feet; and the descent to the swamps is considerable, being estimated to be about four feet in the course of a mile. But the waters, by means of the artificial embankments, are often raised from two to three feet higher. Now, the natural fall of the river is not greater than one foot per mile, and we may therefore easily conceive the velocity with which a sheet of water will rush on the adjacent grounds, of which the fall is suddenly increased from one to five or six feet per mile. Mr Brackenridge, to whose work on Louisiana we are indebted for much various and useful information, gives the following description of this catastrophe.

‘The waters’ (he observes) ‘rush from the river with indescribable impetuosity, with a noise like the roaring of a cataract, boiling and foaming and tearing every thing before them. To one who has not seen this country, it is almost impossible to convey any idea of the terrors excited by a *crevasse* or breaking of the *levée*. Like the breaking out of fire in a town, where no one knows when his own dwelling may be assailed, it excites universal consternation; every employment is abandoned for miles above and below; and all hasten to the spot, where every exertion is made night and day to stop the breach, which is sometimes successful, but more frequently the hostile element is suffered to take its course. The consequences are the destruction of the crop, the buildings; and sometimes the land itself is much injured, which the current has washed over, carrying away the soil, or leaving numerous logs and trees drawn into the vortex, as they floated down the river; these must be destroyed, before the land can be again cultivated. The effects of a breach in the *levée* are even more desolating than those of fire.’

To guard against such disasters, various precautions are adopted. Every individual is bound to maintain in good repair that portion of the embankment which is before his own land; and, previous to the annual floods, it is inspected by commissioners, who direct whatever repairs they may judge necessary for the general safety, to be made at the proprietor’s expense. These precautions, however, afford no sufficient security against a breach of the embankment; which also requires, during the season of flood, continual attention and watching; and all hands are frequently summoned from their labour in the fields to guard against the tremendous consequences of a general inundation. In some places, earth must be added to raise the *levée* to a proper height; in other places where it appears to crumble in, it must be protected from the encroaching stream. Where it has become spongy and loose, every appearance of a hole must be watched and filled up: and one moment of negli-

gence is sufficient to destroy the labour of years. Such is the rude and imperfect contrivance on which the landholder of Louisiana depends for the security of his property. A prodigious volume of water is rolling over his head, sufficient to overwhelm him with all he possesses; and a slight embankment of earth is all that interposes between him and destruction. The general alarm produced in the country during a season of high flood, may be easily imagined. In 1811, when the inundation rose to an unusual height, the whole inhabitants along the banks of the Mississippi, were for six weeks in a constant state of agitation; the labourers were withdrawn from the fields, and were kept watching day and night, in order to add to the breast-work as the threatening waters rose to overwhelm it; and such was the expense, and loss of time consequent on this alarm, that, according to every reasonable calculation, an embankment, in every respect solid and secure, might have been raised at less cost. The slight and insecure state of this important work sufficiently evinces the apathy and negligence of the French and Spanish settlers. Louisiana, however, is now possessed by a more active race, by whose vigorous industry all the natural resources of the country will be duly improved; and there is little doubt, not only that the ground already reclaimed will be adequately protected, but that other extensive tracts of fertile land, now abandoned to the waters, will be also recovered for the purposes of cultivation.

The whole coast of Louisiana, from Pearl River on the east, to Sabine River on the west, including a space of about 300 miles, may be considered, for all the purposes of a general description, as forming one immense meadow. Narrow strips of wood indeed occasionally intervene, and divide this vast expanse of natural grass into smaller meadows, which indent the country like so many bays. Within the limits of the inundations, these meadows are one continued marsh, of the most lifeless and dreary aspect; but, higher up, the country affords the most luxuriant pastures, and is remarkable both for its beauty and salubrity. The Atchafalia, an outlet of the Mississippi, already described, forms the western boundary of the country which we have distinguished by the appellation of the Delta. To the westward of this river lies the level meadow of the Attacapas, bounded on the east by the river Mermentau. It runs along the Gulf of Mexico 115 miles, and stretches 90 miles into the interior, in a northern direction. North and east of this, is spread the meadow of the Opelousas, bounded on the west by the river Sabine. This extensive tract of country is watered by its own rivers, which are wholly independent of the Mississippi.

They are however connected, by diverging canals, with that great complication of rivers and lakes of which the Mississippi is the main trunk. In front of these two districts, an immense chain of lakes and bays lies along the Gulf of Mexico; considerable parts of which are subject to inundations—while others, which are raised above the level of the annual floods, are in the highest degree fertile. This immense region of open plains and meadows, far excels the level country on the shores of the Mississippi, in the salubrity of its air, and the beauty of its appearance. Having no stagnant waters except a few ponds, the atmosphere is free from noxious vapours; and, being open to the breezes from the Gulf of Mexico, the temperature is cool and refreshing, at the very time that the adjoining country is languishing under a close and sultry air. There is a water communication between New Orleans and the meadows of Attacapas and Opelansas, by means of the Mississippi, the Atchafalia, and the different branches which diverge from these larger streams; and the traveller who makes this journey, enjoys in full perfection the contrast between the low and marshy tracts on the Atchafalia, and the open and delightful country which is beyond the limits of the inundations. The effect of this pleasing change is described in glowing terms by Mr Danby. ‘A more rapid and astonishing transition’ (he observes) ‘is not conceivable, than between the dark, deep, and silent gloom of the inundated lands of Atchafalia, and the open, light, and cheerful expansion of the wide-spread prairies of Opelansas and Attacapas. After being many days confined in the rivers, exposed to heat, musquitoes, and many severe privations,—to pass, in a few minutes, from this scene of silence and of suffering, to an ocean of light—to expanses where the eye finds no limit but the distant horizon,—is a delight of which no anticipation can give an adequate idea. To be enjoyed, it must be felt. It is one of the incidents in human life, where the pursuit is pain, and the possession pleasure; where the soft and glowing landscape repays, and cheats not, the weary voyager.’

Immediately beyond the alluvial lands which border the numerous rivers and natural canals by which Louisiana is intersected, commences the upland country, which, from its height, is removed beyond the reach of the inundation. This extensive region is diversified by nine ranges of mountains, by numerous smaller elevations and fruitful valleys, especially along the banks of the rivers, by scattered groves and copses of wood, and by natural meadows of vast extent, crowned with luxuriant herbage, over which immense flocks of wild animals range undisturbed. Throughout the most part of this country, especially to the south of the Arkansaw, cotton, to-

bacco, and rice might be produced with advantage; and the more northern districts appear favourable to the cultivation of all sorts of European grain. In many parts, the soil is strongly impregnated with saline properties, which are communicated to the rivers and springs. Lead is produced in great abundance, as well as iron, tin, zinc, copper, saltpetre, and fossil coal.

The arable soil of Louisiana experiences a total change about 200 miles west from the Mississippi. Beyond this, a desert commences, which extends to the Rocky Mountains. Though this extensive region is not absolutely steril, it is chiefly composed of open plains of immense extent, of a hard gravelly soil, destitute of water and timber, and chequered with low waving ridges, which enable the traveller to see his journey, of several days, before him. In approaching the Rocky Mountains, all the disadvantageous properties of the country increase. It is more mountainous; there is a greater scarcity of water; and a larger proportion of it is entirely barren. It may be generally remarked of all the rivers which enter these plains from the mountains, that while they flow through the elevated ground, they possess deep and clear channels, and are of easy navigation; but on entering the lower country, they spread out, and become broad and shallow, insonuch that, during the dry season, there is frequently no water for a continued stream. Such being the character of this western country, it is obvious that it is far from being so favourable to settlements as that to the eastward of the Mississippi; and, from every appearance, the natives may be expected to remain its undisturbed possessors for centuries to come. One important objection to its occupation by American colonists is, that it is chiefly adapted to pasture, and not to the production of grain; so that those by whom it was settled would have to adopt a new mode of life, and submit to a total change of habits. On this account, all the spots fitted for cultivation will be first settled; after which only the population will slowly overflow into the pastoral districts.

The seasons in Louisiana are variable; and they are distinguished, as in most parts of North America, by great extremes both of heat and cold. From whatever cause, also, the empire of cold is prolonged beyond its usual limits even in the New World. At New Orleans, the difference between two succeeding winters is frequently as much as could be expected in a change of four or five degrees of latitude. In the winter of 1779, some of the canals were frozen for a considerable time; a phenomenon which did not occur again till 1814. In ordinary seasons, the ponds and other stagnant waters, as far south as 30° of N. lat., are seldom frozen, though few or any winters occur without frost

at New Orleans. At Natchez, situated on the Mississippi in lat.  $31^{\circ} 33' N.$ , snow is frequent, and falls in considerable quantity. The orange tree and sugar cane are frequently destroyed by frost, even on the Gulf of Mexico. At Natchez, the peach is rendered precarious in the spring by the late frosts; and cotton is often killed so late as April. Those unseasonable storms, which occur in every part of the United States, are frequent and destructive along the Gulf of Mexico. The church of Opelousas stands in  $30^{\circ} 32' N.$  latitude. At this place, in January 1807, the snow fell in considerable quantity, and remained on the ground upwards of a week. At the same place, in January 1812, snow fell nearly a foot in depth, and remained several days on the ground; while at the same time, at Iberia, in N. latitude  $30^{\circ} 2'$ , there was a heavy shower of rain. About the 30th degree of north latitude, may therefore be assumed as the limit of snow in this country, very few instances having ever occurred of its falling below that parallel.

In Upper Louisiana, the winters are even more severe than in the corresponding latitudes on the sea coast. They generally set in about the 20th November, and continue till near the end of February; though hard frosts, and even snow, are common in October and March. For three successive winters, commencing in 1802, the Mississippi at St Louis, in N. latitude  $38^{\circ} 24'$ , was passable on the ice before the 20th December in each year; and it was clear of all obstruction during two of these years by the end of February. In every winter, the thermometer is depressed for several weeks 10 or 15 degrees below 0. In the summer, on the other hand, the heat is in an equal extreme. In 1805, the thermometer, from about the last of June to August, indicated 96 degrees, and stood at that point for several hours of every day. The climate here is also liable to very sudden changes; and it is mentioned by Brackenridge, that in January 1811, after several weeks of delightful weather, the thermometer fell from 78 to 10 degrees below 0. Towards the west the cold is still more intense, as the land rises in its approach to the Rocky Mountains.

It is a commonly received notion, that a sensible improvement is experienced in the climate of America as we advance westward. The facts now stated, however, give no countenance to this theory; which is liable indeed to be questioned on general grounds. We know of no accidental cause which could have the effect of modifying the climate of those parts of America which lie between the Alleghany and the Rocky Mountains. It is well known, that all over the continent of

North America, the north or north-west wind is the great cause of cold; and that when this wind blows, the air assumes a keenness which is never felt at other times. Such is the effect of these winds, which frequently burst forth in impetuous blasts from the regions of perpetual winter, that even at Vera Cruz, we are informed by Humboldt, the thermometer is suddenly brought down by their influence to 60 degrees; a remarkable depression, in a country within the limits of the torrid zone. Louisiana is protected by no barrier on the north from the irruption of these freezing winds. On the contrary, the whole face of the country is exposed to them; and they accordingly sweep along its wide extended plains, carrying winter before them, and extending the dominion of cold into the natural regions of heat. There seems to be no reason, therefore, why Louisiana should form an exception to the general character of the American climate; and, from the facts which we have stated above, this does not appear to be the case, cold predominating equally in this as in every other part of the North American continent.

All parts of the low inundated flats on the banks of the Mississippi, and generally indeed the alluvial lands on the shores of the rivers, are extremely unhealthy,—owing to the exhalations that arise, under the scorching heats of summer, from the marshy grounds. In all these parts, diseases of the intermittent kind prevail; and in New Orleans, a highly inflammatory and bilious fever frequently makes its appearance. In proceeding northward along the shores of the Mississippi, as far as the Ohio, the same causes—namely, the exhalations from the inundated banks of the rivers—produce bilious disorders; and the settlers in those parts are liable to periodical attacks of disease. In removing to the higher grounds, these evils are either wholly avoided, or much mitigated; although, in an uncleared country, the first occupants are always liable to suffer in their health.

Under the feeble administration of Spain, little progress was made towards the improvement of Louisiana; and, since it has been transferred to the United States, its occupation by American settlers has been in a great measure prevented, by the difficulty of distinguishing the public lands from those which belong to individuals. Considerable tracts of land had been granted by Spain for the encouragement of new settlers; and the first care of the American Government, was to determine the extent of those private claims, that no time might be lost in disposing of the public lands to those who were desirous of emigrating into this newly acquired country. For this purpose, commissioners were appointed to make the necessary inquiries. But from their ignorance, on the one hand, of the


nature of the Spanish titles, and from the jealousy of the inhabitants, on the other, who suspected the whole transaction to be only a pretext for some general plan of taxation, unexpected delays have taken place, in consequence of which, the country has never been laid completely open to emigration. Great improvements, however, have recently been made; and the progress of Louisiana, now that it forms a part of the American territory, and is the outlet for the produce of the Western States, will naturally be in proportion to that of the country at large.

The town of New Orleans, which at present contains 30,000 inhabitants, is fast increasing both in its population and foreign trade. A great number of additional houses were built in 1816, distinguished both for size and improved architecture. Other towns are advancing in the same manner; insomuch, that one writer observes—‘It would be difficult to state the number of houses or people in any of these new towns. In reality, the numbers change so rapidly, that no estimate can remain one year correct. The settlements are also gradually extending along the river banks, spreading out from the Mississippi as from a common centre. The country to the west, on Red River, for about 160 miles above its mouth, has been laid out in parishes; and settlements are multiplying on this as on the other rivers which fall into the Mississippi from the west, such as the Washita and its tributary streams, namely, the Tensaw and Black River, and others of inferior consequence. Natchitoches, the most considerable town of Louisiana west of the Mississippi, is situated on Red River about 160 miles from its mouth, and already contains 600 inhabitants. Natchez, situated on the east bank of the Mississippi, in lat.  $31^{\circ} 33'$  N., 156 miles above New Orleans, contains 2500; and Washington, about six miles to the east, 1000 inhabitants. Above the 33d degree of N. lat. commences that portion of Louisiana now known under the title of the Missouri Territory, which extends northward as far as the Canadian frontier. The settlements on the Mississippi do not extend many miles further north than the Missouri; and, within this tract, the population, in 1810, was estimated at 20,845, at which period it was rapidly increasing; and it is calculated that it must now be nearly double this amount. St Louis, situated on the west bank of the Mississippi, 18 miles below the Missouri, is the capital of this district, and is rapidly increasing. There are other towns and flourishing villages established on the banks of the Mississippi, the Missouri, and their tributary streams. The village of St Charles, situated on the left shore of the Missouri, 24 miles above its mouth, is the most western town in this part of the United States. It contains from 1000 to 1200 inhabitants; and, like all the other towns in the same district, is daily increased by the influx of new settlers.’

From this account of the settlements which are scattered along the river banks of Louisiana, it is obvious that the country



is extremely favourable to the progress of improvement; and it is not likely that the American settlers will experience any serious obstacle in their progress westward, until they reach the Rocky Mountains. It is curious to consider by what means this formidable barrier will be overcome. Some of its highest points reach the limits of perpetual snow, and, through the greater part of it, winter reigns without intermission for eight months of the year. From the nature of the country, no attempt can ever be made to cultivate it; and the barren wastes which extend from the base of the mountains far into the plains, forbid even the approach of settlers. Beyond this mountainous barrier, however, there lies a champaign country, reported, by those who have visited it, to be fertile, well watered, and extremely favourable for settlements. Since it has been explored by Captains Lewis and Clark, other travellers have penetrated across the mountains by far shorter and better roads; and it has been calculated, that, with some little improvement of the road, waggons might travel from this western country to some of the head waters of the Missouri, with less trouble than they now cross the Allegany Mountains from the Western States. Were such a communication once made practicable, and a connexion established across this formidable chain of mountains, the population of America would have ample scope to expand for centuries to come—until it was finally checked by the Pacific Ocean, its ultimate and majestic boundary.



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THE  
EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OCTOBER, 1819.

NO LXIV.

ART. I. 1. *Ἱστορία Σουλίου καὶ Παργας, περιέχουσα τὴν χρονολογίαν καὶ τοὺς ἐλάν πολέμους μετὰ τοῦ Ἀλῆ Πασῆ: viz. The History of Suli and Parga, containing their Chronology as well as their Wars against Ali Pacha. Venice, 1815.*

2. *A Series of Historical and Political authentic Documents, beginning from the year 1401 and ending with the year 1818, to be presented to the Parliament of Great Britain in behalf of the Citizens of Parga.*

3. *Proceedings in Parga and the Ionian Islands, with a series of Correspondence and other justificative Documents. By Lieutenant-Colonel C. P. DE BOSSET. London, 1819.*

THE concerns of this interesting and injured little State were brought before Parliament in the course of last Session: But, before the discussion had gone any length, its fate was understood to be sealed:—and the subject sunk again into that obscurity which naturally covers the transactions of a remote and inconsiderable community. It is worth while, however, we think, in this instance, at last to withdraw the veil; and to expose, in full day, a transaction in which this country is but too much implicated, and which seems to afford a striking illustration of those new principles of international law by which we are to be rewarded for thirty years of suffering and bloodshed.

*Parga*, which General Vaudoncourt conjectures, upon slight enough grounds, to be the ancient *Ephyra*—is situated on the coast of Epirus, at the foot of the mountains of Albania, and contained a population of about five thousand souls. No un-



quivocal remains of Grecian art have been found, we believe, within its narrow district, though a few coins of the lower empire have been picked up; and the traces of antique buildings may be distinguished at the place still popularly known by the name of Ancient Parga (Παλαιό Παργα). In the decline of the Roman power, the new city was built on a rock, washed on three sides by the sea, and backed by a precipitous cliff, on the summit of which is placed its impregnable citadel. It commands, of course, a very magnificent prospect, including on one hand the whole territory of Parga and the mountains of Albania, by which it is bounded from east to west; in a southerly direction, the eye ranges over a part of the Ionian Sea; on the left are seen the Isle of Santa Mora and the famous Sapphie promontory of Leucadia; further on,

*Jam medio apparet fluctu nemorosa Zacynthos*

*Dulichiumque Sameque et Neritos arduasque*

together with the dark mountains of Cephalonia, on the right, at the distance of twelve miles, are the Islands of Paxo and Antipaxo. The country is extremely fertile and salubrious, abounding with springs and rivulets, and exhibiting, in its slopes and hollows, innumerable groves of oranges, olives, cedars and cyresses. The people were agricultural, and very warlike both by land and water. Without this last quality, indeed, they could not have enjoyed an hour of independence; for they were surrounded on all sides by lawless and ambitious neighbours; and the lofty mountains which divide them from the Albanian clans and the Turkish frontier, were for four hundred years the scene of almost daily contentions.

It would be useless, and not very easy, to inquire into the history of this little settlement, anterior to its connexion with Venice. But, in the year 1401, it was confederated with that proud republic; and continued to enjoy honourable and entire independence in that alliance, till the subversion of the greater state in 1797. It is well known, that from the time of Mahomet II., Venice was not only the great bulwark of Christendom against the growing power of the Turks, but exercised an almost unlimited authority over the eastern shores of the Adriatic, and the maritime and insular cities of Greece. For this dominion they were indebted far more to their policy than their arms: For, taking advantage of the dissensions that always prevail among such small communities, they offered themselves first to one, and then to another, in the imposing character of mediators or allies; and, entering into treaties of perpetual friendship and federation, were gradually converted from generous protectors to absolute masters and tyrannical oppressors.

With Parga, however, they comported themselves differently ; and the determined valour of its inhabitants concurring with their own obvious interest to preserve one willing and well-affected ally in that turbulent neighbourhood, insured from them the faithful observance of stipulations which, in other circumstances, they were accustomed to violate with very little scruple. On the 21st day of March 1401, the treaty of federation, thus singularly fulfilled, was first subscribed and sworn to between the two States. For the protection of the weaker power it was agreed, that the Venetians should maintain a body of Italian or Sclávonian troops within the walls of Parga ;—but, to prevent the abuse of a power thus dangerously posted, it was solemnly stipulated, that the Pargiots should govern themselves freely and independently, according to the laws and constitutions of their ancestors, and by judges and magistrates of their own election ;—that they should not be liable to serve by sea or land, in the militia or galleys of Venice,—nor to engage in any war but in defence of their own territory and the Venetian settlements in Albania ;—that they should pay no taxes nor customs on export or import, and be chargeable only with half the ordinary duties when trading to the ports of Venice. This treaty was again confirmed with the same solemnities in August 1447,—and observed, to the mutual satisfaction of both parties, till the end of that century. In 1500, in spite of the Venetian assistance, the city was burned by the Turks—and again in 1560. On this last occasion, the inhabitants were massacred or dispersed, and the whole territory laid waste and desolate. The scattered remnant of its people took shelter among the wandering tribes of the neighbouring mountains, but, by little and little, ventured back to their ancient possessions ; and after several years, came at length to rebuild their houses and temples on the spot where their ancestors had fallen. They then sent deputies to Venice to demand their assistance, and the renewal of their ancient alliance ; requesting, among other things, that the Senate should assist in fortifying their city, and should also lend them a sum of money to enable the poorer part of the citizens to rebuild their habitations. The Senate was not only just, but generous. It undertook the whole expense of erecting the fortifications ; and, instead of a loan from its treasury, it sent, as a free gift, the requisite materials for the construction of their houses. When the particular points of the embassy were adjusted, a new charter, ratifying and confirming all the former treaties, was regularly signed on the 5th of February 1571. It was afterwards repeatedly renewed ; and was always religiously fulfilled, not

only in its letter, but its spirit, till the final extinction of Venice by the ambition of France and Austria in 1797.

To explain the interest which concurred with the spirit of the people to produce this exemplary and unexampled fidelity to its engagements in a powerful ally, it may be necessary to consider for a moment the nature of the Venetian possessions to the east of the Adriatic, and the condition of the countries in their immediate neighbourhood. This great trading and political republic, it will be recollected, was mistress of the Ionian islands, and of various other islands and continental cities beyond them,—the secure possession of which was not only necessary to her maritime and political greatness, but essential to her commercial prosperity. The Turk had by this time spread himself over Greece, and was pressing heavily upon the Christian frontier both by land and water. To supply her insular settlements with provisions, it was necessary, at all events, that Venice should hold a variety of places on the shore of the Continent; and, by a judicious selection of these, she had also the prospect, from the singular situation of the country, of holding in check, and preventing the further progress of the Ottoman. On the coast of Albania, she had therefore established five fortified settlements;—*Bucintro*, anciently *Bulhrotum*, the most central and convenient access to the interior of the country;—*Gomenitza*, a large town, and the chief market of the vicinage, from which, up to this day, *Corfu* derives its principal supplies;—*Prevesa*, a very strong place, and commanding the whole channel leading to the gulf of *Arta*;—*Vonitza*, anciently called *Lionnæa*, considered as the key of *Acarnania*;—and, in the middle of these four, and as it were the keystone of the whole range, *Parga*, such as it has been already described. It was of importance that the attachment of a place so strong, and so situated, should be secured; and it was soon discovered that this could not be done without giving the inhabitants an interest in their fidelity, and making the power and tranquillity of their protectors the basis of their own prosperity and independence. If *Parga* was hostile, the other cities on the coast could not be maintained; and if they were all abandoned, not only would the insular dominion of Venice and her commerce be exposed to the greatest disadvantages, but the most effectual barrier against the Turk would be in a great measure destroyed. To understand this, it will be convenient, and we think not uninteresting, to cast an eye on the condition and extraordinary history of the district now called *Albania*, which has so long served as a frontier against the advance of the Mahometans.

It is very singular, that this mountainous but populous re-

gion, placed as it is in a very favourable climate, and surrounded from the earliest times by the most warlike, as well as the most civilized nations of the earth, has never to this day been either *conquered* or *civilized*; but continues to the present hour to exhibit the same extraordinary picture of untamed and unpolicied life—the same eternal dissensions of hostile clans—the same scenes of predatory war and piracy, and contempt of art and industry, by which it appears to have been distinguished from the remotest periods of history. Though its natives have taken part in almost all the great revolutions to which human affairs have been subjected in the old world, and have frequently contributed materially to their success, they have never been an untutored, a polished, or even an agricultural people. From the first to the last, their occupation has been war—individual, predatory, mercenary and vindictive war; and the only habits they have cultivated, are those that belong to that vocation. In the most ancient times, they furnished a part of the first grand piratical expedition of the Argonauts; and fought among the myrmidons under the walls of Troy. They invaded the territory of infant Rome with Pyrrhus—and that of Greece in her glory with Philip. They formed a considerable part of the armies with which Alexander conquered the world. In later times, under their famous countryman *George Castriotto*, better known by the name of *Scanderbeg*, they checked the proud arms of the Ottoman, and drove him back from the shores of the Adriatic; and in the following age, followed a still more formidable chief of their nation, the warlike *Abraham*, in his rapid career of conquest over Syria, Mesopotamia, and Arabia. In more modern times, they have repeatedly supported the Porte against the most formidable assaults of its rebellious Pachas, and still more frequently enabled these rebels to set at defiance the utmost efforts of their masters. In our days, they contributed mainly to the defeat of our second descent on Egypt, by their sanguinary attack on our forces at Rosetta. It was by their means that Ali extended his conquests over the greater part of Greece; and they are at this moment busy in endeavouring to secure the sovereignty of Egypt for Mahomed Ali. In all these different scenes and periods, the character and habits of the Albanian have been as unvaried as they are remarkable; and the striking picture which Mr Hobhouse has drawn of them, would have been equally true, we believe, 3000 years ago, as it is at this day.

‘ They are distinguished, even in a land of barbarians, for the singular cruelty and implacability of their disposition. The men of one mountain watch those of a neighbouring hill, and neither sow nor

reap, nor tend their flocks, singly or unarmed. Should one of them wander beyond the precincts of protection, he would be stalked like a deer,—and that without seeing his enemy. In many parts of the country the sowing and reaping of the harvest is delegated to the women, the old and the infirm; and only those labours which require the strength and skill of man, such as the felling of timber, and the cultivation of the vineyard, fall to the lot of the young mountainer. Averse from every habit of active industry, it is with less unwillingness that they wander on the mountains, or in forests, with their flocks and herds: for the life of the shepherd is a life both of laziness and peril. But the delight of an Albanian, when unoccupied by the wars of his Pacha, or his village, is to bask in the sunshine, to smoke, to doze or to stroll slowly round the garden of his cottage, tinkling his tuneless lute. Yet though idle, he is still restless and ready to seize his gun, and plunge into the woods at the first summons of his chief. In the pursuit of riches, there is no toil or danger which they will not encounter: but they prefer the life of the soldier to that of the husbandman, and with much greater alacrity support the labours of war than those of agriculture.

Even the civilizing conquests of Rome passed over them in vain. Flaminius, when he effected his famous settlement of Greece, attempted to give them civil institutions, and to raise them to the rank of allies,—but abandoned the project as impracticable; and he and his successors were satisfied with occupying the passes to their country, and shutting them up in their mountains, to wreak their predatory rage on each other. The issue of the servile war under Spartacus, and the expedition of Pompey against the pirates of the Mediterranean, greatly increased the population of this colony of outlaws, and made it of course still more necessary to watch, and still more hopeless to subdue them. In later times, the sanguinary conquests of the Turk had a similar effect; and among the Christian fugitives who were swept from Greece by the desolating advance of the Infidel, may be reckoned the first founders of Parga.

At the period of the French Revolution, the country may be said to have belonged partly to the independent clans of the mountains, partly to the Turkish Beys and Pachas really or nominally tributary to the Porte, and partly to the Republic of Venice. The independent clans have always followed, avowedly and almost exclusively, the trade or occupation of robbery; and the name of *Klaphis*, is given and assumed among them without the idea of reproach. On the borders of Dalmatia they are mostly Christian; some Catholics; but, the greater part, of the Greek church. They speak Slavonian; have no chief or judge but their bishops; and have always adhered to the interests of Russia. In the central parts of the country, the inde-

pendent clans speak the Arnaut, which is unquestionably the oldest, and probably the primitive language of the country; and generally profess Islamism—though without any very rigid observance of its rites or injunctions; and often beat and insult their Dervises as freely as the Papas of their neighbours. On the frontiers of Greece, again, all the independent clans are Christians; and very zealous votaries of the Patriarch of Constantinople. They are more skilful warriors, perhaps, and more determined robbers, than any of the rest; and, until their independence was broken, and their numbers thinned by the sanguinary conquests of Ali Pacha, were the most formidable disturbers of the peace, and the most bloody persecutors of the unbelievers, that ever existed even in this turbulent region. The part of Albania which is claimed by the Porte, is ruled, like the greater part of its outlying provinces, by Pachas and Beys, who, while they profess a nominal subjection to its authority, actually govern as absolute princes, and are engaged in perpetual wars with each other, for the extension or defence of their territories. The victors are generally native chiefs, who employ their hereditary influence against those who are sent from Constantinople, and then bribe the Divan to wink at their usurpations, with a part of the booty of the vanquished;—a policy which seldom fails with that venerable cabinet, especially when backed by the consideration, that it might not be quite safe or easy to chastise their rebellion, and that those eternal wars among the Pachas, probably prevents any one from obtaining such an ascendancy as might encourage him openly and entirely to throw off the pretence of subjection—and thus put an end to the chance either of tribute or of bribes. The portion of the country under the dominion of Venice, has been already sufficiently described.

The ultimate fate of this singular region, and especially of the little State whose extinction we mean to record, forms a part of the history of Ali Pacha, and of his relations with the French revolution. That celebrated chief, indisputably the greatest of the Turkish viceroys, and the most brutal barbarian of his age, has been rendered interesting, and in some measure familiar to English readers, by the lively and detailed accounts of him that have lately been given to the public, both by Mr Hobhouse and Dr Holland. Yet his early history, and the unprincipled ferocity of his character, have neither of them been well understood: and our readers, we believe, will easily excuse us for presenting them with the following brief sketch of them, which we have had the means of obtaining from persons of the best information.

His ancestors were chiefs of the independent clan of the

**Teczides**—Mahometans settled in Tepeleni. His grandfather, in the capacity of a Bey appointed by the Porte, ruled over a pretty extensive district, adjoining to his hereditary domain, and fell at the siege of Corfu. His son, however, was not allowed to succeed to his command, and was plundered by the neighbouring Pachas of almost all his possessions. On his death, the young Ali, who was born about 1750, found himself under the guardianship of a mother, fierce, proud and warlike as any of her tribe,—and easily prevailed on her, when only in his sixteenth year, to commit to him the command of that faithful domestic band, by the help of which the Albanian widow had imperfectly preserved her independence. With those household troops, the youth repeatedly attempted to make reprisals on some of his oppressors, but was singularly unfortunate in all his early enterprises. In his very first campaign, he was completely routed, and taken prisoner by the Vizir Kourd Pacha, who was so much struck with his beauty, vivacity and apparent gentleness, that he was induced to look on the whole affair as a piece of youthful folly, and to send him away with a paternal rebuke. In less than a year, however, he was again in arms, and again defeated; and his mother's hoards being by this time exhausted, he betook himself to the vocation of a robber, to collect funds for a larger army. Even in this laudable pursuit, however, he had neither luck nor conduct,—but was speedily discomfited and made prisoner by the Vizir of Joannina, who was urged by all the neighbouring chieftains to leave the young bandit to the last sentence of the law. But the Vizir was desirous of finding occupation for those turbulent chiefs, of whom he was very reasonably jealous; and therefore thought fit not only to dismiss his prisoner, but secretly to supply him with the means of carrying on his depredations. He was destined, however, to acquire his military skill in the school of adversity. He was again attacked, and so totally routed, that he was obliged to seek refuge alone among the rocks of the mountains, and actually to pledge his scimitar to buy himself a meal. On his return in this low condition to his mother's house, he was received by the Amazon with a Spartan spirit of disdain, and told that he should put on the habit of a woman, and confine himself to the tasks of the Haram. He found means, however, to appease her fiery temper, and again took the field at the head of 600 men. But his adverse star was still in the ascendent,—and he was again defeated and forced to fly in the night with the broken remnant of his forces. In this disastrous state, he went into a ruinous building to rest himself, and meditate on his cheerless prospects, and remained a long time buried in deep

thought, and scoring the ground unconsciously with the stick which he held in his hand; when it was stopped in its motion by something solid just under the surface,—and on stooping to examine the nature of the obstacle, he found a casket containing a large quantity of gold. This anecdote he himself communicated to General Vaudoncourt; and the occurrence was too critical as well as extraordinary, to be readily forgotten. With the money thus strangely obtained, he raised a force of 2000 men, turned suddenly on his pursuers, gained his first victory, and returned in triumph to Tepeleni.

From this period he has been almost uniformly successful,—but has as uniformly stained his successes by the most incredible treachery and cruelty. The very day of his return to his home, he persuaded the chief men of his followers, that his brother had acted perfidiously, and been in correspondence with their enemies, and immediately went with them to his apartment, and with his own hand stabbed him to the heart before them. Next day, however, he laid the blame of the murder on his mother; who he said had poisoned his unhappy victim, to deliver him from a dangerous rival,—and then rewarded this imputed excess of maternal partiality, by deposing her from the authority she had hitherto exercised, and shutting her up a close prisoner in the haram,—where she speedily died of rage and vexation.

To maintain and employ his troops, he now resumed his occupation of robbery on a more extended scale, and laid under contribution the whole country of Epirus and Macedonia, and blockaded the roads leading from the declivities of Pindus into Thessaly. His ravages at last excited the attention of the Divan; and the Dervendgi Pacha (or Protector-General of the High Roads) was ordered to march out against him. The wily robber, however, contrived first of all to defeat his advanced parties, and then to proffer his assistance against the Vizir of Skutari, at that time in rebellion against the Porte. The offer was accepted; and the rebellious Vizir being brought to submission, the services of Ali were represented in such advantageous colours to the Divan, that he was not only forgiven, but received into especial favour;—under the shadow of which he speedily recovered all that had been wrested from his father, and pillaged and plundered at his pleasure the Beys who had united against him. He was still but twenty years of age, when, after all these exploits, he obtained in marriage the daughter of the Pacha of Argiro Castro. Soon after, a quarrel arose between two of his brothers-in-law, which he thought would be best terminated by instigating the younger to assassinate the elder—which was accordingly done, and gave rise to



a civil war; from which, however, the abhorrence of the people prevented him from deriving all the benefits he expected. In consequence, however, of a subsequent feud, he obtained possession of the town of Charnova, where he stabbed the governor, massacred the inhabitants, and sacked and ruined the place. He next attacked the Greek clans of Liebovo, and subdued them after a sanguinary resistance; and by these two conquests made himself master of the whole valley of the Chelydnus.

A little time after, the Porte wished to rid itself of Selim Pacha of Delvino; and Ali took charge of this commission, on condition of being named Pacha in his place. Accordingly, he insinuated himself into his confidence, as well as that of his son Mustapha, and was enabled to surround them with his own satellites. He then caused the father to be beheaded, and the son to be arrested; but, in spite of these vigorous and judicious measures, he was compelled to fly from the indignation and vengeance of their subjects. The merit of his conduct, however, was not overlooked at Constantinople; and the Porte considering him as a skilful and intrepid servant, named him Lieutenant of the Dervendgi Pacha. The principal, a native of Constantinople, being quite ignorant of the country, was dazzled by the hope of dissipating the brigands, by taking for his lieutenant the most celebrated of their number. Ali provided them with diplomas; and the chiefs of the robbers became legitimate conquerors. This traffic and his own exactions brought him in a large sum of money. The Divan, however, finding at last that no road in European Turkey was free, divested the Dervendgi Pacha and his Lieutenant of their office. The first, on his return, was regularly beheaded at Constantinople: but Ali having prudently sent a good share of his plunder to some of the principal ministers, and followed this up with an offer to join the Grand Vizir in the war broken out at this period (1787) between Austria, Russia and Turkey, was not only pardoned, but praised and promoted. During the war, his military experience, and the valour of his Albanians obtained for him general esteem, and at the same time tended greatly to enrich him. But in order to secure to himself a retreat in case of disasters, he entered into a secret and treasonable correspondence with Prince Potemkin, under the pretext of negotiating for the release of one of his nephews who had been made prisoner. He has still the imprudent vanity to show a watch set in diamonds presented to him by Potemkin, in testimony of esteem for his bravery and talents.

After the peace, being possessed of considerable riches, he

began regularly to entertain agents at Constantinople, in order to watch the rising or declining power of the different ministers, and bribe their patronage. By these means he obtained the title of Pacha of Trikala, a small district in Thessaly. His vicinity terrified the Greek merchants of Joannina, who feared his exactions. A complete anarchy, however, reigned at that time in the town; the government of which was vacant, and the subject of bitter contentions and busy intrigues, both among the inhabitants and the neighbouring Beys. The fear of Ali, however, composed all differences; and the people, and the various competitors for the rule, sent a joint supplication to the Divan, that they might have any Pacha but this dreaded freebooter; and actually obtained a *firman* prohibiting him from entering the city. By means of his agents, Ali was apprised of this order before those who had obtained it: and took his measures with the promptitude and audacity which belonged to his character. He presented himself with his troops at the gates of the city, and exhibited a *firman* from the Grand Signior, appointing him Dervendgi Pacha, and ordering him to enter Joannina without delay. The inhabitants, though stunned with this intelligence, did not dare to refuse obedience; and Ali and his forces were quietly garrisoned in the citadel. His *firman*, the reader will easily understand, was a daring forgery of his own,—and almost immediately detected. But being now in the military occupation of the city, he compelled the inhabitants, under threats of a general massacre, to subscribe an urgent petition for his appointment as their governor; and this petition being forwarded to Constantinople along with a large sum of money extorted by him from the subscribers, produced such an effect, that he was confirmed in the government, and thus became master of the place, which has since been distinguished as his capital. Not being quite sure, however, of the forgiveness of the Porte, when all things should be known, he thought it as well to make himself strong by alliance, and secured the interest of the French resident at Prevesa, through whom he afterwards endeavoured, though without success, to open a correspondence with Louis XVI. in the character of an independent sovereign.

Such was the career of Ali up to the era of the French Revolution. The increase of his power, and the boldness and desperation of his character, had long given the greatest uneasiness to the Venetians, upon whose continental settlements he scarcely disguised his pretensions. All they could do was to find work for him in the interior, and to foment insurrections among the clans and chieftains whom he had subdued, and was op-

pressing. Though nominally a subject of the Porte, they knew well that his conduct was looked upon with jealousy by that government, and found little difficulty in stipulating with them, 'that Ali should not be permitted to erect any fort on the continent within a mile from the coast,'—a stipulation so rigorously enforced, that, while Venice had an existence, he was never able even to fortify his custom-house at Salamora, though at the very bottom of the Bay of Arta. It was the possession of Parga that enabled the republic to maintain this control over the most faithless and daring of barbarians. Impregnable from its position and defences, it was closely connected by the ties of religion, and the relations of trade, with all the Christian tribes in the heart of Albania; and naturally became, not only the asylum of all who were driven from their homes by the violence of Ali, but the seat of those plots and cabals by which his government was continually menaced and disturbed. The Venetians winked at all those proceedings, and even encouraged them; but, being at peace with the Turk, they never allowed their garrison to take arms against its pretended subjects; and represented the hostilities in which the Pargiots were perpetually engaged with the forces of Ali, as mere acts of self-defence against the assaults of a banditti, whom no regular government could possibly avow. Ali, in his turn, could not but feel the importance of this little settlement; and openly avowed his animosity to its brave possessors. No stranger went to see him at Joannina, to whom he did not pour out his abuse of the Pargiots. According to him, they were mere robbers and harbourers of outlaws; and no part of maritime Greece could be at peace till they were exterminated. Mr Hobhouse seems to have been somewhat influenced by those invectives, in the account he has given of this warlike community; but both Col. de Bosset and Mr Dodwell, who had far better opportunities of observation, vindicate them from those aspersions, and represent them as remarkably industrious, gay, and hospitable—the men handsome and sober, with more than the characteristic bravery of the climate—and the women chaste and unwatched, and cheerfully devoted to their primitive tasks and pastimes. All observers indeed concur in stating, that the smiling aspect of this little territory, and the busy prosperity of its inhabitants, formed but lately a striking contrast to the wastes and ruins with which it was everywhere surrounded. And now it is the very centre and seat of desolation! The voice of gladness has everywhere ceased in its fields; and it is more waste and ruinous than any other spot in this region of havoc and oppression! But we must resume the thread of our narrative.

In 1797, Venice fell before the arms of France—and the Ionian Isles passed of course under their dominion. The ready treachery of Ali had already made overtures to Bonaparte, and offered to join him against the Turk, provided he would engage for his ultimate protection. The conqueror received these proposals favourably, and allowed him to embark troops, and transport them to different points of the coast; and, at the same time, furnished him with engineers to conduct his sieges, and repair his fortification. In 1798, the Porte having declared war on France on account of the invasion of Egypt, the sincerity of Ali was brought to the test. He accordingly recruited his forces, and drew out all his powers; and, assuring the agents of Bonaparte that he was waiting for a favourable moment to strike a fatal blow at the common foe, he demanded instant payment of 80,000 livres as the value of provisions which he said had been furnished by him to Admiral Bruix. The Governor of Corfu having no money to make payment, presented him with battering cannon in exchange; and the double traitor having made all he could of his dissimulation, wrote to the French Adjutant-General Roze to come over to him without delay, that they might confer upon the best means of opposing the Russian and Turkish fleet that was advancing against them. Roze, who was the intimate friend and frequent guest of Ali, went without suspicion or attendants; when he was instantly seized, thrust into a dungeon, tortured to extort information, and then sent mangled to Constantinople, where he speedily died.

Having thus taken his part in the quarrel, he proceeded instantly to besiege all the French (formerly Venetian) settlements on the mainland; and, by prodigious superiority of numbers, and the arms which he had thus treacherously obtained, he speedily succeeded with the most of them. Bucintoro fell the first—and he proceeded with near ten thousand men to Prevesa. This position was more defensible—and the French engineers were busy erecting batteries to protect its approaches, when the natives insisted that it would be much better to dig through a narrow isthmus by which the enemy must advance—and, although it was explained to them that this operation could not possibly be accomplished in time to be of service, they all deserted the batteries, and rushed out to work at the excavation. Ali was upon them before any thing effectual was done—and, although the defence was obstinate, and the victory most sanguinary, he forced his way at last over the dead bodies of his opponents. He took brutal and bloody vengeance for their resistance. On the day of the assault, men, women and children were butchered till night-fall—and the next morning all the ju-

habitants fit to bear arms, were marched out to the edge of the great ditch they had begun to dig on the isthmus, and there barbarously slaughtered. The city itself was set on fire. The very day of this exploit, the conqueror addressed the following letter, the original of which, written in Romaic, with a mixture of Albanian, now lies before us, to the inhabitants of Parga. 'Learn, men of Parga, the victory of this day, and the fate of Prevesa. In now writing to you, I would have you to understand, that being my neighbours, I do not desire war with you—but only that two or three of you should come to me, that we may confer about making you fellow-subjects of my sovereign. Whatever form of government you wish, I will grant to you. But if you refuse, I will deal with you as enemies—and the blame be on your own heads.' The Pargiots made no answer;—and another letter was sent the day following—omitting the proposal of subjection to the Turk, but requiring them to massacre or drive out the French garrison among them. The following answer which we think was read to the House of Commons by Sir Charles Monck, was instantly returned.

'TO ALI PACHA. We have received your two letters, and we rejoice that you are well. The compliance which you require of us, you will not easily obtain; because your conduct, exhibited to us in the fate of our neighbours, determines us all to a glorious and free death, rather than to a base and tyrannical subjugation. You write to us to fall upon and slay the French. This is not in our power; but if it were, we would decline to do it; for our country has boasted her good faith for four centuries past, and in that time often vindicated it with her blood. How then, shall we now sully that glory? Never. To threaten us unjustly is in your power; but threats are no characteristic of great men; and, besides, we have never known what it was to fear, having accustomed ourselves to glorious battles for the right of our country. God is just; we are ready; the moment comes when he who conquers shall be glorified. So fare you well. Parga, Oct. 16, 1798.'

Ali stormed at this reply; but the place was too strong to be attempted by force, and he set himself to assail it by art and intrigue. The united arms of the Turks and the Russians had now effected the conquest of the Seven Islands; and it became necessary for them to settle their future government. By the treaty of 1800, they were erected into an independent republic, under the special protection of the two allies;—but unluckily for Parga, and the other continental towns which had hitherto formed a part of them, Ali found means to have it settled that these should all be given up to the Porto. That all these places, with the single exception of Parga, had already been won by the arms of Ali, was, no doubt, an apology for this arrange-

ment—and the jealousy which existed between the two allied powers of Russia and Turkey, made it difficult to come to any very satisfactory arrangement. But there is no doubt that, in consenting to this cession, the Russian negotiators trusted too much to the chapter of accidents, and reckoned too securely on the opportunities which the perfidy and oppression of Ali would afford for resuming possession of those continental settlements—by the assistance especially of the Suliotes, whose territory lay immediately behind that part of the coast, who had always been faithful to the interests of Russia, and upon whose mountain retreats Ali had never been able to make any serious impression.

The result showed but too fatally the errors of this sanguine calculation,—the occupation of the coast having enabled the ferocious Ali in a very few years utterly to exterminate the heroic warriors of Suli, over whom, till he obtained that commanding position, he had never gained any decided advantage. There never was a more bloody or brutal course of warfare than that which is detailed by a native of Parga, in one of the works before us, as terminating in the extirpation of his brave brethren of Suli;—we can only afford to give the closing scene as a specimen. The scanty remnant of the Suliote warriors occupied a strong position on a mountain, where for six days they maintained themselves against the desperate attacks of the Mussulmans, under the command of an heroic ecclesiastic of the name of Samuel, who had acted as their leader for nearly three years. Their provisions and water being cut off, they were at last obliged to capitulate, and obtained leave to retire to Parga; and Samuel with four of his officers remained to deliver up their stores and ammunition to the commissioners of Ali. They had no sooner entered the place, however, than he set fire with his own hand to the magazine, and blew himself and the whole party to atoms. The greater part of those who were retreating to Parga, were massacred, without distinction of sex or age—a group of women who were pursued to the brink of a precipice, dashed their children over the cliffs, that they might not live in servitude to the infidels. One family of eight women and three infants—for all the men had fallen in battle—had obtained from one of the sons of Ali a promise to be allowed to remain unmolested in the dwelling they then occupied; but, a few days after, a party of his soldiers came and insisted on carrying off the younger women, and threatened the older ones with death. The desperate inmates having obtained a short time for preparation, brought out three barrels of gunpowder which had been secret-

ed in the house; and drew in a circle round them. The younger women calmly recited their prayers; and the mother, after blessing her unpolluted daughters, and the infant orphans of her sons, set fire to the train, and blew the whole in the air! The Pargiots collected their bones, and interred them honourably, with an inscription commemorating the manner of their death; and thus was the tribe of the Suliotes exterminated in 1803! But we must return to the treaty of 1800.

The Pargiots, after many vain entreaties to be incorporated with the new republic, succeeded at last in having certain conditions inserted into the treaty, by which the sovereignty, or patronage rather, of their State was to be ceded to the Ottoman: The chiefs of the Seven Islands, who knew that their subsistence depended chiefly on that community, and the Russians, who were far from wishing to put them thus at the mercy of the Porte, exerted themselves in support of their just pretensions. And it was at last solemnly stipulated in the definitive treaty, 'That they should retain all the privileges they had enjoyed of old under the Venetians—that no mosque should be built within their territory, nor any Mussulman be allowed to settle or hold land within it—that they should pay no taxes but those which had been antiently paid to Venice, and should enjoy their laws both civil and criminal exactly as before—and, finally, that to secure the political rights of the new sovereign, a bey or officer of rank should be sent from Constantinople, whose functions, and the place of his residence, should be determined with the advice, and to the entire satisfaction of the republic of the Seven Islands.'

This treaty, and the course of succeeding events, were found sufficient to control the violence and perfidy of Ali, and to exclude the Turks from the territory of Parga, till the possession of it was ceded to the English, and its fate referred to the Congress of Vienna. An Aga, but without any troops, occasionally resided in the place; and a Bey on the neighbouring coast rather helped to keep Ali faithful to his engagements, than assisted him to infringe them. There can indeed be no better or more practical proof of their independence, than that they were allowed, three years after, to give refuge to the remnant of the Suliotes when driven finally from their territories by the arms of Ali.

The power of this ferocious chief, however, was now greatly augmented. The Divan, in its dread of the establishments of Russia in the islands, lost for a time its jealousy and distrust of the most powerful and faithless of its subjects, and appointed him Governor-General of the whole of Roinelia, with supreme authority over all the Pachas of the Grecian provinces. This

great power he rendered immediately subservient to his ruling passions of avarice and revenge. He kept two-fifths of the contributions he levied for government, for his own use—and punished the least delay of payment by brutal and bloody plunder. On one occasion he is said to have extorted in this way upwards of ten millions of piastres—and added 20,000 sheep to his numerous flocks. In the midst of this wealth and grandeur, however, he found time to avenge on the unfortunate inhabitants of Gardiki, an affront which some of them had put upon his mother and sister about forty years before. He surrounded their city with his forces, and starved them into a capitulation, promising solemnly that they should not be reduced into slavery. When he entered the place, he ordered all those who had been concerned in this antiquated offence, and their descendants, to be brought before him. Most of the actual delinquents, of course, were dead—but their progeny appears to have been numerous; for when their numbers were counted, it appeared that there were no fewer than 739 males, and nearly as many of the other sex. The males were bound and fastened in regular ranks, in an enclosed area; and the women round the outside of the walls. Ali then entered the enclosure, and immediately blew out the brains of the first man he came up to. His attendants followed his example; and the whole were butchered on the spot, in the hearing of their wives and daughters. They were allowed to rot where they fell—and their bones are there yet;—the monster merely shutting up the enclosure, and putting an inscription over the door, signifying that it was not to be opened again till his agents, who had been despatched all over Greece for that purpose, had collected more of the offenders, to share the fate of their associates.

He looked, however, with unfeigned terror on the growing strength of the Russians; and, after the battle of Austerlitz, and the peace of Presburg had restored the ascendancy of France, he had the audacity to renew his overtures to Bonaparte—who sent to him, in the capacity of consul-general, a certain M. Pouqueville, who, in a gasconading book of travels, had enlarged very freely on the vices and infirmities of the Pacha. The English consul, in hopes of producing a quarrel, contrived that Ali should hear of this book; but a Mussulman laughs at printed abuse, and Ali did not chuse at that moment to hazard a rupture with France for the pleasure of decapitating M. Pouqueville. From this time his dependence on the Porte may be said to have been merely nominal; for though, in his intercourse with the Divan, he still assumes the style of a delegate, he has not only acted in all



things at his own discretion, but has quietly retained all his dignities, without seeking any confirmation of them from the successive Sultans he has outlasted:—and though he finds it convenient to send large sums of money every now and then to Constantinople, it is rather in the capacity of the munificent ally of every new vizier, than of a tributary of the Empire. Nothing, indeed, could be more wretched than the anarchy, or more despicable than the feebleness, that had now overtaken this great State, and paralyzed even its most meritorious exertions;—inso-much that, when a great force was levied, with the popular approbation, to repress the insults of the Russians, the forces, upon reaching the Danube, actually found themselves without a leader or instructions—and so thought the best thing they could do was to enlist, in pretty equal moieties, in the ranks of the Ayan of Schecunla and the Pehlavian Aga, who were very eagerly desolating their country with civil war, in the very face of the common enemy. Ali, in this stirring scene, endeavoured to take advantage of all parties; and, in order to come at their secrets, made it a practice to open the despatches of all the diplomatic agents in his neighbourhood. In 1807 alone, he assassinated three couriers; and then, to clear himself of blame, hanged the wretches by whose agency the crime had been committed. He was especially anxious, however, to stand well with Napoleon—and not quite liking the tone of M. Pouqueville, despatched Mahomet Effendi to him in the capacity of his ambassador. This worthy Mussulman had been formerly a Dominican friar, and head of the Inquisition at Malta. When he took that island in his way to Egypt, Bonaparte had carried the good father along with him as an interpreter. On his return home, his reverence was unluckily captured by a Corsair, who gave him in a present to Ali: and he, finding in him a decided vocation to Islamism, placed him at the head of his Divan. He danced attendance on Bonaparte through the campaign which terminated at Tilsit—and struggled hard to get the Ionian islands for his master at the peace. But it pleased the high contracting parties, at this time, to spare the young republic; and the eloquence of Mahomet was in vain. Baffled in this great object, Ali insisted that Parga at least should be delivered up to him, in terms of the treaty of 1800, as the only representative of the Ottoman Porte on the spot:—for the Bey, who had faithfully fulfilled that treaty, had been obliged to remove before the advance of the Russians; and at one time an order was issued to comply with this request. But, on further consideration of the matter, Bonaparte instructed his ambassador to reply, with more regard both to truth and justice than was afterwards shown by the Congress, ‘that Ali hav-

ing violated all the clauses of the treaty 1800 in favour of the Ex-Venetian towns, the whole stipulations of that treaty, as to those towns, must be held as annulled; and that neither he nor the Porte had now any claim to the military occupation of Parga.' In reality, every one of those stipulations had been disregarded as to all the towns of which Ali had got possession; and it was merely because he had not been allowed to enter Parga, that its rights had been respected.

Disappointed in his hopes from France, he now paid his court to the English; and certainly did receive from us more countenance than either his character or services deserved. Lord Collingwood at one time relied on his cooperation in our expedition against the French forces in the Seven Islands; but it was soon found that he was not to be depended on; and in fact he never did any thing for us whatever, except supplying us with provisions at a dear rate—a favour which he extended at the same time to our enemies, even in violation of our blockade. The notice we took of him, however, induced Bonaparte to show him a little more attention—after his fashion; and accordingly, he sent him several engineers to fortify his seaports, who took the opportunity to make a survey of his strengths, and to spy out all the vulnerable points in his positions.

At last Bonaparte was overthrown; and the French power no sooner ceased to be formidable, than Ali darted at once like a raven on his prey, and, so early as March 1814, surprised the little town of Agia, which is in the territory of Parga; massacred all the inhabitants; sent the women and children to the slave market; raised a fort to maintain his conquest, and marched in open hostility against Parga itself. The French, as successors to the Venetians, had a garrison of 200 men in the citadel, to whom the inhabitants instantly applied for assistance against this assault. But the commander, an Arab who had entered the French service in Egypt, pretended that France, being at peace with the Porte, could not fight against a Turkish commander, and declared that he could take no part in the business. The inhabitants, thus left to themselves, went out, men and women, to meet the invaders: and kept up so hot a fire on their ranks—the women charging and handing their muskets to the men—that after a sanguinary struggle, in which one of his nephews was slain, Ali was forced to retire, and betake himself to negotiation with the French, who being at that time blockaded by us at Corfu, he thought could easily give up this more insignificant position to purchase his assistance against us. It rather appears, however, that his propositions were rejected. But the most material fact to be noticed is, that the

Pargiots now made an application to our commanders to be taken under British protection, and, after some hesitation, General Campbell sent an aid-de-camp to hold a conference with their deputies at Paxo, where, being joined by Captain Hoste of the *Bacchante*, and Captain Black of the *Havannah*, it was agreed, that they *should be taken under the protection of Great Britain, and share the fate of the Seven Islands*; provided they would, in the first place, send a written declaration, signed by the principal inhabitants, that this was their own wish; and, secondly, they should themselves displace the French flag, and mount that of England on their citadel, as soon as the two frigates appeared before the town. The deputies agreed to these terms, and got a flag, with which they succeeded in getting back to their city in the night; and immediately assembled a meeting of the principal inhabitants, to deliberate on the propositions which had been made to them. Among these was an aged citizen, regarded among them with great veneration, on account of his steady patriotism and extensive knowledge,—though his great age and austere disposition had for many years withheld him from taking any very active part in their affairs. After listening to the statements of the deputies and other citizens; he is said to have delivered the following very remarkable speech, of which we shall endeavour to present our readers with a literal translation from the vulgar Greek, in which it is printed in the volume of documents before us. In point of political wisdom and manly vigour, as well as in its general tone and manner, it seems to us to bear a very striking resemblance to the business speeches we meet with in Thucydides; while in some points, on which it would be painful to dwell, the speaker seems to be inspired with something of a prophetic spirit.

Fellow Citizens—The expulsion of the French appears to me to be so necessary, that I will not waste words in recommending it. But I exhort you well to consider, before you yield yourselves up to the English, that the King of England now has in his pay all the Kings of Europe,—obtaining money for this purpose from his merchants; so that in that country the merchants and the King are but as one: whence, should it become advantageous to the merchants to sell you, in order to conciliate Ali, and obtain certain commercial advantages in his harbours, *the English will sell you to Ali*. If, however, you still persist in surrendering yourselves to England, beware how you confide in the promises of military men, whose trade, whatever may be their dignity, is but that of a servant; therefore, being taught only to obey, they seldom have wisdom to weigh their promises, and never have power to fulfil them—as you do, because you are all free men. But go and present yourselves before their King:

If he mean to be the master of this city, let him swear it upon the Gospel of Christ. Yet I would not entirely trust even him. For within these twenty years, Christian princes have openly turned their subjects and friends into merchandise, and have shown but little regard to the Gospel. But suppose you are once in the hand of England—you may be governed well, or you may be governed ill. But the *well* is uncertain; and if *ill*, you will have bereft yourselves of all remedy. The King of England has not that sword of justice in his hands, that he can, like Napoleon, Alexander, or the Sultan, decapitate the misgoverning Pachas of his distant provinces. On the contrary; his justice is feeble; because, being surrounded by contending parties, he is compelled to lean for support upon one party to-day, and to-morrow upon another, and yet to pay regard to all; while each party, in its turn, conceals as much as it can; defends, and often praises the blunders of its partisans; so that a governor may treat you as slaves, and yet be fearless of punishment. Nor would you, O men of Parga,—I say *you*, because I hope soon to lay me down in the peace of God, and be buried by your hands in this church,—nor would you be able to obtain redress. This our city is small and poor, and simple and ignorant: whence then shall it have power, how find money? and where the learned citizens, who, being sent to the King of England, might show him the truth? However, this Parga still possesses those arms which have, for so many generations, prevented a single armed Mussulman from entering her walls. I say not this that you should be proud of the defeat which that butcher of the Christians lately sustained at your hands; for that victory came from God,—God who will not cease to protect you as heretofore, and who can do so because he is just, and because he is almighty; whilst the Russians and the French, just and unjust, powerful and weak by turns, have, as the fruit of their protection, exposed you to inconceivable perils, and kept you for several years in perpetual anxiety. These English too are but men; and may you not live to see them expelled from all countries which they have no longer money to pay, caged up in their island, and preying upon each other from want? Why then recur to foreign aid? Parga is sufficient both to nourish and to defend you. Ali cannot take her by land: he cannot blockade her by sea, by which your countrymen in the Islands can always supply you with food, and which, in case of extremity, will always afford you an easy escape; though I, for my part, let the danger be ever so great, would never exhort you to go forth vagrants and beggars, with your wives and children, into a foreign land. Let us all die here at home; and, when no way of safety remains for the city, set it on fire, that these Infidels may only triumph over our ruined houses and mangled carcasses. However, this danger cannot last long: for as much as Ali is now old, and his head is always under the sword of the Sultan, whose wrath, though it has so long slept, should it at length awake, no Turk will be able to escape. At all events, as long as you remain masters of your own city, so long will

you be able to follow that line of conduct, which, under the mercy of God, circumstances may render fit. The Infidels, indeed, may force you to give them battle, and reduce you to great extremity; yet you will slay many of them to appease the blessed souls of so many Christians slain by them. But, once garrisoned by strangers, you will be subject to the will of another; you will not be able to use good fortune, should it ever befall you; and you will for ever lose the right of defending your country, and even of burying yourselves beneath its ruins near your dear forefathers.'

In spite of this remonstrance, the majority of the meeting resolved to accede to the propositions of the English, and to sign the declaration required; upon which the old man refusing to set his hand to it, finally reminded them to be careful in enforcing the condition expressed in the English offer, that they should follow the fate of the Seven Islands. 'For you may be sure,' added he, 'that the English will employ every art of sophistry to subject as much as they can of Greece to the Porte, in hope of strengthening it against the dreaded preponderance of the Russians. Perhaps when they have once acknowledged your natural dependence upon Corfu, they will be unable to betray you, without sacrificing at the same time all the Seven Islands to the Infidels; a sacrifice which would cover them with infamy,—although, in proportion as men are powerful, they care less for dishonour.' He then made his admonition be recorded in the archives of the city; and the assembly coming out of the church before daylight, drew up and addressed to the English commander the following explicit declaration.

'We, undersigned Primates of Parga, engage, on behalf of the population, that at the moment when the frigates of his Britannic Majesty shall appear before our fortress, we will subject our country and territories to the protection of the invincible arms of Great Britain, and will plant on the walls of our fortress her glorious flag—it being the determination of our country to follow the fate of the Seven Islands, as we have always been under the same jurisdiction.—17th March, 1814.'

In the course of the day, the Bacchante appeared in the roadstead; and the British flag was displayed, not from the ramparts of the citadel, but from a low spot near the shore. Our officers were not satisfied with this; and, after some negotiation, intimated, that unless the inhabitants hoisted the British flag on the proper flag-staff of the citadel, they would make sail the day after, and leave them to their fate. The French commander had threatened to blow up the town by firing the magazine, if any attempt was made to dislodge him; and some speedy and decided measure therefore now became necessary. Next morning very early, a widow, pretending business with the commander, went in-

to the citadel with the flag concealed under her clothes. She was followed by a lad who used to sell fruit and vegetables to the soldiers, and was accordingly admitted without suspicion. After ascertaining that everything was in the situation on which his friends had reckoned, he gave the signal, by pronouncing, as in the course of crying his vegetables, a Greek word on which they had previously agreed; and instantly the sentinels were knocked down, and a crowd of armed citizens sprung at once upon every point of the works, some mounting by escalade, and others by different passages. In a few minutes they were complete masters of the place; and the British flag was triumphantly hoisted on the top of the castle. The *Bacchaute* immediately came up to the fort. The French garrison were allowed to capitulate honourably; and, on the 22d of March, Sir Charles Gordon landed with his detachment, sent off the French to Corfu, and with his troops took full and solemn possession of the place. Some time after, Lord Bathurst, by command of the Prince Regent, expressed to the king's commissioners for the government of the Ionian islands, the royal approbation of what had been done in regard to the occupation of Parga.

We come now to the last act of the tragedy. The Congress of Vienna was in session when this little republic, and the greater part of the Ionian islands, had been thus taken possession of by the English; and their policy in 1814 being to strengthen Austria, as a counterpoise both to France and to Russia, all those places would probably have been made over to that power, along with the Istrian, Dalmatian, and Venetian provinces that were then assigned to her. But after the return of Napoleon, the tardiness of Austria, and the great influence acquired by Russia in the Congress of Paris after the victory at Waterloo, led to a different, and, in so far as the Pargiots were concerned, much more fatal arrangement. The islands were left to us: But it was agreed, in pretended conformity with the treaty of 1800, that the ex-Venetian towns on the coast should be given up unconditionally, and in full sovereignty to the Porte—or, in other words, to Ali, who took the title of its officer, and was already in possession of all of them but Parga. In conformity with this arrangement, Parga was totally extinguished, and its bare and deserted walls delivered over to the barbarian, by the agents of that free government to whose honour it had committed itself! By what motives our negotiators were induced to consent to this miserable sacrifice, it would now be idle to inquire. The common opinion on the Continent is, that Lord Castlereagh was cajoled into it by the Russians, who wished to abase our national character, and to embroil us with the Turks.

by making us dependent on such a neighbour as Ali for the provisioning of our forces in the islands. But for our parts, we have no great faith in those refinements of Machiavellian policy; and are of opinion, that the worst and most fatal acts of public men are far more frequently the fruit of mere ignorance and inattention, than of deep-laid schemes of perfidy or ambition. We think it by no means unlikely that the Noble Lord was actually ignorant of the compact made between our officers and the Pargiots, and are almost certain, that he was not at all aware of the vast importance of that place for the victualling of the islands which we were to retain;—while it is difficult to imagine, that he was correctly informed either as to the tenor of the treaty of 1800, on which he professed to act, or as to the events that had subsequently occurred to discharge all claims under it. Such ignorance, we certainly think, is not less criminal in a minister, than the intentional violation of his duties which leads to the same results; but it is rather more credible; and requires to be even more loudly reprobated, both as more likely to recur, and more possible to be prevented.

We have spoken of all those occurrences in the calm and dispassionate tone of history; and trust we shall not be thought to deviate from it when we add, that an arrangement more ungenerous, cruel, and unjust to those who were the objects of it, and at once more dishonourable and injurious to those who conducted it, cannot well be imagined, than that we are now considering. In the *first* place, it was most impolitic and injurious to our interests, as possessors of the Ionian islands; because Parga was almost the only remaining channel through which they could be supplied with provisions;—and the Turk, who was known to be thirsting to regain them, would thus not only have a prodigious advantage in the event of hostilities, but would be constantly tempted to seek a pretext for hostility, in order to make use of this advantage. In the *second* place, it was in the face of a treaty recently entered into by our officers, and subsequently approved of by our commissioners in the islands, and by the Lord Bathurst, in name of the Sovereign. We know very well that it may be argued, that our officers had no proper powers to enter into such a treaty; and that the approbation of the Prince Regent, however generally expressed, should be understood as applying only to the military occupation of a place previously held by the French. But when it is considered, that the place had actually been delivered up to us on the faith of that treaty, and retained, to our great profit, for upwards of a year, without the least surmise that any of its articles were to be objected to,—and especially that the conse-

quence of our tardy disavowal of it was, *not* to replace things *in statu quo*, as ought to have been done upon the most rigorous application of the rules of diplomacy—but to make over to their bitterest enemy, as a property or conquest of our own, that which, but for such a treaty, we should never have had the power to dispose of—it must appear that there never was a case in which this special pleading, or quibbling rather, on the law of nations, could be resorted to with so ill a grace or so little plausibility.—But, in the *third* place, the treaty of 1800 to which we pretended to recur, had been annulled and abandoned by all the parties to it, and especially by the Turks, over and over again, from the year when it was adopted down to the year 1815. The leading stipulation in that treaty was the establishment of the Seven Islands, under the joint protection of the Porte and Russia. But, so early as 1802, the Porte admitted Great Britain as a guarantee of their independence; and, after the peace of Tilsit, they were all turned into French colonies, with the assent of Russia. It was sufficiently manifest then, that the whole of that original treaty was abrogated and gone. If any thing more, however, was wanting, it was supplied by the transactions of 1809, when the Turks themselves concluded a peace with Bonaparte, by which they confirmed to him the whole of those conquests, including Parga, in which he had placed a garrison. Soon after, Lord Collingwood took from him Zante and Cephalonia; and the Turk then professing neutrality, our ambassador at Constantinople solemnly protested, ‘that some of the Ionian islands having been delivered from the French by our arms, without the assistance of any of the other powers by whom they should have been protected, his Majesty has a right to proceed to the settlement of those islands without consulting them—and that he will accordingly do so, if the Porte will not now renew its guarantee for their protection;’ and not only was this guarantee refused, but their pretended neutrality openly violated—not only by supplying the enemy at Corfu with stores and provisions, in defiance of our blockade, but by allowing our merchantmen to be taken and condemned as prizes by the French privateers within the bounds of the Ottoman ports and harbours. Possession was accordingly retained of these conquests, and of the others made in 1814, without any reclamation or complaint on the part of the Turks. In the Congress of that year, the basis of the whole proceeding was, that all conquests made from France by any of the allies should be at the disposal of the whole powers armed against her: But the Porte was not of this number, having all along remained at peace with Napoleon, and therefore had no right nor interest in



any partition of those conquests. Accordingly, the independence of the Seven Islands, and of *their dependencies*, was expressly stipulated by several treaties signed with Prussia, Russia, Austria and France; and, in the Congress of Paris in 1815 and 1816, the Turk had no minister or accredited agent, and was no party to their proceedings—so that nothing could be more preposterous and unmeaning, than to refer, as to a document of binding authority, to a treaty long ago and repeatedly annulled by all the parties to it—and to a stipulation in it, introduced solely for the benefit of a power that was in fact making no claim—and of whose claims it was at any rate impossible to take cognisance, without utterly disregarding the very basis and foundation of the whole scheme of adjustment. If we had any right at all to dispose of Parga, it was on the supposition that we had taken it by force of arms *from France*;—but all conquests from France were to be distributed among the powers allied to contrbl her—and the Porte neither was one of these powers, nor one of the parties assembled to deliberate on the partition. She neither had any right, nor pretended to any.

But, in the *fourth* place, and finally,—if all these things had been otherwise—if we had had no interest to keep Parga from the Turks—if they had never renounced and annulled the treaty of 1800—if they had been belligerents allied against France, and parties to the Congress which was to dispose of what that alliance had wrested from her; we say, with the most unlimited confidence, that all this would have afforded no justification, or apology even, for the act of which we are now speaking, and would still have left it, though stripped, no doubt, of some aggravations, one of the most flagrant instances of impolicy and oppression of which history has preserved any record;—and that because what was then done in pretended implement of the treaty of 1800, *was no implement of that treaty*, but a mere sanction to the Porte to violate it in all that gave it a colour of justice, as it had already shown its determination to violate it. That treaty, no doubt, after stipulating as its main object for the independence of the Seven Islands, did also provide that the political dominion or patronage of the ex-Venetian towns on the coast should be given up to the Porte;—but then it was an integral part and express condition of this stipulation, *that no Mahomedan should acquire property or settle in any of those towns—nor build mosques within their territory—nor change their laws or internal polity, nor levy taxes or duties beyond those that were payable of old by the Venetians;—and that the powers and functions of the bey or officer who was to attend*

‘ to the interest of the Ottoman in the place, should be determined to the entire satisfaction of the republic of the Seven Islands.’—These were the stipulations of the treaty of 1800;—but when we thought fit to revive that treaty in 1815, and to plead the necessity of adhering to it, as a reason for disavowing the compact by which, and by which alone, we had got possession of the place in question, *we did not think fit to renew any one of these stipulations*—but gave up those who had trusted every thing to our generosity and honour, without even a recommendation to the mercy of their most inveterate enemy. Nor could we possibly suppose that these conditions would, without express stipulation, be fulfilled for Parga, which had been broken in every other quarter. Ali had taken possession of the other towns referred to in the treaty of 1800, not in virtue of that treaty, but by force of arms—and all, except one, before the treaty had been thought of. It was notorious that he had dealt with them all like conquered places—built mosques and seraglios within them—subverted the laws—alienated the property, and enslaved the people. He had afterwards made the same attempt repeatedly on Parga—and had only been prevented from reducing it to the same condition, by the valour of its inhabitants, and the extraordinary strength of its position. In these we have seen that the wisest of its citizens were still for confiding, when it was given up to us, and to our promises of protection in 1814—and in less than two years after, it was transferred *unconditionally* to Ali, who never disguised his intention to treat it like a conquered place, nor pretended the least regard to the stipulation in its favour contained in that treaty of 1800, in conformity to which we held ourselves bound to place it at his disposal!—Nothing, we think, but utter helplessness could have extorted from us a sacrifice so lamentable and degrading;—and if England, in the Congress of 1815, to which the Turk was not so much as a party, had actually been in such dread of the Turk as to be obliged to do an unjust and dishonourable act to appease him, we cannot help thinking, that it would have been less humiliating to have made the melancholy submission directly and openly, than to seek to disguise it under the pretence of fulfilling a treaty no longer in existence, and which we did not even attempt to enforce, in those reciprocal conditions under which alone the party to whom we yielded, could ever have pretended a right to its fulfilment.

If minor considerations could have any chance of being listened to, when those higher ones had failed, it might also, one would think, have occurred, that the Porte could not be very seriously desirous to increase the power of a subject already so

formidable—and that the whole history of Ali had shown, both that concessions increased his insolence, and that he could never be a good neighbour to those of whom he did not stand in awe. It is true that, like other savages, he hates those whom he is compelled to fear; but it is not less true, that fear is the only feeling by which his ferocity can be controlled. The Russian commanders always treated him with insult, and were always flattered and courted in return. One of them struck one of his Beys in his presence, upon which the tyrant quietly withdrew, and propitiated the offender with presents. In the same way, after murdering General Roze, who had treated him with uniform kindness, he submitted to the daily checks and menaces of Pouqueville, by whom he was replaced. The instances of his abusing the good nature of the English are innumerable. Having been permitted by Sir Hudson Lowe to repair two custom-houses on a point opposite to our island of Santa Moro, he instantly changed them into two strong forts, with batteries commanding the island, and capable any day of reducing it. On another occasion, he seized on a citizen of Prevesa, who was brother to the contractor who supplied our troops in Santa Moro with bread, and threatened to *roast him alive* if the contractor would not give up his son to serve as an eunuch in his seraglio. This brutality was notorious in our quarters; but it was not thought fit to interfere—and the poor man was obliged to sacrifice his child to save the life of his brother. One of our own officers was afterwards fired at, and grievously wounded, by three of his soldiers—and we were satisfied with having the assassins delivered up at Parga,—to be immediately returned to their master, who continued them in his service, and employed them on the same frontier which they had polluted by so base a crime.

This strange forbearance of the English—the resort of travellers of our nation to his court—the formal visits paid him by his majesty's commissioners, and not returned, gave an unfortunate plausibility to the false reports which he industriously circulated as to the entire devotion of our government to his views, and the bribery by which he had secured the good offices of all our commanders on the spot. He had even the audacity to print in his gazettes, that Sir Thomas Maitland had been invested with the order of the Crescent, entirely through his influence, and on account of his attachment to him and to the interests of the Porte. When it was first rumoured, therefore, at Parga, that they were to be delivered up to their ancient enemy, the most dreadful apprehensions were entertained,—and an earnest supplication addressed to the British commander in

the garrison, who answered, in March 1817, by orders of Sir Thomas Maitland, that as he had not yet received the regular instructions of his government, he could give them no definitive answer; but that they might depend on his doing all in his power for their advantage, provided they did not forfeit their claim to his protection by any violence or bloodshed on their own part.

The substance of the arrangement was now generally known, and as nobody doubted, or affected to doubt, of the manner in which Ali was to treat the place when made over to him, the humanity and honour of our commissioners could suggest nothing farther than to offer an asylum in the islands to such of the citizens as might not be disposed to remain, and to stipulate that Ali, on behalf of the Turkish government, should pay a fair price for the lands, buildings and plantations that might be thus deserted by their owners;—and Sir Thomas Maitland accordingly authorized the British commander to exhibit a letter, in which he pledged himself that the place should not be yielded up till the property of those who might chuse to emigrate should be paid for, and they themselves transported to the Ionian Islands; and a proclamation was afterwards published at Parga, in which the same obligations are expressly undertaken in name of the British government. Ali did not venture openly to oppose a measure of justice, thus powerfully supported and enforced; and appointed Hamed Bey to act as his commissioner in making the necessary surveys and valuations along with Mr Cartwright, who was named on behalf of our Government. But he had recourse to every resource of intimidation and chicane to prevent it from being brought to a conclusion. Mr Cartwright applied to the British commander in the citadel, to give him a general idea of the total value of the possessions that might be left; and was answered, that, on the supposition that the whole people were to emigrate, it would probably amount to between 400,000 and 500,000*l.* Sterling. The commander afterwards directed a particular survey and valuation to be made of the lands, houses, and plantations, and found that the total considerably exceeded the largest of the sums which we have mentioned. These valuations, however, were objected to, as having been made without proper authority; and something less than a third part was ultimately awarded. In the mean time, Ali surrounded the city with his troops—insisted on his commissioner being received with fifty horsemen—and not only did all he could to seduce some of the lower citizens to rise upon the English garrison, and admit him unconditionally into the town; but proposed to them to poison our water and provisions; and report-

ed to every one, that he never would pay one farthing, but would shortly make good his entry by force, and that the Divan had agreed with Sir Robert Liston to give our generals 50,000*l.* to put a stop to the plan of emigration; and this produced such a panic and alarm in the settlement, that scarcely any one would proceed with the cultivation of his fields: And a great proportion sold their neglected lots at an undervalue to greedy adventurers. The commissioners, however, at last met in June 1816, and soon after published each of them a proclamation,—ours repeating so far the assurances of a safe-conduct and fair compensation for the property of those who might chuse to emigrate, but leaving the question of emigration to their own free and unbiassed determination—and that of Hamed urging the citizens to remain in their native town, and declaring that they should enjoy all liberty, security, and comfort,—although, when urged by our officers, as well as the Pargiots, to put his name and seal to this declaration, he positively refused to do so, and would give no further explanation. After these proclamations had been circulated for some days, all the citizens of Parga were brought, one by one, before the two commissioners, and called upon, with much solemnity, to declare their final resolution,—when they *every one* answered, ‘that they were resolved to abandon their country, rather than stay in it with dishonour; and that they would each disinter and carry along with them the bones of their forefathers.’

The commissioners then proceeded to their surveys and valuations; but they soon differed with each other, and with the Governor, and were respectively superseded. A conference then took place between Ali and General Maitland in October, which resulted in a suspension of all proceedings till May 1818, when a new commissioner was appointed on our part, before whom, and the agent of Ali, the whole citizens again repeated their fixed determination to leave their country, in the same terms as in the preceding year; and new disputes arose about the mode of valuing the churches, public buildings, and property belonging to incorporations. The Pargiots, who were now reduced to the greatest distress, sent over a statement of their case, with the necessary documents, to be laid before the British Parliament; but having addressed them to a person who was not a British subject, he did not think himself entitled to make any formal application in their name, though we have reason to believe, that the notice which has been taken of their case in Parliament originated in this communication. In the mean time, the proceedings went tardily on; and at last, in June 1819, General Maitland, in consequence of the depreciation of

property by the neglect and despair of its owners, finally declared the compensation to be paid by Ali for the Turkish government to be 142,425*l.* Sterling; and, shortly after, intimated to the citizens, that he was ready to provide for their transportation to the islands.

As soon as this notice was given, every family marched solemnly out of its dwelling, without tears or lamentation; and the men, preceded by their priests, and followed by their sons, proceeded to the sepulchres of their fathers, and silently unearthed and collected their remains,—which they placed upon a huge pile of wood which they had previously erected before one of their churches. They then took their arms in their hands, and, setting fire to the pile, stood motionless and silent around it, till the whole was consumed. During this melancholy ceremony, some of Ali's troops, impatient for possession, approached the gates of the town; upon which a deputation of the citizens was sent to inform our Governor, that if a single Infidel was admitted before the remains of their ancestors were secured from profanation, and they themselves, with their families, fairly embarked, they would all instantly put to death their wives and children,—and die with their arms in their hands,—and not without a bloody revênge on those who had bought and sold their country. Such a remonstrance, at such a moment, was felt and respected, as it ought by those to whom it was addressed. General Adam succeeded in stopping the march of the Mussulmans. The pile burnt out—and the people embarked in silence;—and Free and Christian Parga is now a stronghold of ruffians, renegadoes, and slaves!

ART. II. 1. *Radical Reform, the only Remedy for the Disorders of our Country; or, Observations on the Changes necessary both in Church and State.* By BRITANNICUS. 8vo. London, Caddel & Davies. 1819.

2. *The Democratic Recorder; or, Reformer's Guide, a Weekly Publication.* London, Carlile. 1819.

WE are persuaded that every reflecting man in this country has of late been impressed with very serious apprehensions respecting its future welfare. That a great degree of distress prevails in the manufacturing districts; that agriculture is far from having regained its former prosperity; that the increasing evils of the poor laws have become scarcely bearable, either to those on whom they press immediately, or those whom

they are intended to relieve, are truths, weighty indeed and melancholy, but by no means the most pressingly demanding our attention, except in as far as they bear upon the political temperament of the community, which has, through irritation in some quarters, neglect in many, and criminal designs in others, been worked into a state, we verily believe without any example in our history. The ferment which exists could not perhaps have been excited in times of great prosperity; but no improvement in the state of trade could now permanently allay it; and there seems no possibility of effectually calming the storm, but by unravelling carefully the causes that have raised it. In proceeding to this inquiry, we shall freely express ourselves in blame of those whose crimes and follies have endangered the domestic peace of the country, without regarding the offence which we may give; but it is our most earnest wish to avoid giving needless offence to any part of the community, being convinced that a cordial cooperation of many classes, hitherto but little accustomed to act in union, will very soon be found necessary for the salvation of the State.

We take the most alarming sign of the times to be, that separation of the upper and middle classes of the community from the lower, which is now daily and visibly increasing. The conduct of all parties, and of every branch of society, has contributed more or less to produce this unhappy estrangement between the two grand divisions of which the population consists. Even its radical causes do not lie very deep; but its recent progress is very easily traced.

In order to do so, we need not go back even to the period of the French Revolution; for, during the progress of that event, and long after it had ceased to terrify neighbouring nations as a political change, though its effects upon men's minds, in every part of Europe, were not inconsiderable, yet in this country the same balance of parties, and the same disposition of the lower classes to look for protection and guidance to some portion of the higher ranks of their fellow subjects, was observable. And the only great and permanent change was the wider diffusion of political information, and the more general habit of attending to political matters, which the contest with France had engendered, and which no doubt considerably augmented the importance of the most numerous classes of the people. But these had not as yet become distrustful of all publick men, or resolved to rely only upon such as had risen from among themselves, and made their conduct acceptable to them by courting their passions, and disregarding all interests but theirs. The rise of this third party may be traced to a few men in the upper ranks of society,

who only differed from the two regular parties in the State by the impracticable nature of their opinions, their abhorrence of all party but themselves, and their intolerance of all tenets but their own. The Tories, for a while, found it their interest to encourage those who were perpetually attacking their most formidable adversaries; and a long course of invective, most unremittingly levelled at the Opposition at once by the agents of the Ministers, and by the demagogues who, pretending equal enmity to both parties, hardly ever attacked more than one, succeeded in persuading the mass of the people that all publick men were equally corrupt. Accordingly, they looked for countenance only to this third party, composed of a few well-known men in Parliament, and of some equally eminent for their abilities out of it. But matters could not long rest here. The doctrines preached by those leaders, which were but exaggerations of very familiar propositions, and produced their effect entirely by their extravagance, were soon found not to be extravagant enough; and were accordingly pushed to the most senseless extremes: personal jealousies interfered; and one man bid against another in the extravagance of the opinions which he patronized. Finding that the old popular leaders had been deserted because their notions of Parliamentary Reform were moderate and practicable; that moderation and insincerity had become, by some strange metamorphosis, synonymous; and that the demagogue of the day had mounted into favour, by declaring himself the enemy of all limitations to the right of voting, except that of having a house—another candidate for fame appeared, and rejected that restriction also, holding the right to be inherent in every man of legal age. His success encouraged a third to declare, that the right of voting by ballot (hitherto utterly unknown in this country), was an inherent privilege of Englishmen; and a fourth declared it to be unjust that the elective franchise should be confined to men of twenty-one, when it belonged of right to every male of eighteen. It is but justice to the people to say, that they took little or no interest in these contentions; but it is certain, that about this time a manifest indisposition towards universal suffrage generally was discovered in all those classes of the community which had any property, however inconsiderable; and that the advocates of that doctrine found it to be extremely ill received by the very persons on whose support they had most confidently relied. The consequence was, an almost entire annihilation of their influence in the quarters where they had chiefly reckoned upon a following, and the abandonment or modification of their creed by almost every one of them.

But it was now taken up by an inferior class of politicians, and



was found to be still exceedingly popular with that very numerous and useful, and, from their general conduct, we may add, highly respectable body of men who have little or no property except the earnings of their daily labour. They have been sorely pressed by the hardships of the times; they have borne their sufferings with exemplary patience; bad leaders have never yet induced them to violate the laws, or break the peace of the community; but it cannot be denied, that they have of late shown a growing disposition to withdraw their affections from all above them in condition, and to repose a most groundless, and, it may prove for themselves and their country, a most fatal reliance upon men very little fitted, let us only say by their wisdom and attainments, to guide them, or to serve the State. These men have supplanted the third party which first raised itself upon the ruins of the popularity formerly enjoyed by the Tories and the Whigs alternately, or in partition; and while the great body of persons above the lowest class have been weaned from such attachments, and returned to their habits of confidence in the honesty of known public men, there remains, unfortunately, the large class of labouring poor, seduced by one set of politicians, and driven into their arms by unkind treatment from another.

It is upon this point that we are especially anxious to address a few words to the reflecting part of our countrymen, and chiefly to those, whose political opinions, differing from our own, ally them rather with the powers that be. We are convinced that the follies of the leading reformers, have begotten in many persons connected with Government, or conscientiously supporting its measures, a temper of mind most impropitious to the peace and welfare of the State. They have marked the absurdities of the empirics who come successively forward with plans of reform, and vie with each other in the extravagance of their projects; they are quite satisfied that universal suffrage is not to be seriously thought of; in this they find all men of sense agree with them; and they moreover observe, that the classes who possess nothing, almost exclusively adhere to this doctrine. Hence they have accustomed themselves to entertain an aversion, mingled with contempt, for those classes, and to forget, that though it may be very fit to exclude them from the elective franchise, *they have nevertheless rights* as unquestionable, and as well defined by law, as their own; that they have a mighty power in every community; and that their power may be made irresistible, and pointed to the destruction of the public peace, by an ill-judged disregard of their rights. Look into any contested place, be it a city or a county, during an election—the constant feeling is to despise whole bodies of men because they have no votes.

Look in like manner to city or county meetings, where all inhabitants attend indiscriminately, the elections of representatives being for the time out of the question—the same feeling still prevails, and the same word is repeated—the bulk of them are persons of no consequence, because they have no property, and in an election would have no voice. Now, is it not evident, that such conduct furnishes an argument in favour of universal suffrage (or the separation of the elective franchise from the right of property), which does not naturally belong to it? and that, if it ever can be recommended to the rational part of mankind, it must be by the revolting injustice of this demeanour in its adversaries? We may be assured, that it is as foolish as it is unjust. The class of persons who, according to the plans of moderation, are excluded from all direct share in the choice of representatives, are far too numerous, and are become too intelligent, to be trampled on, as if they had no rights. It is very fit that the elective franchise should be connected with property; but it does not follow, that those who have it not, are to be disregarded, or rather degraded, by the rest of their fellow-subjects: And accordingly, the inevitable consequence of such conduct as we are lamenting, is, to unite together the classes of small proprietors with those who have no possessions at all, and to produce a most alarming separation, not of the labouring poor from the rest of the community, but of all the rest of the community from the rich. Sooner or later such a schism must end in mischief: And it requires little penetration to discover which side must prevail, if the unfeeling and unreasonable maxims lately acted upon, and almost openly avowed, shall gain ground among the higher classes in the State. An arbitrary Government may keep the whole people of a community in servitude; and an oligarchy, or even an aristocracy, on a more extended scale, may for a time maintain a stormy and detested existence: But the example is not to be found in history, of any Government securing to itself a quiet existence by leaguering with a considerable part of the people against the bulk of them, who see their neighbours in the possession of rights denied to them, and are held in subjection, not by kindness and influence, but by main force.

So far from the demeanour of which we complain being the legitimate consequence of opposing the wild doctrines of the radical reformers, the denial of universal suffrage to the labouring classes ought to produce the very opposite mode of treating them. The utmost kindness towards them at all times, more especially while suffering under the pressure of distress; the most conciliatory conduct in the controversy which has been raised to mislead them; a careful avoidance of all harsh and con-

temptuous expressions respecting their condition; an even and considerate tenderness to their errors, when false teachers succeed for the moment in misleading them; and, above all, a firm determination in the Government to preserve the public peace, and maintain the paramount authority of the law, but to discharge this highest of duties with the least possible severity,—to mete out the same measure of justice to all classes, and to protect the privileges which incontrovertibly belong to the lowest, with the same steady hand that keeps them from encroaching on what is not their own—These we take to be the natural consequences of refusing, for the peace and good order of the community, to give every man an equal share in the representation.

But it is not by mild language and indulgent treatment alone, that we can hope permanently to soothe the discontented, or reclaim those whom discontent may have driven into disaffection. These, we are very sensible, are but topical and superficial applications, from which, though certain urgent symptoms may be allayed by them, no radical cure can be expected. To remove the constitutional disease, we must have recourse to other and more deep-working remedies—and there is nothing quackish or questionable, we hope, in the practice we would recommend. To cure discontent—and even unreasonable discontent, we would simply remove all its reasonable causes. The people of England, we may be well assured, are not now clamouring for universal suffrage and annual Parliaments, from any abstract or speculative affection for these institutions—but because they have been taught—we think very falsely taught, to regard them as the means of their deliverance from great and real evils.—It is not because they consider these things as their birthright and inalienable privilege, or because Major Cartwright or Mr Hunt have assured them that they were enjoyed some 800 years ago by their ancestors—but because they are suffering under grievous distresses, for the relief or alleviation of which they have in vain applied to their rulers. That there is much of this distress which it is not in the power of any rulers to remove, we most readily admit.—But there is also much that may be so removed—and still more that may be softened and alleviated.—We do not very much believe that even the most infatuated disciples of Mr Hunt and the Major really think that it depends on Government to procure them at all times full employment and good wages, any more than to provide them always with good crops and fine seasons. But they *may* think that it depends on Government to limit the profusion of their expenditure—to restrain the measure of their taxation—to ameliorate the laws relating to trade and industry—to show some indulgence to the cause of

liberty at home and abroad, and not always to employ their retainers to apologize for tyranny, and vilify the friends of improvement: And when they see a parliament of landholders and stockholders passing laws to keep up the price of corn, and to lay three millions of new taxes on an overburdened people, merely to increase the security of the money lenders—when they see, in a time of unexampled distress, 10,000*l.* a year voted to the Duke of York for superintending the establishment of his afflicted and venerable parent—when they find innumerable sinecures and unreasonably lucrative offices eagerly and angrily defended—when they find all attempts to amend the laws opposed with the most contemptuous pertinacity, and the most captious obstacles thrown in the way of all investigation into abuses—when they observe statutes passed to discountenance the infant liberties of South America, and attend to the tone and temper in which all the advocates for liberal reforms are spoken of in our Parliamentary discussions—it is not perhaps very surprising that they should think there was something faulty in the constitution of a Legislature whose acts could be thus characterized—and that the best means had not been taken to represent the sense and inclinations of the great body of the people. In this general conclusion, we believe there are very many who concur; and although we are decidedly of opinion that the desired object could *not* be obtained by the introduction of universal suffrage and annual parliaments, and have formerly given our reasons at large for that opinion, it is not difficult to see how those who wish to promote such a delusion should have been enabled to succeed to a very considerable extent. They have been enabled to succeed, because Parliaments, of late years, have in reality been too little identified with the people they profess to represent, and of whose fate they dispose; and because the blow which belongs mainly to the individuals who compose them, is ascribed entirely to the mode of their election. The true way then to silence the cry for annual parliaments, is *for septennial parliaments to do their duty*:—the grand antidote against a rage for universal suffrage, is for those who have been elected by a limited class of constituents, to act as if they considered themselves charged equally with the interests of all.

There are some individuals, no doubt, whom even this course of proceeding might not reclaim. Some mischievous, profligate, insane spirits there are, whose element is turbulence, sedition, and disorder, and who, we verily believe, would lament and detest a more blameless administration of the Government, as taking away from them the pretext and materials of complaint. But we should not scruple to give them this vexation. They are few in number, not formidable for talents or charac-

ter—and, though they may now figure as the leaders of the discontented, would infallibly be deserted by most of their followers when the causes of discontent were removed. We think they are doing infinite mischief at the present moment; but it is impossible to forget that it is the continued and undisturbed existence of remediable abuses and curable ills that gives them the power to do mischief:—and it is comfortable to think that their bad influence may be speedily destroyed, by taking away that small portion of truth from their statements, by which they have been enabled to give plausibility to the whole, and relieving that suffering which has predisposed so many to give ear to them.

But there is another set of men who deserve, in our apprehension, a still more severe reprobation, and whose counsels are pregnant, we think, with more immediate danger both to the peace and the liberties of the country. We mean those unhappy alarmists who see a civil war in every provincial tumult; and, with the usual valour and deliberation of alarmists, are for extinguishing the seeds of it by precipitate and sanguinary prevention—and who are shaken, every quarter, with new fears and furies, when the Laureate and his tuneful friends predict the speedy approach of a *Jacquerie* and a *Bellum Servile*, unless strong measures are immediately taken to put down all the disaffected. We have great indulgence for a political convert who has to expiate the guilt of such a work as Wat Tyler, and to show his zeal and learning on all occasions when required; but we cannot pass over the phrase thus insolently and libellously applied to any portion of the people of England; and we beg leave to say, that there can be no *bellum servile* in this country, till our reformers are fairly reduced to the station of runaway Slaves, and their opponents fighting against them, for the avowed purpose of bringing them back to their fetters and their whipping posts. If the temper indeed which this phrase announces were confined to politicians of the dimensions of the Laureate and his associates, it would not be worth while to be serious about it; but, in a country so full of wealth as this, there will always be a propensity to excessive alarms; and the counsels of fear are uniformly as cruel and sanguinary as they are short-sighted and precipitate. It is fearful to think how rancorously we learn to hate those whose dispositions seem to threaten our tranquillity—and how easily prosperous men may be persuaded, that it is right to cut the throats of those who differ from them in practical politics. We are not, therefore, for fighting even the Jacobins and Levellers with any other weapons than reason and ridicule, till they either bring themselves under the arm of the law by some overt act of outrage, or set the example of a still more daring hostility; because any other

course of conduct must infallibly have the effect of presenting them to their admirers, and to many who never admired them before, in the character of martyrs and persecuted patriots,—and of exasperating and attaching more strongly to them those innocent and misguided multitudes, by whose support and adherence alone they can ever become formidable. The truth is, that the question is *not* how we shall deal with those who are truly seditious and disaffected—for that, we think, must always be an easy and not a very momentous question;—but how we shall best detach the ignorant and deluded followers from the wicked and designing leaders. If we must *fight* against the latter, we will fight; but surely it can never be desirable to fight, either in a civil or a servile war, against more than are truly and incurably hostile to us; and no policy can be so clear, and no duty so imperious, as that, before proceeding to that sad extremity, we should endeavour to thin the ranks of our adversary and to fill our own, by removing all those misunderstandings and slight causes of disgust, of which advantage may have been taken to turn into enemies those who are naturally and at bottom our associates and friends.

To proceed on the supposition that all the suffering and ignorant persons who are now attending reform meetings, and acquiescing in resolutions for universal suffrage and annual parliaments, are advised and determined revolutionists, and to set about repressing them accordingly, by mere force, intimidation, and reproach, would be very plainly, we think, the height of injustice, and guilt, and folly;—as it would turn into enemies those who might easily be made friends, and multiply and perpetuate all those causes of discontent, of which too many are already disposed to take advantage. If, without any indication of a desire to conciliate, the complaints of the people are repressed with insults and menaces—if no step is taken to relieve their distresses, and redress their real and undeniable grievances—if no compassion is shown for their sufferings, and no indulgence even for the intemperance into which those sufferings may betray them—if the whole mass of their complaints, reasonable and unreasonable, are to be treated as seditious and audacious, and to meet with no other answer than preparations to put them down by force, then indeed we may soon enough have a civil war among us—and a civil war of a character far more deplorable and atrocious than was ever known in this land—a war of the rich against the poor—of the government against the body of the people—of the soldiery against the great bulk of the labouring classes;—a war which can *never* be followed by any cordial or secure peace—and which must end, or rather begin, with the final and complete subversion of those

liberties, and that constitution, which has hitherto been our pride, our treasure, and our support and consolation, under all other calamities. If by precipitate and uncompromising measures, military force is brought unnecessarily into contact with the people, in the present temper of the nation, and without any attempts to detach the truly disaffected from the distressed and deluded, it is impossible to exaggerate the miserable consequences that may follow. If blood be shed at all in such a situation of the country, deluges of blood will be shed!—and the melancholy slaughter of our countrymen by the hands of their brothers, be followed by nothing but a more general, desperate, and deep-rooted disaffection—a sullen and rancorous and wide-spread animosity between the people and the government, which no efforts of conciliation will ever after be able entirely to subdue, and scarcely any concurrence of events prevent from breaking out into more fatal and ruinous disorders. Let those who doubt of the effects of such a system, look only to the history of Ireland.

We do not actually believe that there is any hazard of such desperate counsels being acted upon in the present emergency,—although reports reach us, as we are writing, that would justify our worst apprehensions. But the conduct hitherto pursued by ministers, and the language uniformly held by their retainers, makes it impossible to look with tranquillity on the prospect that lies immediately before us. The most unfeeling demeanour towards the people has been upon all occasions exhibited; and the most harsh, offensive and insolent language, studiously employed. Even were the distresses of the country less grievous, it would be altogether intolerable to witness the contempt, and even antipathy, which in many quarters is ostentatiously displayed, at every mention of popular rights; while all expressions of popular feeling are treated with the most haughty disdain. We no sooner observe an opinion or a sentiment entertained by many thousands of our countrymen, than we are told that these are a mere ‘rabble rout,’ a ‘ragged crew,’ the ‘lowest scum of the populace,’ a ‘gang of deluded beggarly wretches:’—as if their poverty were their fault—as if their ignorance were not the fault of their betters. It is true, that those who chiefly deal in such unbearable language, are themselves, probably, among the lowest, and certainly not the wealthiest of mankind, any more than they are the most enlightened; they are the nameless agents of the Government press; and we shall perhaps be told, that it is hard to charge their faults and follies upon the ministers. But can any one doubt, that a hint from the masters, would instantly change the language of the servant? Who can deny that these tools work in their vocation, if not

according to positive orders, at least in the way which they deem most agreeable to their employers, and without any attempt made to interrupt or control their operations? Do they ever use the same insolent language towards any persons or bodies of men, however obnoxious, for whom their patrons entertain, or profess, tenderness and respect, or whom their interests, or the security of their official existence, render it necessary to spare? To adopt all the fancies by which the multitude may frequently be misled, or to refrain from exposing the errors into which false teachers may betray them, is no man's duty—it is a gross breach of duty: But can any thing be more easy than to avoid harsh and insulting language, towards a class which may be numbered by hundreds of thousands—perhaps of millions? And can any thing be more hopeless than the attempt to amend what is faulty in such bodies by such language? Its harshness may estrange them; its insolence may exasperate; but he who hopes thus to wean them from their errors, may safely be pronounced as ignorant as themselves, and as visionary as their silliest leaders. Indeed, the abuse most plentifully lavished upon the multitude, is by no means directed to any faults which they can correct. To laugh the million out of favourite follies, or to deter them by railing from the excesses to which they are prone, would be somewhat of a hopeless task; but our masters of ephemeral eloquence, chuse the *poverty* and *vulgarity* of the labouring classes for the themes of their satire; and never speak of them but with an overdone disgust for their natural inferiority, which, if it fails to excite pity, had much better be passed over in silence. The conduct to which we allude, as it can have no other tendency but to irritate, appears unfortunately to have produced an effect which might easily have been foreseen, and was probably expected. We have no manner of doubt, that much of the exasperation now so prevalent among the poor, is owing to those same unprincipled tools, who plunged us into a war with France in 1803, and are now endeavouring to break the peace with America,—all to please a better dressed, but not much wiser mob, for whom they are the panders. If Government withdrew its countenance from them, their numbers would fall speedily away, and their venom would only excite contempt. At present they are the organs through whom the Government principally comes in contact with the people.

The patrons of these men adopt a language generally, but not always, more measured. They habitually impute, however, to the whole people, the errors or crimes of a few. If a mob does any act of violence, the whole people are reviled; and if a few lawless individuals make mischief when a multitude is ga-



thered together, the whole populace is execrated for their deeds. Yet the very same declaimers represent it as the height of popular injustice, of blind and vulgar delusion, when they are themselves confounded in one mass with the offenders of their own caste; when the peculations of a few of their number are generalized, and the name of '*public robbers*' bestowed upon the '*whole gang*;' A most gross and cruel exaggeration, we are willing to admit,—and one which cannot be too severely reprobated; but of which those against whom it is practised, as they first set the example, should be the last to complain.

It is a very common remark with such reasoners, that reform is a mere clamour, the watchword of a party;—and they add, that, were it carried, it would not fill men's bellies. • But might it not tend to make the hungry a little more contented than they have of late years been with their privations? We think it plain, that a moderate, and even a very slight reform, would greatly tend towards securing the public tranquillity in times of national distress. Let us only observe in what quarter the bad spirit prevalent of late years has chiefly broken out. With the single exception of the hosiery districts, where very peculiar circumstances have occurred to nourish a most pernicious association, the disturbed communities have been *populous towns unrepresented*. In fact, the foundation of discontents among the manufacturing classes, is generally laid in disputes about wages. If there is a tolerably free election of representatives, two interests are almost always formed—one of the masters, and the other of the workmen; and these returning the two members, come by this means to compromises and understandings extremely conducive to public tranquillity. It seems very clear, that if Manchester, Birmingham, Glasgow, and one or two other places, the centres of manufacturing districts, were permitted to return representatives in this way, the complaints of the discontented would find a safe and even useful vent in the act of choosing and instructing men who might at once bring forward their real grievances, and convince them that the rest were imaginary.

There can be no doubt, that fair dealing with the people, requires a frank disavowal of all the untenable doctrines of the wilder reformers, by those who are friendly to moderate measures. In treating the people with kindness and respect, it is by no means necessary to show *either* towards the foolish or crafty individuals who have been attempting to mislead them. By calmly reasoning on the subject, great progress may be made in weaning them from the prejudices with which they have been filled; and whoever looks back to the confidence with which all friends of reform among the people were, before the last ge-

neral election, asserted to be advocates for Universal Suffrage,—and recollects how small a portion of them were afterwards found really to hold such an opinion, wherever it was fairly combated, will be convinced that much of the popular delusion so often complained of, is owing to those who might remove it by half the pains they take to lament or to blame it. And here we must observe, that a wicked and contemptible set of public writers, have of late mingled in the political discussions of the times, outraging all decency in their attacks upon the law and religion of the country, as if they were resolved to show that the promulgation of unconstitutional doctrines, in language the most offensive, was not confined to the venal partisans of the Government. The writers to whom we are alluding, have shown themselves the worst enemies of the cause they pretend to espouse, and have done their utmost to involve it in odium and contempt. Some of them may be sincere, and are only to be pitied for their ignorance, and despised for their violence; others, we fear, drive a vile traffic in sedition, immorality, and infidelity, seeking a sordid gain by feeding or exciting some of the worst passions of human nature. To check such enormities, the law of the land would always have been found sufficient, if it had not too frequently been perverted to the purposes of party, by ministers bent upon the preservation of their own power, and regardless of the best interests of the community. It is impossible to close these remarks, without again observing, that the policy sanctioned by Parliament last Session, of largely increasing, instead of lessening, the public burthens, is deeply to be regretted, with reference to the subject of our present anxiety and alarm. The new taxes fall, both directly and indirectly, on the poor; directly, because many of them affect most severely the articles consumed by them almost as necessities of life; indirectly, because the portion that falls upon the rich, diminishes the fund out of which the labour of the poor is paid. At a period like the present, to augment the pressure upon the labouring classes for the avowed purpose of bettering the security of the stockholder, and raising the value of his property, was a policy so unjust and unwise, that we heartily wish it may not before long make its patrons repent of having turned a deaf ear to the distresses of the people.

We must now say a word or two of the works of which we have placed the titles at the head of this article; because they furnish matter for serious reflexion upon the mischiefs which a portion of the press is at present doing to the country.

The first of these may perhaps take in and provoke some of the radical reformers; for it is in truth against the tenets of that

sect that it is written; being the well meant effusion of some worthy and pious character in behalf of every species of reformation, except that which those politicians deem so essential to the safety of the State. The radical reform which he recommends, is 'a sincere acknowledgement of God, and a resolute obedience to his will in every act, both of public and of private life.' To the neglect of this duty, he says, all our national and individual distresses may be traced. He then shows what evils have arisen from the propagation of seditious and impious principles among the people, in times of severe distress; and he infers, that the time may be approaching when the public peace can only be preserved against such encroachments by one of two ways—absolute force, or moral conviction. But, serious as this virtuous writer's alarms are, and much as we think he overrates the extent to which the poison has spread, nothing can be more admirable than the doctrine which he delivers respecting the antidote to be applied. Coming from one under the influence of such feelings, it cannot be too much commended.

'It is much more agreeable to human nature, when possessed of power, to think of subduing opposition by the exertion of *that power*, than by exercising a *moral influence* over the minds of men. Experience however shows, *that nothing but a moral influence can be of permanent duration*. When the minds of the majority of a nation are thoroughly alienated from their rulers, they will soon learn to combine their efforts, so that they will be able to oppose, not merely physical force, which may be baffled by skilful counteraction, but such an union of talent with strength as shall at length assert its preponderance.

'It is then to *moral influence*, that sound policy, as well as religious wisdom, should induce the rulers of mankind to have recourse. It is by the dissemination of *right principles* that the pestilence of error is to be counteracted. It is *by the exercise of right conduct and the sincere correction of abuses, that popular dislike is to be overcome, and popular affection to be recovered*. However active the teachers of sedition and impiety have been—however their efforts have been favoured by the peculiar distresses of the times; there yet, it may be hoped, remain enough of religious impressions and patriotic feelings amongst the bulk of the population, to be wrought upon by those who hold the chief influence in the nation; if they will seriously and heartily pursue that system of action which prudence and religion combine to recommend, and on which the divine blessing may with reason be expected.

'It is with the view of recommending such a system of action that these pages have been composed; and happy indeed will the writer feel himself, if he should be made instrumental in carrying conviction to the minds of those who are capable of weighing the force of his arguments.'

Equal praise does this worthy writer deserve for the honest

boldness with which he attacks the vicious policy too often pursued by the Government, of which, he it observed, he is the avowed partisan, against all the votaries of innovation.

‘What shall we say then’ (he asks) ‘to religious ministers of State who not only plunder the subjects, but excite them to plunder one another, and foster their propensity to gaming by *annual lotteries*? What shall we say to the encouragement given to the consumption of spirituous liquors, for the sake of the excise duties? What shall we say to the doctrine that ministers *must* secure a majority in Parliament, and, therefore, that they must keep at their disposal a certain number of *needless offices*, and expend a considerable portion of public money in *pensions*, in order that they may be certain of a sufficient number of supporters in the great council of the nation?—Are Englishmen so thoroughly vicious, so incapable of judging concerning the wisdom of public measures, so blind to the perception of what is done for their advantage, that a wise and virtuous sovereign, having no object but the public good, and employing ministers who were sincerely desirous of promoting that object, would be left without support?—Surely an assertion of this kind would be a libel on the nation. But, if such an assertion be not ventured, *where is the necessity of resorting to corrupt influence?*’

He addresses much good advice to persons in the most exalted stations, and especially to the Royal Family. But we think there is an oversight (for we can hardly suspect so charitable an author of want of candour) in one or two of the topics used. It is very fair to speak of the King’s regular life; but to hold his Majesty up as desirous ‘to lighten the burdens of his people,’ if it be meant to contrast him on this account with his successor, is extremely unfair. The reign of George III, distinguished for many virtues, will assuredly never be praised for economy by any historian; and the private life of the Monarch, rich in acts of virtue, cannot with justice be described as abounding in this particular quality of generosity or disinterestedness. The praise of ‘studiously endeavouring to promote the improvement of his people,’ is well deserved; but there is no ground whatever for introducing it by way of contrast; for the munificent and equal patronage uniformly bestowed by his successor, upon the societies for educating the poor, is entitled to the same praise, and has been productive of the happiest effects. This author ought also, in fairness towards all the Royal Family, to have recollected, that there exists on our statute book, to the lasting disgrace of the country, and the unavoidable injury of its morals, a law which makes purity of conduct the most difficult and least likely to be preserved by those whose example is of the greatest influence. Let the Royal Marriage Act, and the Legislature which is so bigotted in main-

taining it, share, with those who are its victims, the blame of courses into which it almost necessarily leads them.

Very different in spirit, though similar in title, is the other work now before us. It is from that detestable manufactory which has for some months past been sending forth the most pernicious works that ever brought disgrace, and we will add *danger*, upon the free press of this country. We have seen, with horror, not only Treason and Blasphemy openly preached in these productions; but *Assassination* defended, nay, recommended in the plainest terms! Grievous indeed is the responsibility of those who have permitted such crimes to be perpetrated with impunity, and who seem only to be at their posts when their places are in jeopardy. The paper before us is far less violent than many of its predecessors; yet the first sentence is an exhortation to immediate resistance. 'If ever it was the duty of Britons to *resort to the use of arms* to recover their freedom, and hurl vengeance upon the heads of their tyrant, it is *now*.' And it concludes with requiring atonement from the guilty, 'although Ministers themselves, and another great Personage, should be brought to the block.' We cannot pollute our pages with more of this stuff. But we do seriously assert, that the utmost stretch of charity cannot believe these things to be published at any time, under a settled form of government, with innocent motives. Either the love of mischief, or the baser love of gain at the risk of confusion, must be the source of such publications. The harm which they can do to an established system of policy, strong as ours is to defend itself if wisely administered, appears trifling indeed, compared with the incalculable injury which they inflict upon the cause of rational liberty, and the formidable obstructions which they raise to the progress of all political improvement. Their circulation is confined to a very few persons, probably, out of the metropolis; and even within their sphere of action, there is little doubt that their extravagance is more calculated to stagger and disgust, than to make converts. Those who take a vicious delight in reading them, are in all likelihood already seduced beyond the possibility of being made more turbulent; and their actions rather than their words, are fit objects of vigilance to the Police. But the operation of such writings is powerful indeed upon another class of the community. Numbers of well-disposed persons take the alarm; and, confounding in one mass the incendiaries who disseminate them with the peaceful, virtuous, and rational friends of liberty and of human improvement, they condemn all as tainted with the same wicked principles, and deprecate every sort of opposition to abuse, as endangering

the stability of the constitution. These alarmists are the natural prey of a very different class, the men interested in all existing abuses. They work upon the fears, and heighten the panic of the well intentioned; and escape the only risk they run of detection, in the confusion excited by the false advocates of reform. The cause of good government has thus no more fatal enemies than the persons of whose writings we have shortly spoken. But is it not truly deplorable, that the best interests of the country should so often be sacrificed by the effectual, if not avowed cooperation of profligate violence in one set of men, with the wary corruption of another?

ART. III. *An Account of the Proceedings of the Society for superseding the Necessity of Climbing Boys.* Baldwin, &c. London, 1816.

AN excellent and well-arranged dinner is a most pleasing occurrence; and a great triumph of civilized life. It is not only the descending morsel, and the enveloping sauce—but the rank, wealth, wit, and beauty which surround the meats—the learned management of light and heat—the silent and rapid services of the attendants—the smiling and sedulous host, proffering gusts and relishes—the exotic bottles—the embossed plate—the pleasant remarks—the handsome dresses—the cunning artifices in fruit and farina! The hour of dinner, in short, includes every thing of sensual and intellectual gratification which a great nation glories in producing.

In the midst of all this, who knows that the kitchen chimney caught fire half an hour before dinner!—and that a poor little wretch, of six or seven years old, was sent up in the midst of the flames to put it out? We could not, previous to reading this evidence, have formed a conception of the miseries of these poor wretches, or that there should exist, in a civilized country, a class of human beings destined to such extreme and varied distress. We will give a short epitome of what is developed in the evidence before the two Houses of Parliament.

Boys are made chimney-sweepers at the early age of five or six.

*Little boys for small flues*, is a common phrase in the cards left at the door by itinerant chimney-sweepers. Flues made to ovens and coppers are often less than nine inches square; and it may be easily conceived, how slender the frame of that human body must be, which can force itself through such an aperture.

What is the age of the youngest boys who have been employed

in this trade, to your knowledge?—About five years of age : I know one now between five and six years old, it is the man's own son in the Strand ; now there is another at Somer's Town, I think said he was between four and five, or about five ; Jack Hall, a little lad, takes him about. Did you ever know any female children employed ?—Yes, I know one now. About two years ago there was a woman told me she had climbed scores of times, and there is one at Paddington now whose father taught her to climb : but I have often heard talk of them when I was apprentice, in different places. What is the smallest-sized flue you have ever met with in the course of your experience?—About eight inches by nine ; these they are always obliged to climb in this posture (*describing it*) keeping the arms up straight : if they slip their arms down, they get jammed in ; unless they get their arms close over their head they cannot climb.' *Lords' Minutes*, No. 1. p. 8.

The following is a specimen of the manner in which they are taught this art of climbing chimneys.

Do you remember being taught to climb chimneys?—Yes. What did you feel upon the first attempt to climb a chimney?—The first chimney I went up, they told me there was some plumb-pudding and money up at the top of it, and that is the way they enticed me up ; and when I got up, I would not let the other boy get from under me to get at it, I thought he would get it ; I could not get up, and shoved the pot and half the chimney down into the yard. Did you experience any inconvenience to your knees, or your elbows?—Yes, the skin was off my knees and elbows too, in climbing up the new chimneys they forced me up. How did they force you up?—When I got up, I cried out about my sore knees. Were you beat or compelled to go up by any violent means?—Yes, when I went to a narrow chimney, if I could not do it, I durst not go home ; when I used to come down, my master would well beat me with the brush ; and not only my master, but when we used to go with the journeymen, if we could not do it, they used to hit us three or four times with the brush.' *Ibid.* p. 5.

In practising the art of climbing, they are often crippled.

' You talked of the pargetting to chimneys ; are many chimneys pargetted?—There used to be more than are now ; we used to have to go and sit all a-twist to parge them, according to the floors, to keep the smoke from coming out ; then I could not straighten my legs ; and that is the reason that many are cripples,—from parging and stopping the holes.' *Ibid.* p. 17.

They are often stuck fast in a chimney, and, after remaining there many hours, are cut out.

' Have you known, in the course of your practice, boys stick in chimneys at all?—Yes, frequently. Did you ever know an instance of a boy being suffocated to death?—No ; I do not recollect any one at present, but I have assisted in taking boys out when they have

been nearly exhausted. Did you ever know an instance of its being necessary to break open a chimney to take the boy out?—O yes. *Frequently?—Monthly, I might say; it is done with a cloak, if possible, that it should not be discovered: a master in general wishes it not to be known, and therefore speaks to the people belonging to the house not to mention it, for it was merely the boy's neglect; they often say it was the boy's neglect. Why do they say that?—The boy's climbing shirt is often very bad; the boy coming down, if the chimney be very narrow, and numbers of them are only nine inches, gets his shirt rumpled underneath him, and he has no power after he is fixed in that way (with his hand up.) Does a boy frequently stick in the chimney?—Yes; I have known more instances of that the last twelve-month than before. Do you ever have to break open in the inside of a room?—Yes, I have helped to break through into a kitchen chimney in a dining room.* *Lords' Minutes, p. 34.*

To the same effect is the evidence of John Daniels, (*Minutes, p. 100*), and of James Ludford, (*Lords' Minutes, p. 147*.)

'You have swept the Penitentiary?—I have. Did you ever know a boy stick in any of the Chimneys there?—Yes, I have. Was it one of your boys?—It was. Was there one or two that stuck?—Two of them. How long did they stick there?—Two hours. How were they got out?—They were cut out. Was there any danger while they were in that situation?—It was the core from the pargetting of the chimney, and the rubbish that the labourers had thrown down, that stopped them, and when they got it aside them, they could not pass. They both stuck together?—Yes.' *Lords' Minutes, p. 147.*

One more instance we shall give from the Evidence before the Commons.

'Have you heard of any accidents that have recently happened to climbing boys in the small flues?—Yes; I have often met with accidents myself when I was a boy; there was lately one in Mary-le-bone, where the boy lost his life in a flue, a boy of the name of Tinsey, (his father was of the same trade); that boy I think was about eleven or twelve years old. Was there a coroner's inquest sat on the body of that boy you mentioned?—Yes, there was; he was an apprentice of a man of the name of Gay. How many accidents do you recollect, which were attended with loss of life to the climbing boys?—I have heard talk of many more than I know of; I never knew of more than three since I have been at the trade, but I have heard talk of many more. Of twenty or thirty?—I cannot say; I have been near losing my own life several times.' *Commons' Report, p. 53.*

We come now to burning little chimney-sweepers. A large party are invited to dinner—a great display is to be made:—and about an hour before dinner, there is an alarm that the kitchen chimney is on fire! It is impossible to put off the distinguished personages who are expected. It gets very late for the soup and fish—the cook is frantic—all eyes are turned upon the sable



consolation of the master chimney sweeper—and up into the midst of the burning chimney is sent one of the miserable little infants of the brush! There is a positive prohibition of this practice, and an enactment of penalties in one of the acts of Parliament which respect chimney sweepers. But what matter acts of Parliament, when the pleasures of genteel people are concerned? Or what is a toasted child, compared to the agonies of the mistress of the house with a deranged dinner?

‘Did you ever know a boy get burnt up a chimney? Yes.—Is that usual? Yes, I have been burnt myself, and have got the scars on my legs; a year ago I was up a chimney in Liquor Pond Street; I have been up more than forty chimneys where I have been burnt.—Did your master or the journeymen ever direct you to go up a chimney that was on fire? Yes, it is a general case.—Do they compel you to go up a chimney that is on fire? Oh yes, it was the general practice for two of us to stop at home on Sunday to be ready in case of a chimney being a-fire.—You say it is general to compel the boys to go up chimneys on fire? Yes, boys get very ill-treated if they do not go up.’—*Lords’ Minutes*, p. 34.

‘Were you ever forced up a chimney on fire? Yes, I was forced up one once, and, because I could not do it, I was taken home and well hid with a brush by the journeyman.—Have you frequently been burnt in ascending chimneys on fire? Three times.—Are such hardships as you have described common in the trade with other boys? Yes, they are.’—*Lords’ Minutes*, p. 100.

‘What is the price for sending a boy up a chimney badly on fire? The price allowed is five shillings, but most of them charge half a guinea.—Is any part of that given to the boy? No, but very often the boy gets half a crown; and then the journeyman has half, and his mistress takes the other part to take care of against Sunday.—Have you never seen water thrown down from the top of a chimney when it is on fire? Yes.—Is not that generally done? Yes; I have seen that done twenty times, and the boy in the chimney; at the time when the boy has hallooed out, “It is so hot I cannot go any further;” and then the expression is, with an oath, “Stop, and I will heave a pail of water down.”’—*Lords’ Minutes*, p. 39.

Chimney-sweepers are subject to a peculiar sort of cancer, which often brings them to a premature death,

‘He appeared perfectly willing to try the machines everywhere?—I must say the man appeared perfectly willing; he had a fear that he and his family would be ruined by them; but I must say of him, that he is very different from other sweeps I have seen; he attends very much to his own business; he was as black as any boy he had got, and unfortunately in the course of conversation he told me he had got a cancer; he was a fine healthy strong looking man; he told me he dreaded having an operation performed, but his father died of the same complaint, and that his father was sweeper to King George the Second.’—*Lords’ Minutes*, p. 84.

'What is the nature of the particular diseases? The diseases that we particularly noticed, to which they were subject, were of a cancerous description.—In what part? The scrotum in particular, &c.—Did you ever hear of cases of that description that were fatal? No, I do not think them as being altogether fatal, unless they will not submit to the operation; they have such a dread of the operation that they will not submit to it, and if they do not let it be perfectly removed they will be liable to the return of it.—To what cause do you attribute that disease? I think it begins from a want of care: the scrotum being in so many folds or crevices, the soot lodges in them and creates an itching, and I conceive that by scratching it and tearing it the soot gets in and creates the irritability; which disease we know by the name of the chimney sweeper's cancer, and is always lectured upon separately as a distinct disease.—Then the Committee understands that the physicians who are entrusted with the care and management of those hospitals think that disease of such common occurrence, that it is necessary to make it a part of surgical education? Most assuredly; I remember Mr Cline and Mr Cooper were particular on that subject.—Without an operation there is no cure? I conceive not; I conceive without the operation it is death; for cancers are of that nature that unless you extirpate them entirely they will never be cured.'—*Commons' Rep.* p. 60, 61.

In addition to the life they lead as chimney sweepers, is superadded the occupation of nightmen.

'(By a Lord.) Is it generally the custom that many masters are likewise nightmen? Yes; I forgot that circumstance, which is very grievous; I have been tied round the middle and let down several Privies, for the purpose of fetching watches and such things; it is generally made the practice to take the smallest boy to let him through the hole without taking up the seat, and to paddle about there till he finds it; they do not take a big boy because it disturbs the seat.'—*Lords' Minutes*, p. 38.

The bed of these poor little wretches is often the soot they have swept in the day.

'How are the boys generally lodged; where do they sleep at night?—Some masters may be better than others, but I know I have slept on the soot that was gathered in the day, myself. Where do boys generally sleep?—Never on a bed; I never slept on a bed myself while I was apprentice. Do they sleep in cellars?—Yes, very often; I have slept in the cellar myself on the sacks I took out. What had you to cover you?—The same. Had you any pillow?—No further than my breeches and jacket under my head. How were you clothed?—When I was apprentice we had a pair of leather breeches and a small flannel jacket. Any shoes and stockings?—Oh dear no; no stockings. Had you any other clothes for Sunday?—Sometimes we had an old bit of a jacket, that we might wash out ourselves, and a shirt.' *Lords' Minutes*, p. 40.

Girls are occasionally employed as chimney-sweepers.

Another circumstance, which has not been mentioned to the Committee, is, that there are several little girls employed; there are two of the name of Morgan at Windsor, daughters of the chimney sweeper, who is employed to sweep the chimneys of the Castle; another instance at Uxbridge and at Brighton, and at Whitechapel, (which was some years ago) and at Hadley near Barnet, and Witham in Essex, and elsewhere.' *Commons' Report*, p. 71.

Another peculiar danger to which chimney sweepers are exposed, is the rottenness of the pots at the top of chimneys;—for they must ascend to the very summit, and show their brushes above them, or there is no proof that the work is properly completed. These chimney-pots, from their exposed situation, are very subject to decay; and when the poor little wretch has worked his way up to the top, pot and boy give way together, and are both shivered to atoms. There are many instances of this in the evidence before both Houses. When they outgrow the power of going up a chimney, they are fit for nothing else. The miseries they have suffered lead to nothing. They are not only enormous, but unprofitable: Having suffered, in what is called the happiest part of life, every misery which an human being can suffer, they are then cast out to rob and steal, and given up to the law.

Not the least of their miseries, while their trial endures, is their exposure to cold. It will easily be believed that much money is not expended on the clothes of a poor boy stolen from his parents, or sold by them for a few shillings, and constantly occupied in dirty work. Yet the nature of their occupations renders chimney sweepers peculiarly susceptible of cold. And as chimneys must be swept very early, at four or five o'clock of a winter morning, the poor boys are shivering at the door, and attempting, by repeated ringings, to rouse the profligate footman; but the more they ring, the more the footman does not come.

'Do they go out in the winter-time without stockings?—Oh yes. Always?—I never saw one go out *with* stockings; I have known masters make their boys pull off their leggings, and cut off the feet, to keep their feet warm when they have chilblains. Are chimney sweeper's boys peculiarly subject to chilblains?—Yes; I believe it is owing to the weather; they often go out at two or three in the morning, and their shoes are generally very bad. Do they go out at that hour at Christmas?—Yes; a man will have twenty jobs at four, and twenty more at five or six. Are chimneys generally swept much about Christmas time?—Yes; they are in general; it is left to the Christmas week. Do you suppose it is frequent that, in the Christmas week, boys are out from three o'clock in the morning to nine or ten?—Yes, further than that; I have known that a boy has been only

in and out again directly all day till five o'clock in the evening. Do you consider the journeymen and masters treat those boys generally with greater cruelty than other apprentices in other trades are treated?—They do, most horrid and shocking.' *Lords' Minutes*, p. 33.

The following is the reluctant evidence of a master.

'At what hour in the morning did your boys go out upon their employment?—According to orders. At any time?—To be sure; suppose a nobleman wished to have his chimney done before four or five o'clock in the morning, it was done, or how were the servants to get their things done? Supposing you had an order to attend at four o'clock in the morning in the month of December, you sent your boy?—I was generally with him, or had a careful follower with him. Do you think those early hours beneficial for him?—I do; and I have heard that 'early to bed and early to rise, is the way to be healthy, wealthy, and wise.' Did they always get in as soon as they knocked?—No; it would be pleasant to the profession if they could. How long did they wait?—*Till the servants pleased to rise.* How long might that be?—According how heavy they were to sleep. How long was that?—It is impossible to say; ten minutes at one house, and twenty at another. Perhaps half an hour?—*We cannot see in the dark how the minutes go.* Do you think it healthy to let them stand there twenty minutes at four o'clock in the morning in the winter time?—He has a cloth to wrap himself in like a mantle, and keep himself warm.' *Lords' Minutes*, pp. 138, 139.

We must not forget sore eyes. Soot lodges on their eyelids, produces irritability, which requires friction; and the friction of dirty hands of course increases the disease. The greater proportion of chimney sweepers are in consequence blear-eyed. The boys are very small; but they are compelled to carry heavy loads of soot.

'Are you at all lame yourself?—No; but I am 'knapped-kneed' with carrying heavy loads when I was an apprentice. That was the occasion of it?—It was. In general are persons employed in your trade either stunted or knock-kneed by carrying heavy loads during their childhood?—It is owing to their masters a great deal; and when they climb a great deal, it makes them weak.' *Commons' Report*, p. 58.

In climbing a chimney, the great hold is by the knees and elbows. A young child of 6 or 7 years old, working with knees and elbows against hard bricks, soon rubs off the skin from these bony projections, and is forced to climb high chimneys with raw and bloody knees and elbows.

'Are the boys' knees and elbows rendered sore when they first begin to learn to climb?—Yes, they are, and pieces out of them. Is that almost generally the case?—It is; *there is not one out of twenty who is not*; and they are sure to take the scars to their grave: I have some now. Are they usually compelled to continue

climbing while those sores are open?—Yes; the way they use to make them hard is that way. Might not this severity be obviated by the use of pads in learning to climb?—Yes; but they consider in the business, learning a boy, that he is never thoroughly learned until the boy's knees are hard after being sore; then they consider it necessary to put a pad on, from seeing the boys have bad knees; the children generally walk stiff-kneed. Is it usual among the chimney sweepers to teach their boys to learn by means of pads?—No; they learn them with nearly naked knees. Is it done in one instance in twenty?—No, nor one in fifty.' *Lords' Minutes*, p. 32.

According to the humanity of the master, the soot remains upon the bodies of the children, unwashed off, for any time from a week to a year.

'Are the boys generally washed regularly?—No, unless they wash themselves. Did not your master take care you were washed?—No. Not once in three months?—No, not once a year. Did not he find you soap?—No; I can take my oath on the Bible that he never found me one piece of soap during the time I was apprentice.' *Lords' Minutes*, p. 41.

The life of these poor little wretches is so miserable, that they often lie sulking in the flues unwilling to come out.

'Did you ever see severity used to boys that were not obstinate and perverse?—Yes. Very often?—Yes, very often. The boys are rather obstinate; some of them are; some of them will get half-way up the chimney, and will not go any further, and then the journeyman will swear at them to come down, or go on; but the boys are too frightened to come down; they halloo out, we cannot get up, and they are afraid to come down; sometimes they will send for another boy, and drag them down; sometimes get up to the top of the chimney, and throw down water, and drive them down; then, when they get them down, they will begin to drag, or beat, or kick them about the house; then, when they get home, the master will beat them all round the kitchen afterwards, and give them no breakfast perhaps.' *Lords' Minutes*, pp. 9, 10.

When a chimney boy has done sufficient work for the master, he must work for the man; and he thus becomes, for several hours after his morning's work, a perquisite to the journeyman.

'It is frequently the perquisite of the journeyman, when the first labour of the day on account of the master is finished, to 'call the streets,' in search of employment on their own account, with the apprentices, whose labour is thus unreasonably extended, and whose limbs are weakened and distorted by the weights which they have to carry, and by the distance which they have to walk. John Lawless says, 'I have known a boy to climb from twenty to thirty chimneys for his master in the morning; he has then been sent out instantly with the journeyman, who has kept him out till three or four o'clock,

• till he has accumulated from six to eight bushels of soot.' *Lords' Report*, p. 24.

The sight of a little chimney sweeper often excites pity: and they have small presents made to them at the houses where they sweep. These benevolent alms are disposed of in the following manner.

'Do the boys receive little presents of money from people often in your trade?—Yes, it is in general the custom. Are they allowed to keep that for their own use?—Not the whole of it,—the journeymen take what they think proper. The journeymen are entitled to half by the master's orders; and whatever a boy may get, if two boys and one journeyman are sent to a large house to sweep a number of chimneys, and after they have done, there should be a shilling, or eighteen-pence given to the boys, the journeyman has his full half, and the two boys in general have the other. Is it usual or customary for the journeymen to play at chuck farthing or other games with the boys?—Frequently. Do they win the money from the boys?—Frequently; the children give their money to the journeymen to screen for them. What do you mean by screening?—Such a thing as sifting the soot. The child is tired, and he says 'Jem, I will give you twopence if you will sift my share of the soot;' there is sometimes twenty or thirty bushels to sift. Do you think the boys retain one quarter of that given them for their own use?—No.' *Lords' Minutes*, p. 35.

To this most horrible list of calamities is to be added the dreadful deaths by which chimney sweepers are often destroyed. Of these we once thought of giving two examples; one from London, the other from our own town of Edinburgh: But we confine ourselves to the latter.

'James Thomson, chimney sweeper.—One day in the beginning of June witness and panel (that is, the Master, the party accused) had been sweeping vents together. About four o'clock in the afternoon, the panel proposed to go to Albany-street, where the panel's brother was cleaning a vent, with the assistance of Fraser, whom he had borrowed from the panel for the occasion. When witness and panel got to the house in Albany-street, they found Fraser, who had gone up the vent between eleven and twelve o'clock, not yet come down. On entering the house they found a mason making a hole in the wall. Panel said, what was he doing? I suppose he has taken a lazy fit. The panel called to the boy, What are you doing? what's keeping you? The boy answered that he could not come. The panel worked a long while, sometimes persuading him, sometimes threatening and swearing at the boy to get him down. Panel then said, I will go to a hardware shop and get a barrel of gunpowder, and blow you and the vent to the devil, if you do not come down. Panel then began to slap at the wall—witness then went up a ladder, and spoke to the boy through a

small hole in the wall previously made by the mason—but the boy did not answer. Panel's brother told witness to come down, as the boy's master knew best how to manage him. Witness then threw off his jacket, and put a handkerchief about his head, and said to the panel, let me go up the chimney to see what's keeping him. The panel made no answer, but pushed witness away from the chimney, and continued bullying the boy. At this time the panel was standing on the grate, so that witness could not go up the chimney; witness then said to panel's brother, there is no use for me here, meaning that panel would not permit him to use his services. He prevented the mason making the hole larger, saying, Stop and I'll bring him down in five minutes' time. Witness then put on his jacket, and continued an hour in the room, *during all which time the panel continued bullying the boy.* Panel then desired witness to go to Reid's house to get the loan of his boy Alison. Witness went to Reid's house, and asked Reid to come and speak to panel's brother. Reid asked if panel was there? Witness answered he was; Reid said he would send his boy to the panel, but not to the panel's brother. Witness and Reid went to Albany-street; and when they got into the room, panel took his head out of the chimney, and asked Reid if he would lend him his boy; Reid agreed; witness then returned to Reid's house for his boy, and Reid called after him, 'Fetch down a set of ropes with you.' By this time witness had been ten minutes in the room, during which time panel was swearing, and asking what's keeping you, you scoundrel? When witness returned with the boy and ropes, Reid took hold of the rope, and having loosed it, gave Alison one end, and directed him to go up the chimney, saying, do not go farther than his feet, and when you get there fasten it to his foot. Panel said nothing all this time. Alison went up, and having fastened the rope, Reid desired him to come down; Reid took the rope and pulled, but did not bring down the boy; the rope broke; Alison was sent up again with the other end of the rope, which was fastened to the boy's foot. When Reid was pulling the rope, panel said, "You have not the strength of a cat; he took the rope into his own hands, *pulling as strong as he could.* Having pulled about a quarter of an hour, panel and Reid fastened the rope round a crow bar, which they applied to the wall as a lever, and both *pulled with all their strength for about a quarter of an hour longer,* when it broke. During this time witness heard the boy cry, and say, 'My God Almighty!' Panel said, 'If I had you here, I would God Almighty you.' Witness thought the cries were in agony. The master of the house brought a new piece of rope, and the panel's brother spliced an eye on it. Reid expressed a wish to have it fastened on both thighs, to have greater purchase. Alison was sent up for this purpose, but came down, and said he could not get it fastened. Panel then began to slap at the wall. After striking a long while at the wall, he got out a large stone; he then put in his head and called to Fraser, 'Do you hear, you sir?' but got no answer: he then put in his hands,

and threw down deceased's breeches. He then came down from the ladder. At this time the panel was in a state of perspiration; he sat down on a stool, and the master of the house gave him a dram. Witness did not hear panel make any remarks as to the situation of the boy Fraser. Witness thinks, that, from panel's appearance, he knew the boy was dead.' *Commons' Report*, pp. 136-138.

We have been thus particular in stating the case of the chimney sweepers, and in founding it upon the basis of facts, that we may make an answer to those profligate persons who are always ready to fling an air of ridicule upon the labours of humanity, because they are desirous that what they have not virtue to do themselves, should appear to be foolish and romantic when done by others. A still higher degree of depravity than this, is to want every sort of compassion for human misery, when it is accompanied by filth, poverty and ignorance,—to regulate humanity by the income tax, and to deem the bodily wretchedness and the dirty tears of the poor, a fit subject for pleasantry and contempt. We should have been loath to believe, that such deep-seated and disgusting immorality existed in these days; but the notice of it is forced upon us. Nor must we pass over a set of marvelously weak gentlemen, who discover democracy and revolution in every effort to improve the condition of the lower orders, and to take off a little of the load of misery from those points where it presses the hardest. Such are the men into whose heart Mrs Fry has struck the deepest terror,—who abhor Mr Bentham and his penitentiary; Mr Bennet and his hulks; Sir James Macintosh and his bloodless assises; Mr Tuke and his sweeping machines,—and every other human being who is great and good enough to sacrifice his quiet, to his love for his fellow-creatures. Certainly we admit that humanity is sometimes the veil of ambition or of faction; but we have no doubt that there are a great many excellent persons to whom it is misery to see misery, and pleasure to lessen it; and who by calling the public attention to the worst cases, and by giving birth to judicious legislative enactments for their improvement, have made, and are making the world somewhat happier than they found it. Upon these principles we join hands with the friends of the Chimney sweepers, and most heartily wish for the diminution of their numbers, and the limitation of their trade.

We are thoroughly convinced, there are many respectable master chimney sweepers: though we suspect their numbers have been increased by the alarm which their former tyranny excited, and by the severe laws made for their coercion. But even with good masters the trade is miserable,—with bad ones it is not to be endured; and the evidence already quoted shows us



how many of that character are to be met with in the occupation of sweeping chimneys.

After all, we must own that it was quite right to throw out the bill for prohibiting the sweeping of chimneys by boys—because humanity is a modern invention; and there are many chimneys in old houses which cannot possibly be swept in any other manner. But the construction of chimneys should be attended to in some new building act; and the treatment of boys be watched over with the most severe jealousy of the law. Above all, those who have chimneys accessible to machinery, should encourage the use of machines, \* and not think it beneath their dignity to take a little trouble, in order to do a great deal of good. We should have been very glad to have seconded the views of the Climbing Society, and to have pleaded for the complete abolition of climbing boys, if we could conscientiously have done so. But such a measure, we are convinced from the evidence, could not be carried into execution without great injury to property, and great increased risk of fire. The Lords have investigated the matter with the greatest patience, humanity, and good sense; and they do not venture, in their Report, to recommend to the House the abolition of climbing boys. †

ART. IV. *Histoire de la Peinture en Italie.* Par M. B. A. A.  
2 vol. 8vo. pp. 836. Paris. Didôt, 1817.

THE worthy Cardinal who received Ariosto with the well known exclamation, '*Dove diavolo, Messer Ludovico avete pigliato?*' &c. might well have repeated it upon reading these volumes,—which certainly contain an infinite number of strange stories, and odd remarks, delivered with little connexion, in a rambling manner, and on almost every subject. Nevertheless, they are the work of a very acute and lively person, who knows a great deal, especially on the principal subject of his book; and who, upon that and most others, thinks, often paradoxically, and sometimes affectedly, but always originally. By means of his own remarks on all sorts of subjects, of anecdotes collected partly from the common gossip of Italy and from received works on the history of the arts, and partly from more obscure sources, he has certainly contrived to make one of the

\* The price of a machine is fifteen shillings.

† The Chairman of this Committee was Lord Auckland, whose name may be always a guarantee to the public for good feelings, regulated by good sense.

most entertaining books that have appeared for some time;—a book which never tires us, notwithstanding it be none of the smallest; and, though it may now and then provoke us by its conceit, and disgust us by its tone upon sacred subjects, must be admitted to convey a good deal of instruction, as well as amusement, upon the topics to which it is more immediately devoted.

Although it appears to have been published for some time, it has not, we believe, found its way into this country; but common report designates, as the author, the Baron Stendahl, of whose book upon Rome, Florence, and Naples, we gave an account some time ago. If this be really the case, we fear we must qualify considerably the praise of originality already given, for fear of falling into something like the mistake into which we were seduced by the strange plagiarisms of that former publication.—Having bestowed commendations upon one part of it, we were rather surprised to find, some time afterwards, that the passage so praised was a literal translation, of part of an article in an old Number of this Journal! \* When a writer has recourse to such expedients, no one can be sure, at any moment, that he is not reading the work of a third party; but it was our whimsical fate to be very unwittingly reading, and very innocently, and perhaps unjustly, praising our own.

The Introduction is made up of desultory observations and anecdotes respecting the state of society and the arts, from the savage state to the end of the Augustan age of modern Italy;

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\* As some of our readers may be curious to know the nature and extent of this plagiarism, we beg leave to inform them, that if they will turn to p. 194 of the Baron's work, they will find about ten pages on the subject of Alfieri, literally translated from our article on that writer, at Vol. XV. pages 295 and 297, &c. of the Review. Again, at p. 220 of M. de Stendahl, they will find a still larger discussion on the state of French society before the Revolution, (and it is this which we praised last year without recognising it), the original of which may be seen in our review of the Letters of Mad. du Deffand, Vol. XV. p. 459, &c.—At p. 254. the Baron has again borrowed a page or two on the genius of the Germans, from our review of Schlegel, Vol. XXVI. p. 67; besides a variety of smaller passages and phrases which it might be too niggardly to specify. It is certainly very flattering to us to find our sentiments on the literature and manners of the Continent, adopted by a continental writer of great vivacity and high pretensions. But it would have been still more agreeable, if he had been pleased to give some little hint of the source from which they were derived.

and the greater part of it has as much connexion with politics as with painting. Why it should be called an Introduction, is not very easily perceived; for it relates almost entirely to the periods which are more particularly the subject of the history itself, — from the time of Cimabue to the middle of the sixteenth century. Passing it over, we arrive at the history of the Florentine school, which fills the whole of the present publication. Indeed it might more properly be termed, Anecdotes of the two great masters, Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo, and their contemporaries, than a General History of Painting; and accordingly, even the portion connected more strictly with the Arts, is pretty equally subdivided, as might be expected, between the different branches in which the latter of these great men excelled.

Of the revivers of painting, the author gives few anecdotes that are not pretty well known. The most ancient authenticated picture of an Italian artist, is generally said to be the Virgin of Guido da Sienna, which bears in the inscription the date of 1221. Our author, however, gives some particulars respecting the remains, still more ancient, of Giunta Pisano, who died in 1240, the year that Cimabue was born.

Although Cimabue has the fame of being the father of the Art, and though he was enthusiastically admired in his day, we may say of him, that the greatest work which proceeded from his *studio*, was his scholar Giotto—as it has been remarked of Bergman, that his grand discovery was the discovery of Scheele. In reflecting upon Cimabue's history, the most interesting circumstance certainly is the unequivocal proofs which it affords of his country being already prepared for bearing an abundant harvest of genius in that kind. The zeal with which all classes of the people regarded his excellence—the devotion with which they honoured his works—is sufficient to show, not only that the seeds of excellence in the fine arts had been sown, but that the soil had been fitted to receive them. His residence was thronged by such crowds to view his Madonna, when the visit of a sovereign obliged him to let it be seen, that the district where he lived obtained from thence the name of Borgo-Allegro; and when it was to be placed in the church where it still remains, the populace accompanied the procession with colours and bands of music, as if some national success had given rise to a triumphal pageant. Yet he was immediately, and in his own time, surpassed by his celebrated pupil, who went as much beyond him as he had gone beyond Guido; and filled Italy with his scholars, as well as the productions of his pencil. The following passage forms one chapter of the work before us, and

is affectedly entitled 'Oter le piedestal;' but it tells a great truth of very general application.

'Pour être juste envers cet homme rare, il faut regarder ses prédécesseurs. Ses défauts sautent aux yeux; son dessein est sec; il a soin de cacher toujours sous de longues draperies les extrémités de ses figures, et il a raison, car il s'en tire fort mal. Au total, ses tableaux ont l'air barbare. Il n'est pas un de nos peintres qui ne se sente une immense supériorité sur le pauvre Giotto. Mais ne pourroit-il pas leur dire;

'Sans moi, qui suis si peu, vous seriez moins encore.

Il est sûr que, quand un bourgeois de Paris prend un fiacre pour aller au spectacle, il est plus magnifique que les plus grands seigneurs de la cour de François Ier. Ceux-ci par les pluies battantes de l'hiver, alloient à la cour à cheval, avec leurs femmes en croupe, au travers de rues non pavées, qui avoient un pied de boue, et pas de reverbères. Faut-il conclure que le connétable de Montmorency, ou l'amiral Bonnivet, étoient des gens moins considérables dans l'état que le petit marchand de la rue Saint-Denis? Je conçois bien que l'on n'ait pas de plaisir à voir les œuvres de Giotto. Si l'on dit; Que cela est laid! on peut avoir raison; mais si l'on ajoute: Quel peintre pitoyable! on manque de lumières.' I. 34, 35.

The following remarks are also judicious and lively.

'Une certaine symétrie qui plaît à l'amateur éclairé, et surtout un dessein moins anguleux, et un coloris plus moëlleux que chez ses rudes prédécesseurs, les distinguent facilement. Ces mains grêles, ces pieds en pointe, ces visages malheureux, ces yeux effarés, restes de la barbarie apportée de Constantinople, disparaissent peu à peu. Je trouve que ses ouvrages plaisent d'autant plus qu'ils sont de moindre dimension. Par exemple, les petites figures de la sacristie du Vatican sont des miniatures pleines de grâces; et ce qui manquoit surtout aux arts avant lui, c'est la grace. Quelques sauvages que soient les hommes, on peut leur faire peur; car ils ont éprouvé la souffrance; mais, pour qu'ils fassent attention à ce qui n'est que gracieux, il faut qu'ils connoissent le bonheur d'aimer. Giotto sut exprimer beaucoup de petites circonstances de la nature peu dignes des scènes graves où il les introduisoit; mais c'étoit la nature. On peut dire qu'il fut l'inventeur du portrait. On lui doit entre autres, ceux de Dante, son ami. Quelques peintres avoient bien cherché la ressemblance avant lui; mais le premier il réussit. Il étoit architecte. Le fameux clocher de la cathédrale de Florence fut élevé sur ses desseins. C'est réellement une tour très remarquable. Quoique un peu gothique, elle donne sur-le-champ l'idée de la vitesse et de l'élégance. Elle est isolée de l'église, et se trouve dans l'endroit le plus passager de la ville, fortune qui manque à beaucoup de monuments admirables.' I. 35—37.

The great genius and success of Giotto, seems to have produced its usual effect of forming servile imitators, and thus keeping the art stationary for some time. But architecture and

sculpture made at this period a considerable progress; and we think it very likely, that this circumstance gave painting the next, and, perhaps, greatest step that it ever made, in the invention of perspective and *chiaro-oscuro*; for a knowledge of perspective was the natural consequence of architectural drawing; and an attention to light and shade as naturally followed from modelling the human figure. To Paolo Ucello, but still more to Masaccio, were these grand improvements owing. The latter was unquestionably a man of first-rate genius; but, we believe, the author will be allowed by connoisseurs to estimate his merits somewhat too high, when he asserts that the principal figure in the Baptism of St Peter excels any thing which appeared before Raphael; and particularly, that neither Leonardo da Vinci, nor Fra. Bartolommeo, nor Andrea del Sarto, ever equalled it; (the latter being, by the way, exactly Raphael's contemporary.)—Indeed, he seems aware of his partiality for this eminent master, when he says, ‘*Je l’aime trop pour en juger.*’ He appears to be still more extravagant in his admiration of Luca Signorelli; a great painter unquestionably, and whose works frequently resemble those of the purest age of the art; but who, we must always recollect, though our author has forgotten it, lived in the early period of that age; in fact, he died the year after Raphael, and must have produced many of his finest pieces in the latter part of the fifteenth century.\*

Since we are come to a resting-place, we may as well pause to mention the extremely offensive tone respecting every thing that concerns religion, which pervades these volumes. The author seems, from remarks everywhere interspersed, to be a follower of Buonaparte; a soldier who has passed his life, as he hints, between making war and making love; and, since the fall of his master, and the loss of his mistress, has sought consolation in the study of the Fine Arts. We have no right perhaps to blame him for having found no comfort in contemplating a higher state of existence; but he, on his part, has no right to vilify by his sneers the established faith of his country; for it is immaterial whether he belongs to one nation of Europe or another, or that he calls himself a citizen of the world. If

\* The epitaph of Masaccio, in the Carmelite Church, which he painted in fresco, has furnished, as our author observes, the hint of Sir Christopher Wren's, in St Paul's.—‘*Si quæris monumentum circumspice!*’

*Si alcun cercasse il marmo o il nome mio,*

*La Chiesa è il marmo, &c.*

The concluding part of it probably suggested Cardinal Bembo's celebrated distich on Raphael in the Pantheon.

He means the civilized world. Christianity is its religion; and he neither acts the part of a wise nor of a virtuous man, who lightly obtrudes the expression of his contempt for it. How ignorant he is, and how prejudiced, on all matters connected with this subject, a very cursory perusal of his book may serve to show. He seems indeed most perversely blind to the triumphant state of religion at the present day, when, by the prodigious multiplication of Bible Societies and of new translations and editions of that sacred book, the readers of the Holy Scriptures have been multiplied, we believe, more than tenfold within these twenty years. 'Aujourd'hui' (he petulantly asks, as Mr Burke, though with better reason, did of Bolingbroke), 'qui est-ce, qui lit la Bible?' In a note, he qualifies his interrogatory, by adding, 'hors de l'Angleterre.' But, for the Continent, he answers his own question, most falsely, thus—'Quelque amateur peut-etre, pour y voir les quinze ou vingt traits, eternels sujets des tableaux du grand siecle.' His lamentations are frequent, that the great masters should not have chosen their subjects from classical story; but he has the candour, in one place, to insert an opposite opinion, much nearer the truth, and from a quarter not easily to be suspected of bigotry, the Correspondence of Grimm and Diderot, where praise is justly given to subjects from the Bible, upon this ground, that they represent men, such as we know them to be, with all their natural feelings, and acting both in the ordinary situations of human life, and in circumstances which call forth the most exalted feelings of our nature.

But he is not more happy or more knowing in his remarks upon the history of natural religion. 'La découverte de l'immortalité de l'ame est tout-à-fait moderne'—and therewithal he cites hardily, but very generally, Cicero. 'Voir Cicéron,' quoth he; and adds, 'non pas dans les traductions approuvées par la censure.' We certainly never should have thought that the censorship had been applied to the service of theism, in any country, as it is only to be found in Catholic States; nor do we believe that an instance can be produced, of any translation having been so altered by the Government, as to afford evidence of the immortality of the soul being known to the ancients; yet that it was known, any one who had read the Cicero whom our author quotes might have ascertained. Such passages as the following are no interpolations of censors; and yet they have only to be turned into Scriptural language, to pass almost for portions of the New Testament.—'Immo vero, ii vivunt qui ex corporum vinculis, tanquam e carcere evolverunt:—vestra vero, quæ dicitur vita, mors est.'—'Justitiam cole et pietatem'

*ea ultra iam est in cœlum, et in hunc cœlum eorum qui jam vixerint, et corpore laxati illum incolunt locum.*—*‘ In vero enitere, et sic habeto, non esse TE mortalem, sed corpus hoc: non enim tu is es, quæ forma ista declarat: sed Mens cujusque, is est quisque; non in figura quæ digito demonstrari potest.’*—*‘ Omnibus qui patriam conservarint, adjuverint, auxerint, certum in cœlo esse, (c definitum locum, ubi beati, ævo sempiterno fruuntur.’*

After the desultory introduction and preliminary history through which we have been following the author, we come to the principal subject of his volumes, the account of Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo. The lives of both these great men are pretty generally known, and must ever be in the highest degree interesting, not to the artist only, but the philosopher. The work before us may not contain any particulars respecting them, which are not in the possession of those who delight in such subjects; but it relates what is to be found elsewhere, in a lively and striking manner, and abounds with observations, at once just and ingenious.

If Leonardo had not the same universality of genius in the fine arts, he excelled Michael Angelo in the vast variety of his accomplishments in almost every pursuit, from the abstract sciences, to the ordinary amusements and occupations of life.

Dès sa plus tendre enfance on le trouve l'admiration de ses contemporains. Génie élevé et subtil, curieux d'apprendre de nouvelles choses, ardent à les tenter, on le voit porter ce caractère, non seulement dans les trois arts du dessein, mais aussi en mathématiques, en mécanique, en musique, en poésie, en idéologie, sans parler des arts d'agrément, dans lesquels il excella, l'escrime, la danse, l'équitation; et ces talents divers il les posséda de telle sorte, que, duquel qu'il fit usage pour plaire, il sembloit né pour celui-là seul. I. p. 162.

On le voyoit dans les rues s'arrêter tout-à-coup pour copier sur un petit livret de papier blanc les figures ridicules qu'il rencontroit. Nous les avons encore ses charmantes caricatures, et ce sont les meilleures qui existent. Non seulement il cherchoit les modèles du beau et du laid, mais il pretendoit saisir l'expression fugitive des affections de l'ame et des idées. Les choses bizarres et altérées avoient un droit particulier à son attention. Il sentit, le premier peut-être, cette partie des beaux arts qui n'est pas fondée sur la sympathie, mais sur un retour d'amour propre. Il amenoit dîner chez lui des gens de la campagne, pour les faire rire, à gorge déployée, par les récits les plus étranges et les contes les plus gais. D'autres fois on le voyoit suivre les malheureux au supplice. Une rare beauté, des manières pleines de charmes, faisoient trouver admirables ces idées singulières; et il paroît que, comme Raphaël, ce génie heureux fut une exception à la règle si vraie:

Aucun chemin de fleurs ne conduit à la gloire.

It is well known, that the seventeen years of his life which he spent at Milan, were after he had attained the maturity both of his age and fame, as he did not quit Florence before he was thirty. During that long period, he certainly did not devote the greater part of his time to painting; but he completed his greatest work, and one of the greatest triumphs of the art, his *Last Supper*. The anecdotes and remarks, which we find in full, but not superfluous abundance, relative to this picture, are among the best parts of the work before us.

Leonardo, like all the great masters, meditated profoundly upon his subject, while forming the plan of his composition; and having prepared himself by long study, and, above all, by close examination of nature, began the execution by repeated sketches, both of the whole design, and of all its individual parts. Giraldi relates some curious particulars, which he had from his father, who was Leonardo's contemporary. He used to frequent the accustomed haunts of persons resembling, by their character and habits, those whom he was about to introduce in his picture; and as often as he met with any attitude, groupe or feature, which suited his purpose, he sketched it in the tablets which he carried about with him. Having nearly finished the other Apostles in this way, he had left Judas's head untouched, as for a long time he could find no physiognomy which satisfied him, or came up to the ideas he had formed of transcendent villany and treachery. The Prior of the Dominican convent, in the Refectory or Dining-room of which the painting was, grew impatient at being so long incommoded in that essential branch of monastic discipline which was carried on in this apartment, and complained to the Grand Duke; who called on the artist to explain the delay. He said he worked at it two whole hours every day. The pious head of the house renewed his representations with very honest zeal, and alleged that Leonardo had only one head to finish, and that so far from working two hours a day, he had not been near the place for almost twelve months. Again summoned before the prince, the painter thus defended himself. 'It is true I have not entered the convent for a long time; but it is no less true, that I have been employed every day at least two hours upon the picture. The head of Judas remains to do; and in order to give it a physiognomy suitable to the excessive wickedness of the character, I have for more than a year past, been daily frequenting the Borghetto, morning and evening, where the lowest refuse of the capital live; but I have not yet found the features I am in quest of; these once found, the picture is finished in a day.' 'If, however,' he



added; 'I still am unsuccessful in my search, I shall rest satisfied with the face of the Prior himself, which would suit my purpose extremely well; only that I have for a long time been hesitating about taking such a liberty with him in his own convent.' It is hardly necessary to add, that the Grand Duke was perfectly satisfied; and the artist happening soon after to meet with his Judas, finished his grand work. Our author adds a similar anecdote of Appiani, the last fresco painter that Italy has produced; who, having to represent a lion's skin, delayed a considerable time until he could find one; observing, that he had of course seen but few in his life, and never paid a very minute attention to them.

The Supper, thus completed, and the object of unbounded and universal admiration, has unhappily been, of all great pictures, by far the shortest lived. Every thing unfortunate in the materials and position, has been combined with a number of untoward accidents, and some still more fatal acts of premeditated mischief, to destroy long ago all the traces of the master-hand. The first misfortune was its being painted in oil instead of fresco, a kind of work ill suited to the slow retouching hand and most fastidious taste of Leonardo, who was glad, on this account, to take advantage of the recent invention of body colours. A miserable fresco at the other end of the refectory, painted in the same age, still tantalizes the observer by the freshness of its tints, while the masterpiece of Leonardo, perhaps of the art, has been gone for ages. It is further said, that he used oil too much refined, and of too thin a consistency. It is certain, too, that the plaster on which he worked had some defect, which made it scale off in a few years. Then the convent is situated in a damp place, and the refectory is in the lowest part of the building; so that at all times when there is an inundation in the Milanese, the room is filled with water. Hence this picture retained its original beauties only for a few years. It was finished in 1498; in 1540 it is represented as half effaced; and, ten years later, the outlines only remained, the colours being entirely gone. A century after this, the venerable fathers whose lot it was to occupy the same room with it during a very interesting portion of the day, observing (with their wonted sagacity) that the straight line which joined their table and the kitchen passed through the centre of the picture, and by no means through the door, and aware, from instinctive science, that the straight line between those two points was the shortest, thought proper to cut through the wall, and thus destroyed a part of the principal figure, and the two next it. With a tenderness for their sovereign, almost equal to their zeal for their own clerical duties,

They next nailed a great 'scutcheon of the Emperor upon the middle of the wall, so as to reach the heads of the groupe. But the tender mercies of those reverend personages have been still more fatal to this masterpiece, and have finished the destruction which their negligence begun. In 1726, they employed an artist who pretended to have a secret for reviving lost colours; and allowed him to work upon the Supper under an awning which concealed his operations. This dauber, whose name was Bellotti, painted the whole picture over again, with the exception of a portion of the sky, as seen through the window, the original colour of which remained nearly entire. It is justly remarked by our author, that connoisseurs, who were not aware of what had happened, went on pleasantly enough, lavishing their praises on the picture of Bellotti, before whose divine performance they enacted the same raptures as before he had obliterated the work of Leonardo. Finally, its destruction was completed in 1770, by one Mazza, who actually scraped off most of the few outlines which remained of the original; and had inserted heads of his own in all the figures but three, when he was stopped by a change in the convent, and a new prior succeeding. In 1796, Buonaparte, out of respect for the place, rather than that it signified much what now became of the picture, signed an order there before he remounted his horse, prohibiting any military use being made of the apartment: But soon after, one of his generals, whose name we wish the author had been less delicate about, broke down the doors and made a stable of it. The dragoons, as might be expected, amused themselves with throwing stones at the heads, being told they were meant to represent the Apostles. The refectory was then used for some years as a magazine of forage; and when at length permission was given to wall up the door, in order to prevent further dilapidations, so little was it attended to, that, in 1800, a flood having covered the floor a foot deep with water, it was suffered to remain until it dried by evaporation.

Such is the history, and so complete the destruction, of this celebrated picture; and thus, entirely from tradition, and through the medium of copies and engravings, do we derive all the knowledge of its merit which we can now obtain. Happily those copies are numerous, and some of them by contemporary artists of note, who studied the original in the days of its greatest preservation. The one from which Morghen's justly famous print has been taken, is a fresco painted by Marco d'Oggione in 1514, at the refectory of a suppressed convent at Castellazo. The engraver was also assisted by some sketches of Leonardo, which still remain. There is, besides, a copy in the great hospital at Milan, painted in

1500; a small one by Oggione in 1510; and a celebrated one at Lugano, by Lucini, in which he has deviated from the original in eight of the heads, including that of Judas. These are the most remarkable of the contemporary pictures. Buonaparte ordered a magnificent copy in Mosaick to be made of the same size with the original; he entrusted the execution of this great work to Raffaelli; but unfortunately appointed Bossi to make the picture. Bossi was a learned man and a good draughtsman; but an extremely bad painter; and it is greatly to be feared that the Mosaick will be found to show the effects of his dreadful colouring. We shall close our account of this great work with some of the author's observations, which are just and striking; and in which we perceive that he has so far yielded to the force of truth, as to lay aside entirely his rooted aversion to Scripture subjects, and even to speak with the enthusiasm of a Christian, as well as a connoisseur.

‘ Il s’agissoit de représenter ce moment si tendre où Jésus, à ne le considérer que comme un jeune philosophe entouré de ses disciples la veille de sa mort, leur dit avec attendrissement; “ En vérité, je vous le dis, l’un de vous doit me trahir.” Une ame aussi aimante dut être profondément touchée, en songeant que parmi douze amis qu’il s’étoit choisis, avec lesquels il se cachoit pour fuir une injuste persécution, qu’il avoit voulu voir réunis ce jour-là en un repas fraternel, emblème de la réunion des cœurs et de l’amour universel qu’il vouloit établir sur la terre, il se trouvoit cependant un traître qui, pour une somme d’argent, alloit le livrer à ses ennemis. Une douleur aussi sublime et aussi tendre demandoit, pour être exprimée en peinture, la disposition la plus simple, qui permet à l’attention de se fixer tout entière sur les paroles que Jésus prononce en ce moment. Il falloit une grande beauté dans les têtes des disciples, et une rare noblesse dans leurs mouvements, pour faire sentir que ce n’étoit pas une vile crainte de la mort qui affligoit Jésus. S’il eût été un homme vulgaire, il n’eût pas perdu le temps en un attendrissement dangereux.—il eût poignardé Judas, ou du moins pris la fuite, entouré de ses disciples fidèles. Léonard-de-Vinci sentit la céleste pureté et la sensibilité profonde qui font le caractère de cette action de Jésus: déchiré par l’exécration d’une action aussi noire, et, voyant les hommes si méchants, il se dégoûte de vivre, et trouve plus de douceur à se livrer à la céleste mélancolie qui remplit son ame, qu’à sauver une vie malheureuse qu’il faudroit toujours passer avec de pareils ingrats. Jésus voit son système d’amour universel, renversé. “ Je me suis trompé, se dit-il, j’ai jugé des hommes d’après mon cœur.” Son attendrissement est tel, qu’en disant aux disciples ces tristes paroles, *l’un de vous va me trahir*, il n’ose regarder aucun d’eux. Il est assis à une table longue, dont le côté qui est contre la fenêtre et vers le spectateur est resté vide. Saint Jean, celui de tous les disciples qu’il aima avec le plus de tendresse, est à sa droite; à côté de

Saint Jean est Saint Pierre ; après lui vient le cruel Judas. Au moyen du grand côté de la table qui est resté libre, le spectateur aperçoit pleinement tous les personnages. Le moment est celui où Jésus achève de prononcer les paroles cruelles, et le premier mouvement d'indignation se peint sur toutes les figures. Saint Jean, accablé de ce qu'il vient d'entendre, prête cependant quelque attention à Saint Pierre, qui lui explique vivement les soupçons qu'il a conçus sur un des apôtres assis à la droite du spectateur. Judas, à demi tourné en arrière, cherche à voir Saint Pierre et à découvrir de qui il parle avec tant de feu, et cependant il assure sa physionomie, et se prépare à nier ferme tous les soupçons. Mais il est déjà découvert. Saint Jacques le Mineur passant le bras gauche par-dessus l'épaule de Saint André, avertit Saint Pierre que le traître est à ces côtés. Saint André regarde Judas avec horreur. Saint Barthelemy, qui est aux bout de la table, à la gauche du spectateur s'est levé pour mieux voir le traître. A la gauche du Christ, Saint Jacques proteste de son innocence par le geste naturel chez toutes les nations ; il ouvre les bras et présente la poitrine sans défense. Saint Thomas quitte sa place, s'approche vivement de Jésus, et élevant un doigt de la main droite semble dire au Sauveur : " Un de nous ? " C'est ici une des nécessités qui rappelle que la peinture est un art terrestre. Il falloit ce geste pour caractériser le moment aux yeux du vulgaire, pour lui bien faire entendre la parole qui vient d'être prononcée. Mais il n'a point cette noblesse d'ame qui devoit caractériser les amis de Jésus. Qu'importe qu'il soit sur le point d'être livré par un ou par deux de ses disciples ? Il s'est trouvé une ame assez noire pour trahir un maître si aimable ; voilà l'idée qui doit accabler chacun d'eux, et bientôt après va se présenter cette seconde pensée ; je ne le verrai plus ; et cette troisième ; Quels sont les moyens de le sauver. Saint Philippe, le plus jeune des apôtres, par un mouvement plein de naïveté et de franchise, se lève pour protester de sa fidélité. Saint Matthieu, répète les paroles terribles à Saint Simon, qui refuse d'y croire. Saint Thadée, qui le premier les lui a répétées, lui indique Saint Matthieu, qui a entendu comme lui. Saint Simon, le dernier des apôtres à la droite du spectateur, semble s'écrier ; " comment osez vous dire une telle horreur ! " Mais on sent que tous ceux qui entourent Jésus ne sont que des disciples, et après la revue des personnages, l'œil revient bien vite à leur sublime maître. La douleur si noble qui l'opprime serre le cœur. L'ame est ramenée à la contemplation d'un des grands malheurs de l'humanité, la trahison dans l'amitié. On sent qu'on a besoin d'air pour respirer ; aussi le peintre a-t-il représenté ouvertes la porte et les deux croisées qui sont au fond de l'appartement. L'œil aperçoit une campagne lointaine et paisible, et cette vue soulage. Le cœur a besoin de cette tranquillité silencieuse qui régnoit autour du mont Sion, et pour laquelle Jésus aimoit à y rassembler ses disciples. La lumière du soir, dont les rayons mourants tombent sur le passage, lui donne une teinte de tristesse conforme à la situation du spectateur. Il sait bien que c'est là,

la dernière soirée que l'ami des hommes passera sur la terre. Le lendemain, lorsque le soleil sera parvenu à son couchant, il aura cessé d'exister !' I. p. 180-185.

Before leaving this subject, we shall stop to point out two errors into which two distinguished countrymen of our own have fallen respecting this great picture. Mr Addison unaccountably calls it, in his travels, the Marriage of Cana; and adds, that one of the figures has a hand with six fingers. Mr Roscoe seems to mistake the subject almost as widely, in his *Life of Leo X.* 'In this piece, (says he, Vol. I. p. 142), it was the intention of the painter to surpass whatever had before been executed, and to represent not merely the external form and features, but the emotions and passions of the mind, from the highest degree of virtue and beneficence in the character of the Saviour, to the extreme of treachery and guilt in that of Iscariot; whilst the various sensations of affection and veneration, of joy and of sorrow, of hope and of fear, displayed in the countenances and gestures of the disciples, might express their various apprehensions of the mysterious Rite.' Now, the subject is, Christ mildly and yet with a melancholy tone, telling his disciples that one of them was to betray him. The words which he is supposed to be saying are, 'Verily I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me;' and he did not institute the sacrament of the Supper until after he had so spoken. But Mr Roscoe proceeds, 'In the midst sits the Great Founder, dispensing with unshaken firmness, from either hand, the emblems of his own approaching sufferings.' This is all perfectly erroneous; unshaken firmness is, of all expressions that could have been chosen, perhaps the least descriptive of the Saviour's countenance in that picture; it has no want of firmness certainly; but benevolence, mildness, forgiveness, and melancholy—are much more strongly marked; and no one can suppose that firmness was in the artist's thoughts when he drew it. Nor is there any pretence of speaking of the action as that of one distributing the bread and wine; there is nothing at all in the hands, which are in the attitude of making a serious and novel communication. It is almost unnecessary to add, that the attitude and expression of all the other figures differ as widely from those of persons hearing the appointment of the Sacrament. They are admirably described in the passage from the author now before us, which we have just cited. He gives indeed the common and the only account of the subject; but his commentary on the composition of the piece is excellent; and must strike every one who studies the picture as perfectly just.

It is peculiarly to be lamented, that nothing remains of the

Colossal Bronze statue, and hardly a trace of the Cartoon of the Battle, the two other great works of Leonardo. The statue, fashioned by him at Milan for Ludovico Sforza, represented a horse of the height of twenty-three feet; he had worked for sixteen years on the model and had just finished it, when the capture of Milan by the French proved its destruction. The Battle was painted by him in his famous competition with Michael Angelo, after he returned to Florence; and neither of the two did more than draw the Cartoons. Leonardo's has perished; but a specimen of it was copied by Rubens, and has been engraved by Edelynck. His hydraulical works on the Adda, which he rendered navigable for two hundred miles, and the irrigation of a portion of Lombardy, continue to the present day monuments of his mechanical science.

As a scientific writer, indeed, his rank is very distinguished. He was a discoverer in Optics and Mechanics; and these volumes contain some general observations of his upon the inductive method of philosophizing, almost couched in the language which rendered the name of Bacon immortal in the succeeding age. 'Experiment' says he 'is the interpreter of the secrets of nature; it never misleads us; though our reason may sometimes deceive itself.'—'We must consult experience; and vary the circumstances in our experiments until we can draw from them general rules; for it is from hence that those rules are to be derived.'—Again, 'I am about to treat a particular subject; but, first of all, I shall make experiments; because my plan is to appeal to experience, and from thence to demonstrate why bodies are compelled to act in a certain manner. This is the method to be pursued by such as would investigate the phenomena of nature.'—A remarkable observation of his upon the operation of fire, is also given by our author; it was certainly the result of this mode of inquiry; and we cannot help agreeing with the substance of the note upon it, though its style be somewhat flippant, that the passage is somewhat superior to Bacon's account of heat. 'Fire,' says the Italian philosopher in 1510, 'consumes without intermission the air which nourishes it; and it would make a vacuum if other air did not rush in. When the air is not in a state fit to receive flame, neither flame, nor any animal of earth or air can live in it. In general, animals cannot live where flame cannot be supported.'\*

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\* The account of heat, the 'Form, or true definition of it,' which Bacon deduces from his Experimental Treatise, given as an exemplification of the inductive method, is far less instructive and original.

The Fourth and Fifth Books, composing about half the second volume, are made up of short discussions and desultory reflections upon the 'Beau Ideal,' 'Beau Antique,' and 'Beau Moderne';—full of metaphysical obscurity and refinements, far-fetched notions—puerile witticisms, and absurd paradoxes. One sees everywhere the hand of a clever and lively man, who has thought and seen a great deal, but whose judgments, that verted by the desire to say new and striking things, Mr Roscoe has formed to himself the plan of writing the '*Essai sur les Beaux Arts*,' after the manner of Montesquieu. The introduction of the campaign and retreat of Moreau (which seems naturally enough to have left an indelible impression) is frequent, but productive of little information. Some anecdotes respecting the character of the modern Italians, are all that we can extract from this, the worst part of the book. The following traits of Neapolitan courage, we are quite convinced cannot be accused of any exaggeration.

'Compagne de Murat en 1815. Incroyable lâcheté. Le meilleur voyage à faire, plus curieux que celui du Niagara ou du Golfe Persique, c'est le voyage de Calabre. Les premiers donnent sur l'homme plus ou moins sauvage des vérités générales et connues depuis cinquante ans. Du reste, à Pétersbourg, comme à Batavia, on trouve l'honneur. Passé le Gangliano, ce grand sentiment des modernes n'a pas pénétré. Les soldats de Murat disoient, "Se il nemico venisse per le strade maestre, si potrebbe resistar, ma viene per i monti." Un beau colonel, en grand uniforme, garni de plusieurs croix, arrive à Rome au moment des batailles: on lui demande ce qu'il vient faire; il répond avec une franchise inouïe, "Che volete ch'io faccia? Si tratta di salvarsi la vita. Vanno a battersi; io son venuto qui." Le brave général Filangieri cherche à retenir ses soldats qui répondent à ses cris: Ma, signor generale, c'è il cannone!" Et ces sont les anciens Samnites qui font de ces sortes de réponses! Pour pénétrer dans les Calabres, on se déguise en prêtre. Là, on voit les jeunes filles ne sortir qu'armées de fusils; à tout instant, on entend les armes à feu. Les plus farouches des hommes en sont les plus lâches. Apparemment que leurs nerfs trop sensibles leur font de la mort et des blessures une image trop horrible, et que la colère seule peut faire disparaître.' II. 199, 200. Note.

The total want of good police in most of the States since the French left them, is a truly melancholy circumstance, and one which the advocates for legitimacy in vain turn away from, or

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'Calor est motus expansivus, cohibitus, et nitens per partes minores; ut expandendo in ambitum, nonnihil tamen inclinet versus superiora; ut non sit omnino segnis, sed incitatus et cum impetu nonnullus.'—*Nov. Org. lib. II. Aph. 20.*

tempt to undervalue. Far better would it serve their cause to exert themselves in good earnest, and correct so grand a fault, that they may be able to stand a comparison with their dynasty in this most essential part of government.

sixty-five dans une des villes les plus peuplées de l'Italie. Une captivité que je reconduis le soir jusqu'à sa porte, me dit. "Re-Battle was pas, ne passer pas au but de la rue, c'est un lieu Michael Ange vais de Milan à Paivie voir le célèbre Scarpa. Je veux deux heures, il y a encore deux heures de soleil. Mon voiturier refuse froidement d'atteler. Je ne puis concevoir cet accès de folie; je comprends enfin qu'il ne se soucie pas d'être dévalisé."

"J'arrive à Lucques. La foule m'arrête ma calèche, je m'informe.

Au sortir de vêpres, un homme vient d'être percé de trois coups de couteau. "Ils sont enfin partis ces gendarmes François! Il y a trois ans que je t'avois condamné à mort," dit l'assassin à sa victime, et il s'en va le couteau à la main. Je passe à Gènes. "C'est singulier, me dit le chef du gouvernement, trent-deux gendarmes François maintenaient la tranquillité; nous en avons deux cent cinquante du pays, et les assassinats recommencent de tous côtés." La gendarmerie Française avoit déjà changé le beau idéal; l'on prisoit moins la force. Je vais à l'opéra à \*\*\*, je vois chacun prendre ses mesures pour se retirer après le spectacle. Les jeunes gens sont armés d'un fort bâton. Tout le monde marche au milieu de la rue, et tourne les coins *alla larga*. On a soin de dire tout haut dans la parterre qu'on ne porte jamais d'argent sur soi.

"La part ridicule que les voleurs ont usurpée dans la conversation des gens du monde vient beaucoup de l'ancienneté de leurs droits. Depuis trois cents ans, on assassine, de père en fils, dans la montagne de Fondi, à l'entrée du royaume de Naples. J'ouvre Cellini, et je vois en combien d'occasions il se trouve bien d'être fort et déterminé. Le Piémont est plein de paysans qui de notoriété publique, se sont enrichis par des assassinats. On m'a rapporté le même fait du maître de poste de Bre\*\*\*. Il n'en est que plus considéré. Rien de plus simple; et si vous habitez le pays, vous-même auriez des égards pour un coquin courageux qui, cinq ou six fois par an, à votre vie entre ses mains.

"Je desire observer le fait des prairies qui donnent dix-huit coups dans un an. Je me suis adressé à un fermier de Quarto à trois milles de Bologne. Je lui montre quatre hommes couchés au bord de la route sous au bouquet de grands arbres. "Ce sont des voleurs, me répond-il." Surpris de mon étonnement, il m'apprend qu'il est régulièrement attaqué tous les ans dans sa ferme. La dernière attaque a duré trois heures, pendant lesquelles la fusillade n'a pas cessé. Les voleurs, désespérant de le dépouiller veulent au moins mettre le feu à l'écurie. Dans cette tentative, leur chef est tué d'une balle au front, et ils s'éloignent en annonçant leur retour. "Si je voulois périr, moi, et jusqu'au dernier de mes enfans, continue le fermier, je n'aurois qu'à les dénoncer." Les deux valets de ma burgainine (écurie des vaches) sont voleurs, car ils ont vingt francs de gages par



mois, et en dépensent douze ou quinze tous les dimanches au jeu, mais je ne puis les congédier, j'attends quelque sujet de plain. Hier, j'ai renvoyé un pauvre plus insolent que les autres, qui avoit ma porte depuis une heure. Ma femme m'a fait une scène : c'est l'espion des voleurs ; j'ai fait courir après lui, et on lui a donné une bouteille de vin, et un demi-pain.' II. p. 202-206.

The rest of the work is devoted to Michael Angelo<sup>66</sup>, whose life and works are discussed at great length, and in a very interesting and ingenious manner. '*Michel piu ch'è Mortal, Angel divin.*' \*

One of the earliest anecdotes of this great man, is connected with another in his later years, which resembles a trait related of Sir J. Reynolds. While he was in the Studio of Ghirlandaio, to whom he served an apprenticeship, he ventured to make an alteration in one of his master's designs, which he was copying. When Vasari, sixty years after, brought this sketch to him at Rome, he was delighted with the recollection of it; said that he well remembered the alteration, and that he knew more of the matter in those days, than now. It is said that Sir Joshua being, late in life, shown one of his earliest productions, expressed himself somewhat mortified at seeing how little progress he had made; and Mr Malone (who has written his life as one of his executors, for that is the title on which he himself brings forward his claim to the office of biographer), observes, with his wonted acuteness, that this shows the modesty of the master; forgetting that when a man places his own early works on a level with his mature productions, he is returning with one hand what he takes with the other.

His love of sculpture may almost be termed instinctive. It broke out on seeing some antique statues; he obtained a piece of marble and tools, and began instantly to block out the head of a fawn; and was polishing it when Lorenzo de' Medici passed and observed his work. Immediately he saw that he had found out a genius of no ordinary magnitude; persuaded his father to let him devote his life to sculpture; and gave him an apartment in the palace, where he continued studying, working, and caressed by the highly polished members of that court, as long as Lorenzo lived.

Julius II. was afterwards his powerful supporter; and he admired and patronized him with all the ungovernable ardour of his impetuous character. While the artist was engaged in his service, and particularly in the grand work of his tomb, conceiving himself on one occasion to be ill used, he suddenly left Rome, and, travelling post, arrived in the Tuscan territory before any means could be used to stop him, though five cou-

messengers had been despatched after him, with orders, if necessary, to employ force, which he threatened to repel by force. Soderini, then Gonfalonieri of the Republic, received him with high satisfaction, and disregarded a brief filled with threats, which the Pope sent, to make him send back so rare and valued a treasure. But a second and a third epistle to the same effect, following each other in quick succession, made Soderini dread that some of the more material thunderbolts, in which the Vatican then dealt profusely, might be launched at him; he told the artist, that he had treated the Pope worse than the King of France would have ventured to do; that he could not afford a war on his account; and that he must prepare to depart. Michael Angelo had serious thoughts of removing to Constantinople, having received splendid offers from the Turk, who was projecting an immense bridge over the Bosphorus; but his friend used every effort to dissuade him; and, among other offers, proposed to make him ambassador of the Republic at Rome, for the better protection of his person. The sequel of the story is given by our author so well, and in a manner so characteristic of all the actors, that we must extract it.

‘ Sur ces entrefaites, le pape, qui faisait la guerre, eût de succès. Son armée prit Bologne; il y vint lui-même, et montrait beaucoup de joie de la conquête de cette grande ville. Cette circonstance donna à Michel-Ange le courage de se présenter. Il arrive à Bologne: comme il se rendait à la cathédrale pour y entendre la messe, il est rencontré et reconnu par ces mêmes courriers du pape qu’il avait repoussés avec perte quelques mois auparavant. Ils l’abordent civilement, mais le conduisent sur-le-champ à sa Sainteté, qui dans ce moment étoit à table au palais *des Scire*, où elle avait pris son logement. Jules II, le voyant entrer, s’écrie transporté de colère: “ Tu devais venir à nous, et tu as attendu que nous vinssions te chercher!” Michel-Ange étoit à genoux, il demandait pardon à haute voix: “ Ma faute ne vient pas de mauvais naturel, mais d’un mouvement d’indignation; je n’ai pu supporter le traitement que l’on m’a fait dans le palais de votre Sainteté.” Jules, sans répondre, restait pensif, la tête basse et l’air agité, quand un évêque, envoyé par le Cardinal Soderini, frère du Gonfalonier, afin de ménager la raccommode-ment, prit la parole pour représenter que Michel-Ange avait erré par ignorance, que les artistes tirés de leur talent étaient tous ainsi.... Sur quoi le fougueux Jules l’interrompant par un coup de canne. “ Tu lui dis des injures que nous ne lui disons pas nous-mêmes! c’est toi qui es l’ignorant: ôte-toi de mes yeux.” Et comme le prélat tout troublé ne se hâtoit pas de sortir, les valets le mirent dehors à coups de poing. Jules, ayant exhalé sa colère, donna sa bénédiction à Michel-Ange, le fit approcher de son fauteuil, et lui recommanda de ne pas quitter Bologne sans prendre ses ordres. Peu de jours après, Jules le fit appeler: Je te charge de faire mon portrait; il s’agit de jeter en bronze une statue colossale que tu placeras sur le

portail de Saint-Petrone." Le pape mit en même temps à sa disposition une somme de 1000 ducats. Michel-Ange ayant fini le modèle en terre avant le départ du pape, ce prince vint à l'Atelier. Le bras droit de la statue donnait la bénédiction. Michel-Ange pria le pape de lui indiquer ce qu'il devait mettre dans la main gauche, y livre, par exemple; "Un livre! un livre! répliqua Jules II. Une épée. Morbleu! que pour moi je ne m'entends pas aux lettres." Puis il ajouta, en plaisantant sur le mouvement du bras droit qui était fort décidé. "Mais, dis-moi, ta statue donne-t-elle la bénédiction ou la malédiction? Elle menace ce peuple s'il n'est pas sage," répondit l'artiste." Michel-Ange employa plus de seize mois à cette statue, trois fois grande comme nature; mais le peuple menacé ne fut pas sage—car ayant chassé les partisans du pape, il prit la liberté de briser la statue. La tête seule put résister à sa furie; on la montrait encore un siècle après; elle pesait 600 livres. Ce monument avait coûté 5000 ducats d'or." II. pp. 278-280.

Upon the return of Michael Angelo to Rome, Julius desired him to undertake a work of prodigious magnitude, and almost insurmountable difficulty—the painting in fresco the immense ceiling of the Sistine chapel. To Raphael, then engaged in painting the Stanzas of the Vatican, or to any other artist accustomed to the peculiar art of Frescoes, this would have been a task of extreme nicety, and almost endless labour, from the position and the magnitude of the space to be painted. But Michael Angelo had never painted a line in this style, and was unacquainted with even the first rudiments of the art. Its peculiarity and singular difficulty consists, as is well known, in this, that the colours are laid in, as well as the outlines made, while the plaster is wet; so that the artist can never alter a single touch, nor take above a very short time to perform his operations, but must begin and complete the whole of any portion of his composition, while the space which he has plastered for its reception is in the state of humidity, and in the consistency that adapts it to take the tints. Indeed, Michael Angelo had never exercised himself much in any species of painting, and had done nothing of importance in that art at all. To make him at once attempt a fresco; and, upon such a scale, and in such a position, seemed requiring more than human courage could undertake. He remonstrated; but his representations were vain; the Pope was determined, and he submitted. Fresco painters were summoned by him from Florence; and, after setting them to work that he might learn the process, he destroyed all that they had done, and began himself. Is it much less than a miracle that the *Capella Sistina* should be the result? that it should be the first attempt of an artist in a new branch, and the most difficult of all? Nothing, as our author justly remarks, was ever seen like this passage in the history of human

genius; and when we reflect what must have passed in the mind of this Great Master, so tender on every thing that related to his own glory, so severe in his judgments of himself, when, ignorant even of the mechanical parts of the difficult and delicate process, he engaged in so vast a work, we seem to lose sight of the greatness of genius in the unparalleled strength of character which the effort displayed.

We must pass over a variety of interesting anecdotes, and some very just, mingled with many fanciful, remarks upon the immortal works of this master in the Vatican; as well as the full and interesting account of his other great performance in a different branch of the arts, the building of St Peter's, where he fulfilled his well known promise, of lifting the dome of the Pantheon into the air. As we have already enlarged sufficiently upon the contents of these volumes, to give the reader a fair specimen of them, we shall now only, before closing this article, extract a few curious particulars relating to Michael Angelo's manner of working, which the author has taken, in part at least, from a work very little if at all known in this country—*Blaise de Vigencie*.

‘ On trouve dans un livre du 16me siecle—“ Je puis dire d'avoir vu Michel-Ange âgé de plus de soixante ans, et avec un corps maigre qui étoit bien loin d'annoncer la force, faire voler en un quart d'heure plus d'eclats d'un marbre très dur, que n'auraient pu faire en une heure trois jeunes sculpteurs des plus forts : chose presque incroyable à qui ne l'a pas vue. Il y alloit avec tant d'impetuosité et tant de fureur que je craignois à tout moment de voir le bloc entier tomber en pieces. Chaque coup faisait voler à terre des eclats de trois ou quatre doigts d'épaisseur, et il appliquait son ciseau si près de l'extrême contour que si l'eclat eût avancé d'une ligne tout étoit perdu.”

‘ Brulé par l'image du beau qui lui apparoissoit et qu'il craignoit de perdre, ce grand homme avait une espèce du fureur contre le marbre qui lui cachait sa statue. L'impatience, l'impetuosité, la force avec laquelle il attaquoit le marbre, ont fait peut-être qu'il a trop marqué les détails. Je ne trouve pas ce défaut dans ses fresques. Avant de peindre au plafond de la Sixtine, il devait calquer journellement sur le *crépi*, les contours précis qu'il avait déjà tracés dans son carton. Voilà deux operations qui corrigent les défauts de l'impatience. Vous vous rappelez que pour la fresque chaque jour le peintre fait mettre cette quantité de *crépi* qu'il croit pouvoir employer : sur cet enduit encore frais il calque avec une pointe, dont l'effet est facile à suivre à la Chapelle Pauline, les contours de son dessein. Ainsi l'on ne peut improviser à fresque ; il faut toujours avoir vu l'effet de l'ensemble dans le carton. Pour ses statues, l'impatience de Buonarroti le porta souvent à ne faire qu'un petit modele en cire ou en terre. Il comptait sur son genie pour les détails.’

**ART. V. 1.** *De l'Industrie Française: par MONSIEUR LE COMTE CHAPTAL, Ancien Ministre de l'Intérieur, Membre de l'Académie Royale des Sciences de l'Institut, Grand Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal de St Michel, &c.* 2 Vol. 8vo. Paris, 1819.

**2.** *Essai sur l'Administration de l'Agriculture, du Commerce, des Manufactures et des Subsistances, suivi de l'Histoire des Moyens qui ont amené le grand Essor pris par les Arts, depuis 1793, jusqu'en 1815. Par CL. ANTHELME COSTAZ, Ancien Chef de la Division des Fabriques et des Arts du Ministère des Manufactures et du Commerce; et l'un des Secrétaires de la Société d'Encouragement pour l'Industrie Nationale.* 1 Vol. 8vo. Paris, 1818.

**3.** *Notice sur les Travaux de la Société d'Encouragement pour l'Industrie Nationale; par E. J. GUILLARET-SENAINVILLE, Agent General de la dite Société, Secrétaire du Comité Consultatif des Arts et Manufactures près S. E. le Ministre de l'Intérieur. Imprimé par Ordre de la Société.* 1 Vol. 4to. Paris, 1818.

**T**HE relative state of the useful arts and of manufactures in France and England—the comparative skill, enterprise, and industry of the two nations, have at all times been the subject of very animated and interesting discussions in both countries; and must be admitted to deserve all the consideration they have received—not merely as touching the character of the people, and their mutual claims to moral and intellectual superiority, but as pointing to lessons of great practical utility, and holding out lights and warnings and excitements by which each might incalculably profit.—At the present moment, too, when the pressure of taxation at home, and the cessation of warfare abroad, have so painfully affected our domestic prosperity, and altered our accustomed relations with the rest of the world, it seems of more than usual importance that we should have right notions on this important subject; both that we may more fairly estimate our own condition by the comparison, and also be enabled to judge what we have yet to fear from the rivalry, or to hope from the example, of our nearest and most ingenious neighbours.—Those who have had thoughts of leaving their country, and those who are resolved to abide by it, are equally concerned in such an inquiry—and therefore we shall make no apology for devoting a considerable number of our pages to its prosecution,

The books, of which the titles are prefixed, afford abundant materials for this purpose—and their authors are all men of considerable talent and acquirements. Mr Chaptal has been devoted, from his earliest years, to the study of chemistry. Before the year 1789, he had so far distinguished himself as to obtain the cross of St Michel; an order of knighthood which, being bestowed only upon scientific and literary merit, was not held in proper estimation by the old nobility, either of the sword or of the robe. His attention had long been turned toward the application of chemistry to the arts; and, in the necessitous moments of the Revolution, when France, cut off from her usual communications with the world, saw all the vestiges of her former industry either desolated, or forgotten or proscribed, he found an ample opportunity for the exercise of his knowledge and ability, in reconstructing, with domestic materials, an edifice which domestic Vandalism had destroyed. Under the consulship of Bonaparte he was appointed to the Ministry of the interior, which office he continued to hold during the peace of 1802; an epocha when the First Consul was bending all his efforts toward the annihilation of British trade and manufactures.

Mr Costaz is of a family distinguished by its attachment to science. He was long at the head of the division of arts and manufactures in the ministry of the interior, and of the general direction of manufactures and trade, in which places he rendered considerable service to his country. Mr Guillaret-Senainville speaks, in some measure, in the name of the Society for the Encouragement of National Industry, as his work is printed by order of the Society; and comes in such an authentic shape, that we have thought it advisable to join it to the preceding publications.

The most authentic and official, as well as the most complete of all these, however, are the two volumes of Mr Chaptal; who, having been long at the head of the department, which in France has the superintendence of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, has had the most ample opportunities of obtaining information. In the observations which we mean to offer, therefore, we shall principally follow his arrangement: though we must observe, that we do not consider even Mr Chaptal's work as altogether satisfactory; and that we did expect to find more method, as well as more matter in it,—more depth of thought, as well as more of lucid order. The French value themselves particularly upon knowing, better than any other nation, how to *make* a book; and it is not many days since we saw, in a critical article of a French journal, this phrase, ‘*Si un Anglois et un Français font un livre pour dire les mêmes*

choses, le livre Français sera *beaucoup mieux fait*.' We know of no English work to which Mr Chaptal's can be so well compared, as Dr Colquhoun's Essay on the Wealth and Resources of the British Empire; and we do not hesitate to pronounce, that Dr Colquhoun's book is much better made, though it does not contain any processes of the arts or sciences.

Mr Chaptal begins by an Exposé of the plan and motives of his work. This is followed by a discourse which he calls Preliminary. The work itself is divided into four sections. The first of these is on the Trade of France about the year 1789: the second is on her Agricultural industry: the third is on her Manufacturing industry: the fourth is on the Administration of her industry.

In his Preliminary Discourse, Mr Chaptal traces a rapid sketch of French commerce and manufactures, from the time of Charlemagne, to the years which immediately preceded the Revolution. His intention was to have continued this down to the present day; but the loss of the French colonies, and the prohibitory system adopted by the other nations of the Continent, have prevented the execution of his plan. 'Commerce,' he says, 'is, at this moment, reduced, as in its infancy, to experiments and trials; and must grope about, as in the dark, for new channels and for untried markets.' Our limits do not permit us to follow him through all the details of this Inquiry; and it is the less necessary, because the era to which they relate now belongs to history. We shall therefore content ourselves with throwing into a general Table, the results which are scattered through this section; regretting that the author has not, himself, more frequently made use of this clear and concise mode of presenting them to his readers.

TABLE, containing the State of IMPORTS and EXPORTS in the Trade which France carried on with other Nations immediately before the Revolution.

France with Spain.			France with Switzerland.		
Years.	Exports.	Imports.	Years.	Exports.	Imports.
1787	92,847,700	10,161,200	1787	20,531,400	7,472,000
1788	75,034,000	49,890,200	1788	22,785,700	6,347,400
1789	87,371,000	41,084,000	1789	20,055,000	6,570,000

France with Portugal.			France with Russia.		
Years.	Exports.	Imports.	Years.	Exports.	Imports.
1787	3,935,200	9,207,600	1787	6,630,000	6,547,700
1788	4,213,600	9,153,106	1788	5,977,400	7,877,200
1789	3,107,000	} nearly as in the preceding years.	1789	6,963,000	6,139,000

TABLE—continued.

France with Piedmont.			France with Sweden.		
Years.	Exports.	Imports.	Years.	Exports.	Imports.
1787	19,206,600	26,093,300	1787	5,013,700	8,310,700
1788	18,863,700	21,300,600	1788	3,544,100	5,605,500
1789	18,874,000	26,322,000	1789	3,242,000	7,138,000

France with Genoa.			France with Denmark.		
Years.	Exports.	Imports.	Years.	Exports.	Imports.
1787	6,291,500	10,716,800	1787	6,333,500	4,990,100
1788	5,766,100	8,974,400	1788	5,188,100	3,686,500
1789	5,504,000	8,986,300	1789	7,834,000	3,259,000

France with the Two Sicilies.			France with Austria.		
Years.	Exports.	Imports.	Years.	Exports.	Imports.
1787	Not stated. It is worthy of remark, that corn was a prin- cipal article of import to the amount of six millions, and oil eleven mil- lions, in 1789.	14,614,600	1787	Not stated.	36,132,300
1788		14,683,400	1788	Ditto.	31,671,300
1789		26,853,000	1789	Ditto.	30,771,000

France with the Minor States of Germany.			France with England.		
Years.	Exports.	Imports.	Years.	Exports.	Imports.
1787	22,464,400	8,835,800	1787	31,200,500	52,227,700
1788	23,588,600	8,077,300	1788	31,154,500	63,747,700
1789	24,990,000	8,613,000	1789	35,104,000	60,912,000

France with Prussia.			France with the United States of America.		
Years.	Exports.	Imports.	Years.	Exports.	Imports.
1787	9,008,500	3,006,900	1787	2,050,600	14,105,800
1788	9,185,300	3,512,600	1788	1,338,300	3,490,700
1789	12,791,000	5,592,000	1789	1,242,000	13,138,000

France with Holland.			France with Smyrna.		
Years.	Exports.	Imports.	Years.	Exports.	Imports.
1787	33,571,500	24,197,700	1785	13,371,222	6,759,291
1788	45,661,100	23,895,700	1786	14,130,347	5,481,712
1789	42,157,000	36,779,000	1787	15,240,159	6,124,260
			1788	16,499,726	5,526,834
			1789	11,865,330	6,937,812



TABLE—continued.

France with the Hanse Towns.			France with the Levant in general.		
Years.	Exports.	Imports.	Years.	Exports.	Imports.
1787	60,194,700	11,419,600	1780	21,137,711	21,822,756
			1781	12,486,539	22,568,194
1788	64,294,200	10,001,900	1782	16,365,240	23,404,839
			1783	19,029,887	34,453,470
1789	62,444,000	16,946,000	1784	19,049,104	25,406,343
			1785	22,099,729	34,384,084
			1786	18,038,046	38,852,551
			1787	16,658,113	37,018,994
			1788	17,630,008	42,683,037
			1789	20,356,081	32,219,142

*The following is a TABLE of the above IMPORTS and EXPORTS, arranged according to the Nature of the objects Imported or Exported.*

Provisions, Wine, Corn, &c.			Drugs employed in Manufactures.		
Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Years.	Imports.	Exports.
1787	204,651,300	231,800,900	1787	6,960,200	3,314,000
1788	243,613,100	252,407,200	1788	4,848,100	3,864,900
1789	309,356,000	227,283,000	1789	5,678,000	3,407,000

Raw Materials for manufacturing.			Gold and Silver.		
Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Years.	Imports.	Exports.
1787	194,651,300	41,507,800	1787	80,853,100	5,731,000
1788	171,924,600	42,462,700	1788	60,705,100	1,103,700
1789	176,113,000	44,590,000	1789	59,951,000	1,487,000

Beasts of Burden.			Sum total of Imports and Exports to and from France during those years, expressed in British sterling.		
Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Years.	Imports.	Exports.
1787	3,104,000	1,463,600	1787	26,286,321	18,525,462
1788	3,124,000	1,571,600	1788	23,974,725	19,298,195
1789	2,189,000	990,000	1789	26,431,875	18,269,875

Metallic Substances.		
Years.	Imports.	Exports.
1787	20,325,100	6,755,400
1788	21,568,900	5,384,800
1789	18,453,000	4,131,000

TABLE—*continued.*

Manufactured Wares.			For the satisfaction of such of our readers as may not have the authentic documents at hand, we add the Imports and Exports to and from Great Britain and Ireland for three years—in Sterling money.		
<i>Years.</i>	<i>Imports.</i>	<i>Exports.</i>			
1787	120,326,700	154,038,400			
1788	69,609,600	156,361,800			
1789	62,625,000	156,589,000			
<i>Years.</i>	<i>Imports.</i>	<i>Exports.</i>			
1810	80,232,767	77,392,056			
1811	60,013,231	58,582,012			
1812	60,421,876	73,725,602			

In treating of the commercial relations of France with other nations, Mr C. makes some remarks in which we cannot concur. In speaking of Spain, for example, he is surprised to find that various treaties of commerce made between the two countries, have been violated in favour of England: forgetting that the only true basis of commercial relations, is the reciprocal wants of the parties, which must ever supersede the compulsory arrangements of governments. No extensive or beneficial treaties of commerce can ever exist but between nations that can supply each other's demands; and manufacturing countries have this advantage over those which are merely agricultural, that machinery is more pliant than soil and climate, and can bend to any demand which civilization can create. For this reason, whenever the artificial arrangements of politics do not interfere, the tendency of Spanish trade is towards the ports of England, in preference to those of France. Nay more: the alliance between France and Spain is, in some measure, a political monster; and results altogether from the unnatural state of debility to which the latter is sunk. When neighbouring nations are of nearly equal strength, their natural tendency is to become rivals; but, when one of them is much weaker than the other, it soon becomes subservient, and signs away its national independence under the specious name of alliance. Were Spain possessed of the strength which nature intended she should have,—could she defend herself against the powerful arms of France, and against her intrigues—she would soon shake off the yoke she has worn, ever since the hour in which the French monarch exulting exclaimed, ‘*Mon fils, il n’y a plus de Pyrénées!*’ These observations apply with equal force to Portugal, the natural productions of which are too like those of France, to admit of much exchange, while those of England and Por-

tugal, on the contrary, are such as can reciprocally satisfy each other's demands.

We cannot indeed avoid mentioning in this place, once for all, a disposition in Mr Chaptal to sneer at the successful industry of England; which, whether it be the expression of his own sentiments, or a homage he pays to the ruling passion of his countrymen, is equally unworthy. In speaking of the countries with which we are bound in commercial intercourse, he uniformly insinuates, that our relations with them have been maintained by the '*ruses de la politique, et l'ascendant de la force.*' Portugal, he alleges, is *asservi* par l'Angleterre; and the British flag rides *despotically* over the shores of Brazil. We know how difficult it is for a Frenchman to believe that any desirable object can be attained by his rivals, except by unfair means; or that their success is not always the result of intrigue. Nothing, however, can be more unjust, and even absurd, than this favourite hypothesis. The mind which can combine the scattered elements of the steam engine, or brave the dangers of the sea, to carry out the produce of its honest labour to distant worlds, disdains the traffic of the antichamber. But the pride of liberty is yet too young in France, to have taught her ministers that there are worthier means, than adulation and intrigue, to attain good ends. We must do Mr Costaz the justice to say, that, though full as national as Mr Chaptal, he has not manifested the same petty illiberality toward England.

Another of Mr Chaptal's complaints is, that *we had the start* of the French in Russia, by discovering a passage to Archangel, near a century before Richelieu had turned his thoughts in that direction. We had indeed the start of them, by a road which we have often taken, and which we hope we shall often take again—by the fair and open road of enlightened enterprise. Mr C. should have recollected that, in our first expedition to Archangel, Sir Hugh Willoughby, with the crews of two British ships, were frozen to death in a bay of Russian Lapland; and then perhaps, he would have been induced to acknowledge that there is some *virtue* in the devotedness which is not, as in the field of battle, repaid with adequate glory. The inexperience of French seamen is, according to Mr C., the chief obstacle to trade between France and Russia, and we readily admit of its existence. We know from respectable authority, that, of 1000 vessels which entered the ports of Russia in the year 1818, 981 were British.

The second section of Mr Chaptal's work is upon the Agricultural industry of France. Landed property, he says, was formerly possessed by three classes of proprietors: usufructuaries, who had no interest in improving it: great proprietors, who

lived at court, and paid no attention to their immense domains; and labourers, who had not the means of extensive farming. But the whole system has been changed by the Revolution; and the number of proprietors has been nearly doubled within the last thirty years. Mr Chaptal has scattered the results of this section also through his work without sufficient method or order; and, in endeavouring to supply his omissions, we must again regret that he has been so sparing of his tables.

The surface of France contains 52,000,000 *hectares*, which are thus distributed. The English acre is to the French hectare as 0,4019 to 1000, or nearly 2 to 5.

	Hectares.		Hectares.
Arable land -	22,818,000	Mines and quarries -	28,000
Woods regularly cut for fuel -	6,612,000	Gardens, Parks, Pleasure Grounds -	16,000
Woods allowed to grow for timber	460,000	Canals -	9,000
Pastures -	3,525,000	<i>Cultures particulieres</i> , crops too small to be classed but as sundries -	780,000
Meadows -	3,188,000	Waste lands, heaths, sands -	3,841,000
Closed woods -	406,000	Bundings -	213,000
Orchards -	359,000	Unproductive, as towns, roads, rocks, rivers -	6,555,000
Kitchen gardens -	328,000		
Lakes, Ponds, &c.	213,000	Total -	52,000,000
Marshes -	186,000		
Hops and Hemp -	60,000		
Oseries -	53,000		
Olives -	43,000		

The following is a Table of what the above produces annually.

TABLE—of the ANNUAL AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE of France.

	<i>Wheat.</i>	<i>Rye and mixed Corn.</i>	<i>Maize.</i>	<i>Buck Wheat.</i>
Hectares of land employed -	Not stated.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
Hectolitres produced -	51,500,200	30,900,161	6,502,516	8,409,475
Value in francs -	927,003,600	363,481,952	75,627,792	50,456,838
	<i>Barley.</i>	<i>Dried Garden Stuff</i>	<i>Potatoes.</i>	<i>Oats.</i>
Hectares of land employed -	Not stated.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
Hectolitres produced -	12,576,603	1,798,616	19,800,741	52,066,587
Value in francs -	125,766,030	32,375,088	59,402,223	288,599,283

TABLE—continued.

	<i>Small Corn, such as Millet, &amp;c.</i>	<i>Vines.</i>	<i>Hemp.</i>	<i>Flax.</i>	
Hectares of land employed - - }	Not stated.	1,613,959	100,000	40,000	
Hectolitres produced - -	1,103,177	35,358,890	386,773	Not stated.	
Value in francs - -	6,619,062	718,941,675	30,941,840	19,000,000	
	<i>Oil.</i>	<i>Madler.</i>	<i>Tobacco.</i>	<i>Saffron, Pistel, Liquorice, Hops, gaulde. (reseda luteola)</i>	
Hectares of land employed - - }	Not stated.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.	
Hectolitres produced - -	Not stated.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.	
Value in francs - -	70,000,000	4,000,000	7,000,000	1,700,000	
	<i>Woods and Forests.</i>	<i>Chestnuts.</i>	<i>Fruit Trees in Orchards.</i>	<i>Fruit Trees in fields, gardens, &amp;c.</i>	
Hectares of land employed - - }	Not stated.	406,000	359,000	Not stated	
Hectolitres produced - -	Not stated.	Not stated.	Ditto.	Ditto.	
Value in francs - -	141,440,000	8,120,000	21,540,000	64,620,000	
	<i>Kitchen Gardens.</i>	<i>Wool.</i>	<i>Race Silk.</i>		
Hectares of land employed - - }	528,000	--	--		
Hectolitres produced - -	Not stated.	<i>Hectogrammes.</i> 3,798,545	<i>Hectogrammes.</i> 5,147,609		
Value in francs - -	196,800,000	81,539,517	15,412,827		
	<i>Oxen.</i>	<i>Cows.</i>	<i>Calves.</i>	<i>Sheep.</i>	
Quantity produced - -	357,000	482,000	2,082,000	5,575,000	
Value of each - -	350 francs	100 francs.	15 francs.	7 francs.	
Of total produce - -	151,250,000	48,200,000	31,230,000	39,025,000	
	<i>Pigs.</i>	<i>Tame Fowl.</i>	<i>Turkies, Pi- geons, Geese, Ducks, &amp;c.</i>	<i>Eggs.</i>	<i>Chickens.</i>
Quantity produced	3,525,000	8,520,000	Not stated.	Ditto.	giving for sum total of poultry yards 64,700,000.
Value of each - -	56 francs.	{less than} {1 franc. }	Not stated.	Ditto.	
Of total produce - -	197,400,000	8,000,000	10,000,000	38,700,000	8,000,000
	<i>Milk, But- ter, Cheese.</i>	<i>Lambs.</i>	<i>Sheep's Milk.</i>	<i>Colts.</i>	<i>Bulls.</i>
Quantity produced	Not stated.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
Value of each - -	Not stated.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
Of total produce - -	78,199,180	--	7,125,000	17,572,900	12,500,000

TABLE—continued.

	<i>Lambs, including Wool.</i>	<i>Fish (inland.)</i>	<i>Bees, including Wax and Honey.</i>	<i>Fruit.</i>	<i>Garden Stuff.</i>
Quantity produced -	5,666,666	Not stated.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
Value of each -	Not stated.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
Of total produce -	8,250,000	20,000,000	6,000,000	64,620,000	196,800,000

		<i>Dry Forage hundred kilogrammes</i>	<i>Pasture.</i>	<i>Skins of Horses that die a natural death.</i>	
Quantity produced -	-	156,161,193	Not stated.	Ditto.	
Value of each -	-	5 francs.	Not stated.	Ditto.	
Of total produce -	-	680,805,965	35,250,000	770,000	

The blanks and irregularities in this table show considerable deficiencies in the original, some of which are unquestionably inseparable from the nature of the subject. We shall now give another table, collected as we could, from Mr Chaptal's estimate of the capital employed in French agriculture.

TABLE—CAPITAL *employed in AGRICULTURE.*

	<i>Arable Land.</i>	<i>Woods &amp; Forests.</i>	<i>Vines.</i>
Hectares - -	22,818,000	7,072,000	1,977,000
Annual value of each	30 francs	20 francs	100 francs
Capital at 20 years' purchase - - }	13,690,800,000	2,828,800,000	3,954,000,000

	<i>Meadows.</i>	<i>Pastures.</i>	<i>Chesnut Woods.</i>
Hectares - -	3,488,000	3,525,000	406,000
Annual value of each	100 francs	10 francs	20 francs.
Capital at 20 years' purchase - - }	6,976,000,000	705,000,000	162,400,000

	<i>Orchards.</i>	<i>Kitchen Gardens</i>	<i>Nurseries, Olives, Hops.</i>
Hectares - -	359,000	328,000	126,000
Annual value of each	40 francs	120 francs	50 francs
Capital at 20 years' purchase - - }	287,200,000	787,200,000	126,000,000

	<i>Oseries, Pleasure-Grounds, Heaths.</i>	<i>Marshes, Lakes.</i>	<i>No. of Buildings.</i>
Hectares - -	3,910,000	399,000	3,000,000
Annual value of each	5 francs	4 francs	1000 francs
Capital at 20 years' purchase - - }	391,000,000	31,920,000	3,000,000,000

TABLE—continued.

	Oxen in 1812.	Bulls.	Cows.
Quantity - -	1,701,740	214,131	3,909,959
Value of each - -	200 francs	100 francs	70 francs
Capital - -	340,348,000	21,413,100	273,697,130

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	Heifers from one to three years.	Calves from one to three years.	Horses, Mares and Mules, employed in Agriculture.
Quantity - -	846,122	291,021	1,406,671
Value of each - -	50 francs	6 francs	250 francs
Capital - -	42,806,100	17,461,260	351,667,750

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	Foals and Fillies under 4 years' old.	Merinos, pure.	Half-bred Merinos
Quantity - -	465,946	766,310	3,578,748
Value of each - -	100 francs	30 francs	12 francs
Capital - -	46,594,600	22,989,300	42,911,976

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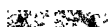
	Indigenous Sheep.	Tame Fowls.	Pigs	Asses.
Quantity - -	30,843,852	51,600,000	3,900,000	2,400,000
Value of each - -	5 francs	1 franc	4 francs	25 francs
Capital - -	154,219,260	51,600,000	156,000,000	60,000,000

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From the former of these tables, we may perceive, that the total annual product of agriculture in France is 4,678,708,885 francs; the expenses of raising which our author estimates at 3,334,005,515 francs; and thus reduces the net profits to 1,334,703,370 francs. Beside this estimate, three others are inserted; one of them, according to the registered cantons (cantons cadastrés), states it to be 1,323,138,877 francs; the second, taken from the average value of the acre, 1,486,244,653 francs; and the third, according to the returns of special commissioners, 1,626,000,000 francs; the mean term of all which is 1,478,461,176 francs. If again we take the mean term of this result, and Mr Chaptal's estimate, we have 1,411,582,273 francs; which may perhaps be considered as a still nearer approach to the truth.

The general result of his estimate of the capital employed in agriculture, is 37,522,061,476 francs; which, taking his own estimate of the yearly profits, allows only about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. net profit upon the whole capital employed in this branch of industry.

The third section is devoted to Manufacturing Industry, which, says Mr Chaptal, has not made less progress than Agriculture, since the restraints, to which it once was subject, have



been removed. The improvements which chemistry has made in its application to the arts, have contributed to introduce, in many of them, a degree of perfection unknown before. Neither has the science of Mechanics been remiss in aiding their progress. The following is a table we have compiled of the present state of this branch of industry.

*State of the present Manufacturing Industry of France.*

Substances.	Value.	Substances.	Value.
a Silks - - -	37,560,000	Common Salt - - -	6,600,000
b Woollens - - -	58,135,952	Alum - - -	6,000,000
c Flax - - -	100,000,000	Copperas - - -	3,000,000
Hemp - - -	12,796,012	Saltpetre - - -	5,000,000
Paper - - -	51,700,000	Nitric Acid - - -	6,000,000
Cotton - - -	191,600,000	Muriatic Acid - - -	240,000
Gold, Silver, and Wor- sted Lace - - - }	7,000,000	Other Salts and Acids - -	6,000,000
Iron - - -	207,590,577	Soap - - -	53,000,000
Copper - - -	16,171,260	Sugar - - -	60,823,910
Lead - - -	1,850,460	Hats - - -	21,375,000
Other Metals - - -	4,000,000	f Prepared Skins - - -	155,392,600
d Watch-making and Mending - - - }	22,500,000	Dyeing - - -	44,117,950
Gold and Silver-smith and Jewellery - - }	58,000,000	Varnishing - - -	5,000,000
e Gilding Bronzes - -	58,000,000	Perfumery - - -	15,000,000
Glass - - -	20,500,000	g Starch - - -	6,000,000
Earthenware of all kinds	26,000,000	Books, Printing - - -	21,652,726
Bricks and Tiles - -	17,500,000	Cabinet-ware and Musi- cal Instruments - - }	40,000,000
Lime and Plaster - -	15,000,000	Beer - - -	47,655,577
		Cider and Perry - - -	48,622,425
		Spirits - - -	55,000,000

The sum total of the products of the manufacturing industry of France, amounts, then, annually to 1,820,102,409 francs; of which about 416,000,000 may be reckoned as the value of home-grown raw materials; 186,000,000 of workmanship; 192,000,000 of tools, buildings, coals, candles, &c.; leaving 182,005,221 as profit to the manufacturer, or about 10 *per cent*.

a In 1786. 15,000 looms in Lyons.—In 1812, 10,720 looms. Of 100,000 inhabitants, 80,000 employed in the silk manufactory in Lyons. About 30,000,000 francs value exported.

b Export diminished since 1789, owing to manufactories established in other countries of the Continent

c Now spun by machinery.

d No watch-making, out of Paris, except in the manufactories.

e 500 manufactories, employing 6000 workmen, and producing 55,000,000 francs value in Paris alone.

f Something must be added for two branches not estimated by the author.

g Including potato-flour, and spirits distilled from potatoes, of which 500,000 Sterling is produced daily.



We do not by any means presume to say that these results are entitled to absolute confidence. All estimates of national wealth, which do not proceed upon absolute returns, are more or less hypothetical. Without, however, vouching for the accuracy of either, we cannot resist annexing one short table more, which we have extracted from Dr Colquhoun and the author before us. It contains a comparative statement of the annual profits of England and France, derived from agricultural manufactures and trade.

	ENGLAND,	FRANCE.
Agriculture, including fisheries -	L.218,917,624	L.194,946,203
Manufactures, including min. s and minerals - - -	123,230,000	75,837,600
Commerce, inland and foreign -	88,373,748	26,542,122
Total - - -	L.430,521,372	L.297,325,925

Mr Chaptal has not given any statement of the value of French commerce; but we have collected this result from the average imports and exports of France for the three years preceding the Revolution, compared with the average of English imports and exports for 1810, 1811, and 1812. It is to be regretted, that no nearer epocha of French commerce can be taken; but, in 1787, 1788, and 1789, it was in a very flourishing state.

One of the most remarkable things in the last table, is the superiority of England over France, in the value of her agricultural produce. The English themselves would hardly have suspected this; and we are certain that no part of our prosperity will so much astonish our neighbours, as our territorial advantage. Whenever a Frenchman means to be particularly taunting and severe—whenever he wishes to demonstrate how sure and infallible is the future ascendancy, which, for some centuries past, he has announced an intention of assuming over England, he calls our island *Carthage!* and represents the whole population as threatened with starvation from within, and gaping, open-mouthed, for the crops and harvests which our more fertile navy is conveying from abroad.

We know that a part of these 24 millions Sterling, the value of the annual excess of British over French agricultural produce, must be attributed to the state of paper money in the British empire; but this is not the only, or yet the principal cause, of our apparent agricultural superiority. According to the best authorities, the sum total of the surface of these islands,

amounts to about  $64\frac{1}{2}$  millions of English square acres; and Mr Chaptal's present estimate, with regard to France, makes the surface of that country equal to 130 millions of the same unity; or twice as great as that of the United Kingdoms. The uncultivated proportion of France was stated, in the chamber of deputies, in the session of 1818-19, to be  $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the whole. The uncultivated proportion of these islands is much greater; perhaps, including Ireland,  $\frac{1}{4}$ th; and the cultivated superficies of England would thus be to the cultivated superficies of France, as 3. to 7. But France has the advantage of climate, which contributes to make her produce not only more plentifully, but crops of a greater value; and she should therefore yield in a higher ratio than that of her cultivated superficies. The actual value of her produce, however, compared with English produce, is only as 19 to 21. Let us now deduct for the depreciation of our paper money, we will say  $\frac{1}{4}$ th, and surely this is more than twice enough, and the value of the produce of England will be to that of France as 15 to 19, or nearly as 3 to 4, the surfaces being as 3 to 7. Now, reducing these proportions to equal surfaces, we find an excess of  $\frac{2}{3}$ ths in favour of England; a part of which must be attributed to the value which agricultural produce receives from the perfection of every other branch of industry, and from the use to which provisions are applied in this country, as they here feed the beings who animate the machinery that gives a tenfold value to force. Beside a metallic and a paper currency, we have another circulating medium, a more immediate representative of labour than either of these, the produce of our industry, our manufactures; which, in every operation of barter, are cash to him who pays, while they are merchandize to him who receives; that is to say, they at once represent both cash and merchandize to each of the contracting parties. The higher price of provisions, then, in England, abating the temporary embarrassment of paper money, is a result of our manufacturing prosperity; and consequently must exist as long as that does: It probably may be taken at about  $\frac{1}{4}$ d above the average rate of the Continent; and if we deduct this from what remains of the value of British agricultural produce, after the deduction for paper money has been made, we shall still have the ratio of produce between England and France as 10 to 19; and, from equal surfaces, as 5 to 4: that is to say, an excess in favour of England, from equal surfaces, of 20 per cent. Now, this is the ratio, not of value, but of absolute quantity; and must be entirely attributed to our superior agricultural skill, which, notwithstanding the disadvan-

tages of climate, makes four superficial measures of English soil yield as much, in quantity, as five of the same measures of French soil; while the superiority of our manufactures and trade give, to the product of those four measures of English soil, a value equal to that of seven measures and a half of French soil.

We have seen, that, in France, the proportion of waste grounds is smaller than in England; but the art of cultivation is itself less understood. Its processes are less enlightened, and less of principle presides over its practices, to give it the consistence of a science. The peasant in France is particularly ignorant; and though he may have learned to read and write, nothing has ever induced him to reflect. The higher the order of cultivators, the greater is the inferiority of the French farmer; till, at the last, an impartial observer must own, that the whole agricultural science of the country has taken refuge among a few men, whose names, it is true, deserve the higher veneration on account of their rarity; but who cannot suffice to enlighten a population, that is not impelled by necessity to listen to their counsels. The fertility of the soil they till, has not driven the inhabitants of France to devise laborious methods for improving it; and the serenity of the climate saves them the trouble of providing against the inclemency of the weather, or the uncertainty of the seasons. They rest with confidence upon the bounty of nature, that has prepared for them every advantage, except an incitement to thought, and a motive for provident reflexion. It is to the anxiety which a less propitious soil, and a less cheering sun create in English minds, that we attribute the general diffusion of agricultural knowledge through so large a portion of our population; and the exertions of our enlightened proprietors, who have kept the beaten road of practice ever open to the speculations of the philosopher.

For many years,—and never more than in the present,—we have been struck with the appearance of our English harvests, compared with those of France. Our oats, in the spring, are not smothered with charlock in the same degree as we have generally seen them in France; our wheat is never so diversified with the flower of the red poppy. In the state of maturity, the ear of corn is thicker, longer and heavier; and supported by a stouter stem. The entire field presents an even surface, as if the shoots from every grain of seed had grown according to one common measure. The colour, instead of being of a parched pale yellow, is of the richest orange; and the whole presents a picture of care and attention, not to be found in France. We

do not mean to underrate the state of French agriculture, but merely to assert, that it derives its chief advantages from natural luxuriance, rather than from the knowledge or exertions of men."

The improvements which have taken place in agriculture—within the last 30 years, says Mr Chaptal, are principally, 1st, the cultivation of the potatoe, which the poor formerly disdained, but which has now found its way to the tables of the rich: 2d, the introduction of beet root: and, 3d, of merinos. Of these, it appears to us, that Mr C. overrates the importance of the beet by far most extravagantly, when he talks of its sugar, and the fodder supplied by the refuse. We would ask him, how many hectares of beet-root have been cultivated in France, and how many hectogrammes of sugar have been extracted from them, except in the establishment which he himself conducts? Until the sugar of this plant is a common article of trade, we matter-of-fact islanders, who do not limit the speculations of industry to the gratification of vanity, must consider this branch of agriculture as theoretical. Besides, it is the opinion of many who have attempted it, that, without the distillation of spirits, it is not attended with advantage; and this must necessarily fail wherever wine is abundant.

The only branch of agriculture, in which the French surpass the rest of Europe, is the cultivation of the vine; and, to this, the excellence of their wines is due. France is situated, with regard to the vine, in the position which is the most favourable to the development of industry; because its cultivation is attended with considerable difficulties, which, however, yield to care and ingenuity. The frosts of the spring, the rains and cold of the later season, and the accidents which threaten, in a climate not, every year, warm or steady enough to bring to full maturity a plant indigenous to milder regions, stimulate the husbandman to search out the best methods to give it strength and vigour. Were the same attention paid to it in the south of Europe, there can be little doubt that the wines of Spain, Italy and Hungary, would be at least equal in quality. But, in those countries, the growth of the vine is too spontaneous to excite the entire solicitude of industry. It is by superior cultivation, that one of the growths of Burgundy, which was formerly held at most to belong to the second class, has, in a very few years, risen to the first rank; while another, which was once held to be the most delicate, having, during the Revolution, fallen into unskillful hands, has lost much of its former estimation.

That, since the Revolution, the modes of holding property,

leases, and the system of tenures in general, have improved, is undeniable. A part of this advantage, however, was long neutralized by the conscription; for, many of the former tenants, who had become proprietors, were reduced, in order to pay a substitute for their sons, to sell the farms they had purchased; and the plunder of Europe enabled the revolutionary generals, for a time, to become monopolizers.

On the other hand, we cannot avoid saying something of the devastations which have taken place throughout the country, and of the number of magnificent residences which have been utterly destroyed within the last thirty years. In the early moments of the Revolution, these demolitions were carried on by the frenzy of the populace; but, at a more advanced period, they became systematic among the new proprietors; and were not discouraged by Government. About the year 1795, a trading company, *bande noire*, was formed; who bought up at a low rate, in assignats, all the chateaux and estates which had been confiscated from the emigrants and the guillotined; demolished the buildings, gardens, &c.; and made a very comfortable profit by selling the materials. This *compagnie noire* has not yet ceased to exist, and to demolish. Even in 1817, three of the principal surviving chateaux in the neighbourhood of Paris, fell under their axe; the tale of one of which is the history of all, and may serve as a type of French rural prosperity at this moment. The chateau de Montmorenci, situated at the entrance of the celebrated valley which forms one of the most agreeable features of the environs of Paris, was built about 60 years ago, by the Marechal de Luxembourg; but was not connected with any part of the modern history of the illustrious family whose name it bore. It was one of the grandest private houses in the vicinity of Paris; and a landmark to all the neighbouring country. During the Revolution, it had passed through various hands; and was at last purchased by Monsieur Aldini, Bonaparte's Secretary of State for the kingdom of Italy, residing in Paris. (This Aldini was nephew to Galvani, and brother to the philosopher who visited London in 1803, author of various essays on Galvanism.) Mr Aldini repaired it in 1813, at immense expense, and in a style of the greatest magnificence. The ceilings alone, painted by Italian artists, were said to have cost 16,500*l*. This chateau, unimpaired by time or accident, most beautifully situated within nine miles of the capital, and with 36 acres of pleasure ground, was sold in 1817 for 4290*l*. to a working brazier; who declared his intention of demolishing it, unless some new purchaser would,

within a stated time, give him 250*l.* for his bargain. None came forward; and in November 1817, all that remained of it was a heap of stones! The leaden and iron pipes, and the pier glasses alone, were valued at nearly 4000*l.*

From the present laws concerning the disposal of property after death, it is much to be apprehended that rural prosperity will still further decrease. A parent, who has one child, may dispose of one-half of his property, to whomsoever he pleases. If he has two children, he can dispose but of one-third; if three, or any number exceeding three, of one-fourth; and each child must have an equal share of that portion which is not free by law. This law, which no previous settlements can materially elude, has an evident tendency to agrarianism; and has, beside, the still more pernicious effect of promoting litigation, and dissension in families; of bringing on forced and ruinous sales; and of acting as a check to population.

The French have, in fact, no taste for the country, and little feeling or perception of the beauties of nature. One may travel for days through rich and well cultivated districts, and not see any thing like a disposition to beautify them; or to embellish the fields which so luxuriantly repay the slightest labour of cultivation. Monotonous tracts of country, loaded with the richest crops, but diversified by none of the objects which constitute rural beauty, stretch out immeasurably before the eye. But no plantation bounds the prospect; no human habitation shows that men are near; till, at the last, some distant *bourg* announces the presence of a few fellow-creatures; or a large tract of stunted forest, destined to the ignoble purpose of domestic firing, monopolizes the soil. A portion of Normandy is the only exception to the cheerless livery which fertility wears in France. Even on the banks of the 'murmuring Loire,' where Goldsmith used to fiddle to the dancing peasantry, and where nature has been most lavish of her beauties, the traveller is often surprised to find that so little has been added by the care of man. But in England the useful is everywhere blended with the beautiful. In the heart of a British farmer, there is a feeling of affection to the land he has fattened with the sweat of his brow; of gratitude to the soil whose reluctance his labour has overcome. The garden he has made the most fertile, he wishes also to see the most beautiful; and he proudly fixes his habitation amid the fields which give him the staff of life. It is under the shelter of our hedge-rows, that our corn is ripened; and while all is a thickly inhabited forest to the eye, all is a granary to our wants; and presents a picture of general comfort, happi-

ness and stability, as rooted and as venerable as the oldest of our oaks.

Mr Chaptal proceeds to assert, that Animals in France have been very much improved of late years; and that, instead of the miserable creatures which were formerly employed in agriculture, none are now to be seen that are not robust and stout. From the time to which our recollection can reach back, or about 1791, we cannot say that the improvement has been very perceptible; and France appears to us to be as far distant from England in this respect, as we ever remember it to have been. The art of improving cattle by judicious breeding, is almost unknown there; and the shapes or attributes of the parents are little attended to in selecting them for procreation. With the exception of the shepherd's dog, who certainly is very sagacious, the races of dogs are generally most miserable; and many, which we consider as the most valuable, and which indeed possess the greatest qualities in the smallest compass, bull dogs, terriers, beagles, small spaniels, and others of a larger kind, as the Newfoundland dog, are almost unknown, except by the importations of English travellers. The mastiff is esteemed for his size; and almost all other dogs are prized, not for the pureness of their race, but for the motleyneess of their coats. Pigs are of a shape the very reverse of what we hold to be good, with long legs and narrow backs; and in all points particularly ugly. Not a flock of sheep is to be seen that could stand a comparison with our South Down or Leicestershire; and their oxen have neither the forms nor the size of ours.

The horses of France, says Mr Chaptal, were formerly renowned; and the studs which had been perpetuated from the time of the crusades, furnished all Europe with the choicest Arabian breeds; until the policy of Richelieu, having caused all the great proprietors to flock round the court, England *inherited* this branch of industry, which in France has fallen into neglect. This assertion is quite erroneous; for, at no period in the recollection of history, could the French horses be compared to the English. So true is what we advance, that a law of Athelstane prohibits their exportation; and great attention has ever since been paid to the breed of this beautiful and precious animal, particularly under the reigns of William the Conqueror, of Edward II. and III. and VI., of Henry VII. and VIII., &c. Our posting excited the astonishment of some Germans who visited this country in the reign of Elizabeth; and horses have not at any time been known to degenerate in England.

The two best breeds of French horses are the Norman and the Limousin. The Limousin is light, and fit for the saddle;

and not unlike the Polish horse. The Norman is used for draught as well as for the saddle; but, for neither purpose, can he be compared with any of our best breeds, which unite so much strength with so much action, so much bone with so much lightness, and, withal, so much beauty and courage, with so much gentleness. Few Norman horses can trot twelve English miles in an hour, or would be fit to run in our mail-coaches. The race horse is quite unknown in France. Nothing can be more void of blood and beauty than the French post horse; and, in the fiacres of Paris, one seldom sees an animal that has ~~been~~ worthy of a better lot, or that is much superior to that whose image stands, as a frontispiece to books of farriery, an epitome of every defect the species is subject to. But, in London, the eye of the warrior or of the racer often beams from behind the winkers of a hackney harness; and the fallen hunter, notwithstanding his disgraceful trapping and fatigues, pricks up his lively ears, and carries his head aloft, with all the aristocracy of nature.

Another thing respecting horses, of which the French, except a few who have been taught it in England, are wholly ignorant, is the art of putting them into that state of extreme health which, here, is called condition. Provided there be but flesh enough upon a horse's bones, it is no matter how soft it is; and one of the last things he is allowed to do, before he travels, is to drink as much water as he pleases.

An easy and general method of ascertaining the relative speed of English and French horses, is the regulated rate at which letters are conveyed by order of Government. A total reform in this class of public carriages has lately taken place in France; and, in lieu of the former unwieldy machines called diligences, velociferes, pots de chambre, &c. new vehicles, constructed upon English models, and honoured with the title of 'inventions Françaises,' have been turned out. That which is destined to convey the mail is in the shape of a chariot, and the mode of hanging is copied from ours, but the whole machine is more clumsily built. It contains three inside passengers abreast, and one outside, who sits before with the guard; while the driver rides one of the four horses that draw it; in all six persons. Our mail-coaches carry four inside, and three outside passengers, with the coachman and guard. The weight therefore is  $\frac{1}{2}$  more in England. Now, the various misrepresentations which are contained even in recent travelling books, make it our duty to correct an error with regard to English and French measures. The post league of France contains exactly 2000 French toises, each toise being six French feet. The



English statute mile contains 826 of the same toises. Therefore  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles make 65 toises more than a French post league. According to the new measures, the French post, consisting of two post leagues, is equal to 77,900 kilometers; and the English mile to 16,094. By either of these computations, we may say that 16 French leagues, or 8 posts, make 39 English miles. Now, a comparison made between the distances from Paris, to six of the principal points to which the new mails run—Besançon, Caen, Calais, Lyons, Strasbourg and Valenciennes, and the times in which those distances are performed, gives an average rate of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  English miles per hour. When mail-coaches were first established in England, the limited speed was ten miles an hour on certain of our roads; but, being found inconvenient, it was reduced to eight, and finally to seven. Thus the reduced average rate of mail-coaches in England, is to that in France as three to two. But the weight they carry is also as three to two; and as the mass, multiplied by the velocity, is the expression of the force, it follows that the horse we employ to promote epistolary communication, is to the horse the French employ for the same purpose as nine to four. Some deduction must however be made for the superiority of our roads and vehicles. A public carriage has lately been established on one of the southern roads of England, to run 12 miles per hour; but, seven horses having died in three weeks, the rate is now reduced to ten miles per hour.

We cannot dismiss the subject of speedy conveyance, without observing how miserably deficient is the interior of France in cross roads. These are generally no more than tracks of cart-wheels, marked by use, and worn deep by practice. No attempt is made to throw a few stones into the ruts; and every day of rain leaves them, for a time, impassable. We wish that Mr Beatson, or Marshall, would give an account of the roads of France; they who found so much to object to in the roads of England. It is difficult to conceive how any intercourse is carried on in France between neighbouring towns and villages, except on horseback; and, even in the vicinity of Paris, there is hardly a possibility of crossing with a carriage from one of the great roads to another. Wherever the palaces of the kings, or of their mistresses, indeed, have been an inducement, a splendid communication has been opened, as between Versailles, St Germain, Marly, Choisy, Fontainebleau, &c. One of the very few cross roads which exists near the metropolis, was made to spare the sovereign, Louis le Bien Aimé, the pain of passing through Paris, where his loving populace—provoked, among other things, by a report that, to renovate his injured

constitution, he had been ordered baths of human blood—stood ready to insult him; and is, for that reason, called *Le Chemin de la Revolte*. Another was made for Anne of Austria, to go from St Germain to a small habitation she possessed at the entrance of the valley de Montmorenci; and, to this day, bears the name of *Chemin de la Reine*. Another was cut for Josephine Bonaparte, to drive from Malmaison to St Cloud. But Paris is the great vortex, the Malstrom which swallows up every thing; and the necessity of lateral communication is not felt. To show the ratio of locomotion in the two countries, we here annex a table of the number of carriages we reckoned in July 1819, upon the road from London to Dover, by Maidstone and Hithe—not the most frequented—and upon an equal number of miles of the road leading from Paris to Calais—which English travellers have made the most frequented in France—making a distance, in both countries, of 77 miles issuing from their respective capitals. According to a very moderate computation of the direct roads, and of the principal cross roads which intersect the surface of the British islands, their length amounts to about 100,000 miles. According to an official document lately produced in France, the length of the roads

	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>
England -	26	101	52
France -	5	7	2

*a* Public carriages.

*b* Private ditto, with post or private horses.

*c* Persons on horseback.

there, under the inspection of Government—and none other can be counted as practicable—amounts only to 30,270 British statute miles. Now, taking the above table as a fair average of the ratio of travellers in both countries—and this supposition is favourable to France—the number of miles travelled in England, is to that travelled in France, as about 40 to one: which, being performed by  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the number of persons, it follows, that the lot of each Englishman is to travel 60 miles in his own country, for one mile which a Frenchman travels in his. The ratio of foreign travelling is still higher; as Frenchmen cannot find it in their hearts to wander far away from their opera and their cookery; and their curiosity is of a nature to be satisfied with things less elevated than the *mores hominum multorum et urbes*. In the distant provinces, the ratio of locomotion is still lower in France; and we once met, between Geneva and Paris—just 300 English miles—two carriages going post, one French and one Russian.

The great roads of France are wider and straiter than ours; for despotism hews directly and unsparingly through all obstacles. But they are far from being as good; and it would be unjust to appreciate them generally by those which lead through

Normandy and Picardy, towards England. The art of road-making, paving, &c. is little understood or valued; and it is practised upon erroneous principles. As to canals, their length is in a still greater disproportion; and iron railways are nearly unknown.

A disastrous consequence of this deficiency of the means of easy communication between different parts of France, is an enormous diversity in the price of provisions in different provinces. It is by no means unfrequent, that wheat, in one department, should sell for 50 or 100 *per cent.* more than in another; and other articles of first necessity in a similar ratio. In 1817, bread was sold for sixteen sols the pound, in Burgundy, Lorraine, and Franche-Comté; and in Poitou, only for four. The price of living in London, to the price of living in Paris, for moderate fortunes, may be as 5 to 3: For those who can indulge in the great luxuries of life, it is at least as 2 to 1., female dress excepted; but, in the provinces, the saving would be still greater. We here speak of the natives of both countries in their respective homes; for the English, in France, are the unconscious objects of universal plunder, and seldom learn the true price of any thing.—Mr Costaz justly complains of the want of roads, canals, &c. to reduce the prices of commodities nearer to one common level, through the whole kingdom.

The picture which our author has drawn, of the Manufacturing industry of France, is still more highly coloured than that which he has given us of her Agriculture; Though it is very true, that the progress she has made in this branch has been greater than in any other; and a retrospect of her former deficiency, makes her present success appear more brilliant in the eyes of a person who takes no other standard of comparison.

The manufactories depending upon the mechanical arts, in which the greatest progress has been made, are stated to be machines for spinning wool, cotton, hemp, and flax; silk looms and stocking looms; watchmaking, optical, mathematical, and astronomical instruments. Those depending upon Chemistry are more numerous, as may be expected from their dependence upon each other. They are gunpowder, bleaching, wine and spirits, vinegar, and other products from the carbonization of wood, tannin, the conversion of gelatine into a substance resembling tortoise shell, soups prepared from bones, the preservation of animal and vegetable substances in close vessels, sulphuric, nitric, muriatic, fluoric, and oxalic acids; soda, ammonia, alum, coperas, cernse, minium; the oxides of chrome and cobalt; scented soap, Chinese gongs; but, above all, iron and steel, artificial plumbago, porcelain and common earthen wares, flint glass, lithography, &c.

From this catalogue of the products of French industry, we mean to select a few, in order to make them the subjects of some observations; but we must first state the principles which guide our selection, as we consider this to be the most important part of our investigation.

The industry of nations may be directed to two different objects, and their ingenuity exerted in two different ways, —to multiply and diffuse substantial comforts, or the means of intellectual enjoyment among the great body of the people —or to improve the luxuries and gratify the vanity or sensual appetites of the wealthy;—and there can be no surer criterion of the comparative happiness and freedom and intelligence of any two communities, than what is derived from the proportion of their skill and industry which they respectively devote to these two objects. Speaking very generally, we may say that the industry of Asia is directed chiefly to the latter, and that of Europe to the former. In these Eastern regions, the whole skill and ingenuity of the people may be said to be turned to the creation of luxuries; and we pass at once from the necessary arts, or practices rather, without which life could not be sustained, to the most exquisite refinements of voluptuousness. While all the useful manufactures are in the rudest and most wretched state, and those which minister to intellect or science, almost unknown, the natives are eminently skillful in jewellery and gilding, and working silver and ivory in fillagree, or in the fabrication of cloth of gold and rich silks and embroidery, and in the construction of palaces and pagodas; while we in Europe are chiefly employed in making comfortable clothing and furniture for the whole community, or in making books and time-keepers, and steam-engines for the learned, or those whose business it is to show the utility of learning. Now, no one can doubt, that this difference in the application of their industry is exactly coincident with the whole difference in the character and condition of these two great races, and measures it with the greatest precision;—and the truth is, that no people can ever have so safe and comprehensive an exponent of their power and will, or so sure a representative of their civilization, knowledge and improvement, as the manufactures which they keep in activity.

Applying this general principle to the question before us, we conceive it impossible to deny, and quite unnecessary to prove, that the advantage is very decidedly on our side, on a comparison with our lively neighbours. The principal manufactures of France, before the Revolution, consisted in silks, fine rather than coarse woollens, embroideries, laces, cambrics, gold in all

its various shapes of trinkets and gilding, porcelain, plate glass, &c. But, in the fabrication of more common wares, she had made little progress. When Colbert sought to encourage the industry of the nation, he very wisely consulted its disposition and habits. On this account he has been blamed as an abettor of luxury—but we think very unjustly. He was too wise to think of Spartanizing 24 millions of Frenchmen; and stimulated them to profitable and taxable labour, in the only way in which they could be stimulated. He flattered their vanity, by persuading them that no nation could vie with them in the elegant luxuries of life, to which he saw them already addicted; but he abstained from fatiguing their volatility, by any combination of laborious thought.

With the Revolution, however, there came new wants; and necessity compelled them to less attractive fields of exertion. Mr Chaptal is astonished at the greatness and suddenness of the change. But necessity is a rapid teacher—and the general enthusiasm of the time was communicated to this department also. About the year 1796, manufacturing became a mania in France; and succeeded to the rage for speculating upon assignats and mandates; and Bonaparte afterwards converted it into a system of bloodless warfare, against this country.

Elated by this constrained success of their present industry, and with an eye of jealousy ever fixed on this country, the French have somewhat hastily concluded, that they are already our equals in the manufacturing of all useful commodities—and our superiors, in all, of which the principal merit is taste. Now, willing as we are to allow the great progress they have made within the last 20 years, we really cannot subscribe to these claims; and must take leave to assert our own superiority in the most precise and unequivocal terms. We are far from denying, that a Frenchman is just as capable as an Englishman, of learning to manufacture a piece of cloth, or of hardware, in the most perfect manner. But, that *the French nation* requires that those articles should be manufactured in the same quantity, and of the same quality as the *English nation*, is what we as strenuously deny: and this is the true *gîte* of the question: For, making every concession to individual ingenuity and exertion, the fair way to judge of the taste, skill and industry of a *nation*, is by the joint result of quality and quantity. An artist who makes one very finished piece of workmanship, may have just as much merit as another who completes ten of the same, particularly if his limited fabrication be owing to the limited demand of his public; but the nation in which the demand is limited, must take its rank very far, indeed, below that in which

it is greater. Should the neglected object belong to the class of decent and general comforts, it may be concluded, that the point in which civilization is defective, is the solid well-being and happiness of the inferior orders; and the splendour of other productions must not cheat us into the belief that all things follow in a due proportion. Should it belong again to the higher walks of intellect, we may say, in despite of splendid enumerations of scientific manufactories, that knowledge is not general.

Now, in every thing appertaining to the *comfortable* and *scientific* branches of industry, the superiority of England, in quality, is great; in quantity, boundless. In manufactories, which form the delight of the opulent, and in such as contribute to selfish enjoyments, we confess ourselves generally their inferiors. There is but one branch of *luxury* in which we exceed them, but in this we are unrivalled;—and that is, in all that relates to horses and carriages. But these, more than any other article of splendour, are connected with things of the most essential importance to society; with an animal the most precious of all, in the most eminent of all arts, Agriculture; with the goodness of our roads, which allows our vehicles to be constructed with a lightness and delicacy, impracticable in any other country; and, finally, with speedy communication. In a word, it is of all luxuries the least sensual, the least selfish, and the most useful to mankind; and, in this respect, we look upon our immense superiority to be characteristic.

We should like, too, to say one word on that claim to priority of invention, which our neighbours are so fond of bringing forward whenever there is the slightest ground for it—and as to which they make it a point to say nothing, whenever it is notoriously against them. In perusing the works before us, and particularly that of Mr Chaptal, one would naturally conclude, that the French were the inventors of all they now possess. But no conclusion could be more erroneous—nor can we even accept of that partition of merit which in their generous moments they are pleased to allow us—that they invent, and we improve. We would observe, however, that the difference between invention and improvement is often so subtle, that we confess our inability to express it. Consider that most beautiful, delicate and perfect of all instruments, the chronometer, such an one as is hardly thought correct if its error exceed the 84,000th part of the time it measures, and say who has shown the most invention; he who first combined two wheels, or added a third, or a fourth wheel?—or he who completed the system of revolving levers, and gave it its present perfection and

precision? The truth is, all who contributed to its improvement were inventors; and it is hard to say which has the justest claim to originality, he who first applied the well-known properties of wheels to the measure of time, or he who first counteracted the expansion of one metal, by the expansion of another, till he obtained an almost invariable centre of oscillation. All that can be said with certainty is, that the latter invention denotes a higher order of want, and a more advanced state of knowledge and civilization, in the society which appreciates it. It is right also to observe, that the claims which nations lay to priority of invention, are, in most cases, puerile; and often redound to their shame, much more than to their honour. The glory of an inventor is reduced to a slender pittance, when shared among his countrymen; but the disgrace is aggravated by their numbers, when it turns out that among them they had not the sense to appreciate it—the generosity to reward it—or the talent to discover its best application. In reality, inventions are valuable only as they harmonize with the actual state of society. The art of printing offered to a tribe of hunters, would be rejected with contempt. The individual may be appreciated by the ingenuity of his discovery; but the aggregate of men must be judged by the arts they have converted to their use; and by the number and the nature of the factitious wants which they have created and relieved.

Now, in all of these views, we think nothing can be more truly indisputable, than the superiority of England. No nation ever has directed its attention, so much, toward the things which contribute to the hourly happiness and well-being of every portion of mankind. Our inventions and discoveries are more numerous and more solid, than those of any other people. What may not have been original to us, we have seldom failed to improve, as soon as it passed into our hands; and we have applied, to useful practical purposes, more than all the rest of the world are vain of having had a glimpse of. That what is indigenous, is grand and comprehensive, the steam engine, and the purposes to which it has been applied, may proclaim. That what we have borrowed has been impressed with the same character, the liberty of the press, the sublimest application which the art of printing can receive, must bear witness. In short, we do not hesitate to say, that no nation, ancient or modern, ever has invented, discovered, improved, applied so much as the English. It is useless to enumerate the subjects. They are in the hands of all the world. Empires have grown great by them; and, in so far as intellect is concerned, nine-tenths of the merit which Mr Chaptal claims for his countrymen, are ours. It may

after all be worth while to specify a few examples. The Marquis de Jouffroy claims the invention of the steam-boat; and all France of course believes him. Now, in the application of steam, which has already moved so many things, as the moving power of a boat, there is no great effort of combination; and we are ready to admit, that this gentleman did navigate, in this way, a little bit of the Rhone in 1802, and of the Seine in 1816; and perform many nautical evolutions, in presence of his princes,—if he will but allow that, in the year 1736, letters patent had been granted by his Majesty George II., to one Jonathan Hall, for the construction of a steam-boat to tow vessels in and out of port; that in 1795, Lord Stanhope had constructed a boat to be moved by steam; that since the year 1807, these machines have promoted the ends of industry upon the lakes and rivers of America; and that the first *useful* steam-boat which appeared in the river Seine, in which the infant navy of Mr de Jouffroy vapoured, had crossed the channel from England, where she, and many such, had been built.

When, during the peace of Amiens, Mr de Mongolfier, better known for a less useful and less ingenious invention, the balloon, presented his hydraulic ram (belier hydraulique) to the Institute of France, a commission was named to make a report upon it. But before those gentlemen had made up their minds upon its utility, an Englishman, whose name for many reasons must ever be an object of veneration to his country, had already applied it to the useful purpose of irrigation.—Having mentioned the balloon, we must observe, that it is most characteristically a French invention; showy, enterprising, holding out, to untaught imaginations, a hope of utility, of which philosophy could easily demonstrate the folly; and which, though it served as a watch-tower and a signal-post, at the battle of Fleurus, and the evacuation of Maubeuge, is now handed over to the Vauxhalls and Ranelaghs, the Tivolis and Folie Beaujourns of the day. The entire safety of this machine consists in its being peaceably carried along, as it were, in the bosom of the air; and could its course ever be shaped, so as to form an angle with the direction of the wind, it must perish. The only rational idea that has been started on this subject is, to take advantage of the different currents of air which exist in the upper and lower regions of the atmosphere, but not to oppose them.

‘The telegraph’ (says Mr Costaz) ‘is a recent discovery, made by two brothers, Chappe, one of whom proposed it to the Legislative Assembly, of which he was a member; but it was not carried into execution till 1793.’ Now, the telegraph is *not* a recent invention. It is a very old mode of conveying intelligence to a



distance; and the perseverance with which the French assert its novelty, is quite childish. Even had signal-posts, and masts of ships, and flags, and beacons, never existed, the contrivances of Dr Hook, Monsieur Amoutons, and the late Mr Edgeworth, were more than enough to defeat the claim of Mons. Chappe. So long ago as 1684, Dr Hook proposed a method of communicating, 'by masts and skreens,' as did Mons. Amoutons, born in 1663, and who, of course, unless we suppose that he produced his invention at the age of 21, was posterior to Dr Hook. Mr Edgeworth's telegraph was completed in 1767, 26 years previous to Mr Chappe's. Nay, the ancients have no small right to step in here, and settle the dispute. Every Eaton boy, who has read the Greek tragedy of Agamemnon, knows, that the news of the taking of Troy was conveyed, not by sea signals, though across the sea, but by land signals, from Mount Ida to the island of Lemnos, thence to Mount Athos, and, by various land stations, over the gulfs and promontories of Greece, to a station placed upon a hill above Argos, and so into the very palace of Clytemnestra. The Greeks and Romans used lights for distant signals; and Polybius amply describes a method which he calls *Pyroia*, a name sufficiently denoting that fire was used. But, lest the advocates of Mr Chappe should not yield to the prior title of light and hemp, we will quote a short sentence from Vegetius, *De re militari*, to show, that, in the time of the Emperor Valentinian, the use of *moveable posts and beams was known*. He says, that communications were carried on between camps and armies, '*è turribus et oppidis, TRABIBUS TOTIDEM ERECTIS TOTIDEM DEPRESSIS.*' This we conceive to be rather a striking likeness of Mr Chappe. The French turned their attention to land signals, because the tone of the times created that necessity; as, in England, it turned our thoughts to improving distant communications at sea. Had two or three hundred thousand foreign troops been hovering round our frontier; had our territory been invaded, it is probable that we should have dragged, from the lumber-room of oblivion, some of the dusty beams of Vegetius; and that, if the French had as many vessels and fleets to provide for, as we have, their Chappe would have been a Sir Home Popham.—Mr Amoutons, we ought to mention, is also the inventor of one of the most ingenious barometers that has been contrived, but which has been strangely neglected by philosophers.

The art of stereotype printing is another thing to which the French assert their priority of invention, without the smallest justice. From the very nature of things, block plates, in relief, must have preceded moveable types; and these must have been

considered, as in fact they were, to be an improvement upon the former method. The Chinese have used block printing for 1500 years; as did many Europeans about the end of the 14th century. Above 100 years ago, the Dutch used immoveable types, exactly similar to those of Didot, abating later incidental improvements in general typography; and the original forms of a 4to Bible, of which many thousand copies were printed, still exist in Amsterdam. A Greek, an English Testament, and a Syriac Dictionary, were also stereotyped about the same period. In England, William Ged, in the year 1725, proposed to revive block printing; and a Sallust was thus completed in 1736, a copy of which, as well as a plate of one of the pages, was lately in the possession of Mr Tilloch. Mr Tilloch had himself actually taken out a patent for stereotype, and had *thus executed some volumes*, before Didot had printed *a single page* by this mode. We grant that Mr Didot has made a more general application of this art; but we do not conceive that he has added any idea which can entitle him to the honours of a discoverer. ‘Lithography,’ says Mr Chaptal, ‘though not absolutely a French invention, has been so much improved in France, that we may claim it as our own.’ We cannot see in what this right consists.

This propensity of the French to seize upon the merit of every invention and discovery, proceeds, in some measure, from their characteristic vivacity, which leads them to believe that, with a glance, they comprehend every thing; and too often confines their views to the sterile gratification of having perceived. No nation, too, deems an acquaintance with the progress which science is making in other countries, so little necessary as they do; and they are not unfrequently ignorant that discoveries and applications, of which they claim the credit, have already been made elsewhere. Sometimes, too, we fear we must accuse them of bad faith; as in a very recent instance. Not a month after the first kaleidoscope had been received from London, and while the rage for that ingenious scientific toy was at its height there, those made in Paris, precisely on the English model, were exposed for sale in all the shops, under the name of *Kaleidoscopes, ou Lunettes Françaises*.

We wish with all our hearts that some clear and precise rule could be adopted for fixing the debateable questions of *meum et tuum* in this finer merchandise of genius and fame. For our neighbours really take rather an unfair advantage of the unsettled state of the present law. What a Frenchman discovers in England—an Englishman in France; what they say we copy from them—what they actually do copy from us; what they suggest and we improve; what we invent and they adopt or al-

ter;—every one of these they say is theirs—and nobody else in the world has any thing to do with it. Now, in this there is no reciprocity. We care very little what rule may be adopted, and are quite willing to let them choose their own, provided that, at the last, they will adhere to it: and not cry out against it as soon as applied against them. But we must leave these generalities, and return to Mr Chaptal.

The mechanical arts, which he mentions as having been so much improved during the last thirty years, are generally importations from England. They may be classed under two heads;—commercial and scientific. Among the former, our Spinning-machines stand out the most prominent. Among the latter, the first which is mentioned is Watchmaking; and the name, that is justly pre-eminent, is Breguet. We are glad of an opportunity of doing justice to a person of such extraordinary merit. Mr Breguet is unquestionably the person of the present age, who has had the greatest number of happy inspirations on the art which he cultivates. His inventions are as numerous as they are brilliant; and every branch of horology is rich with the traces of his inventions. But Mr Breguet, to his own loss, and to the detriment of science, was placed too much within the reach of a futile market; where the profoundness and justness of his views were not generally appreciated, and his thoughts were unconsciously thrown out of the channel to which his own genius would have directed them. The sublime of horology, we conceive to be the exact measure of time, for the scientific and commercial purposes of astronomy, geography, and navigation. But in France, the public is of another opinion; and the chronometrical part is neglected, for others which are merely ornamental, or else intended as a personal convenience and *jouissance* to the proprietor. Persons, for instance, who, to borrow an expression from the *Almanach des Gourmands*, 'se vouent à la carrière des indigestions,' find as much gratification, when tossing away the sleepless hours of a heated night, from having a repeater by their bed sides, as the captain of an English man of war might do, when tossing on the Atlantic, from being able to reckon his longitude; and the striking part of a watch, as well as that which shows the more bulky portions of time, the days of the week, of the month, and often the month itself, is particularly well executed in France. As much ingenuity may be displayed by the artist who gives perfection to the one, as to the other of these systems; but our attention to the philosophical part, is a corollary of the constant anxiety we show toward great enterprises, toward the promotion of useful knowledge, and the discoveries and pursuits which

enlarge the views, and better the condition of mankind; while the superiority of the French, in a branch of horology which cannot be of the slightest assistance to the advancement of knowledge, or the progress of the world, proceeds from their being more wrapt up in luxurious and selfish gratifications. With the demands of such customers, Mr Breguet has been too much forced to comply; and we cannot but regret that so much ingenuity should have been diverted from a worthier object.

Mr Breguet, however, has not neglected astronomical clocks and watches; and the few which he has been called upon to make, are admirably executed and distinguished by original improvements. It is only the more ludicrous, however, that all the inventions for which Mr Chaptal gives him credit in this art, are things which have long been in common use in England—the detached escapement, the cylindrical balance spring, and the compound balance; while he actually omits all notice of his many undoubted discoveries. Among these, and many others might have been quoted, are, *1st*, the *parachute*, to prevent the pivot of the balance from breaking, should the watch fall, and which is convenient for pocket watches: *2d*, the *tourbillon*, by means of which the balance, beside its vibratory motion, performs a revolution upon its own axis in a certain time, in such a manner that, supposing the chronometer to be in a given position, each point of the balance has successively been uppermost at the moment of rest; and any inequalities in its weight, or defects in centering, are compensated during each revolution: *3d*, an escapement which he calls natural, and which requires no oil: and, *4th*, a double escapement. We cannot compliment Mr Chaptal on his knowledge of horology.

Mr Breguet has lately executed an idea which is worthy of the greatness of England, but which he must not look to find recompensed in France. He has made a number of *marine time-pieces*, on the same principles, and of the same dimensions, in such a manner that the homologous parts of any one of them will fit into all the others. The escapement he has adopted is that of Earnshaw; but it forms a system in itself, and, without any preparation, can be taken out of one watch and put into another, by merely loosening two screws; insomuch, that should an accident happen to one, another can be put in its place in less than five minutes. The natural escapement Mr Breguet has not yet made public. The double escapement is merely a double watch with two escapements, and two balances to regulate it; and its effects are very powerful in correcting errors. The same idea has also been applied to clocks, to which a second pendulum is added; and Mr Breguet has already collected

some very interesting facts, upon the transmission of motion, by bodies which are themselves at rest—at least as much as human hands can make them.

No person, as might have been expected, is more disposed than Mr Breguet, to do justice to the superior state of horology in England; and he accordingly prefers importing, from this country, the most delicate parts of his most precious and improved chronometers. An English artist of great merit and modesty, Mr Molyneux, has, to our knowledge, furnished him, within the last four years, with a number of escapements, compound balances, &c. which we conceive to be fully equal to the demand of the French market. It is no disparagement to Mr Breguet that he uses foreign elements in his machines, as his is all the merit of the adjustment and finish; but he pays no small homage to this country, in thus practically acknowledging our elements to be the best.

Mr Breguet, who is a native of Switzerland, not of France, is the only artist in that kingdom who can be ranked with our Arnolds, Earnshaws, Harolys, &c. and with the numberless others who daily make the most accurate instruments for measuring time, not only in London, but in many other cities of the United Kingdom. The great profusion of these machines, which are used in our navy, royal and commercial,—the number of them that are in the hands of persons who cultivate science as an amusement, who honour it, and who are proud to be honoured by it, is perhaps the thing which best illustrates the vast preeminence which England enjoys by the joint diffusion of wealth and science among her enlightened population. There was a time when France had her Le Roys and her Berthonds; but we had our Harrisons, our Ellicots, and our Mudges; and, if ever the former did make time-pieces as well as in England, they never made one quarter of the number. We are confident that, during the last thirty years, as well as at this moment, for every chronometer that has been made in France, two hundred, at least of equal goodness, have been manufactured in England. It is a very rare occurrence to find a watch of this description in France, except in the hands of an academic astronomer; and the ruling taste of the country is, to prefer the toy to the machine, the trinket to the instrument. For gilded clocks most beautifully executed, and at every price, and for pretty watches, the French, as Mr Chaptal says, have no competitors.

It is now near seventy years, since a celebrated German mathematician called in doubt an opinion of Sir I. Newton; and an English artist of superior skill and knowledge proved, by actual experiment, that it was possible for the greatest of all

philosophers to commit an error. About the middle of the last century, Euler suspected, and Dolland ascertained, that, in the transmission of light, the dispersive and the refractive powers did not follow the same ratio in all transparent substances; and from that moment the Achromatic Telescope was discovered. The French remained a long time without making a single attempt to introduce the practical knowledge of this instrument into their country; though Clairault and D'Alembert submitted the principles upon which it was constructed to their Algebraical-speculations. An amateur nobleman purchased an achromatic telescope from Mr Dolland, carried it with him to Paris, where the object glass was taken to pieces, and the radii of the surfaces measured with the greatest care by a body of savants, and nothing learned. So far, however, were the Parisian opticians and literati from having discovered the method of imitating it, that they could not put it together again; and, if we mistake not, it was sent back to its illustrious maker for that purpose. In that state the art of constructing achromatic telescopes remained, for half a century; during which all the optical instruments used in France, including spectacles, opera glasses, microscopes, micrometers, day and night telescopes of every size and description, were furnished by England.

The apprenticeship was at least long enough; but it would probably have been longer, had not necessity compelled the French to make what they could no longer import. After many trials, some indifferent object glasses were produced; and, since that time, a few good achromatic telescopes have really been constructed in Paris. The present French opticians, if they have not improved upon us, have very much improved upon their former selves; but we do not hesitate to say, that, for one good achromatic glass which may be purchased, as it were at sight in Paris, forty of equal goodness may be purchased in London; and we will add, that some may be found in London, of Mr Dolland's for instance, both old and new, which cannot be rivalled by any that the French opticians have ever made. The superiority of our achromatic telescopes is, in some measure, derived from the number that is manufactured; because a greater variety of combinations can be tried, of the convex and concave glasses ground to produce a given focus; and Mr Dolland himself attributes much of his superior success to the multiplicity which he can command, and to the care with which the trials are made, in order to select the adjustments of crown and flint, which are the best suited to each other. But such a multiplicity can be manufactured only where the demand is great. The cheap and smaller spy-glasses, those which are in the hands

of every person, are now tolerably well made in Paris; but others, which require more care, and are of a higher price, such, for instance, as the short telescopes of sixteen inches focus, and two inches aperture, are miserably inferior; because the rich are not enlightened enough, and the learned not rich enough, in France, to bring such dear and delicate instruments into common demand. What might we not add, if we were malicious enough to compare the highest branch of optics in this country, the great reflecting telescopes of Herschel, with all that have been attempted in France on similar dimensions, and ask the reason why that which is at the observatory in Paris is not in common use for observation? Surely such men as La Grange and Prony, who have speculated upon the highest branches of mechanics, could easily have found means to move the mass, great as it is, so to say, with the little finger.

The French philosophers assert, that they have a greater number of large object glasses in Paris, than we have in London. We are willing to grant this; though, even this, Mr Tully of Islington might help us to dispute. But what is their effect? and does it bear any proportion to their dimensions? Is that which was exposed this year at the Louvre, of 18 feet focus, and 7 inches aperture, really much superior to Mr Dolland's usual four feet achromatic telescopes; and is not the boast, in a very great measure, reduced to this, that French opticians have employed six or eight times the volume and expense, to produce about double the effect?

Mr Cauchois is the person who has the greatest claim to the title of improver in this department; and we will state in what his improvements consist. The first is an erect eye tube, which he calls polyalide, or of various powers. The first pair of eyeglasses is made to recede and advance in the tube; and, beside this, at a certain point, the two lenses of the first pair vary their original distance from each other, and the magnifying power is increased or diminished. But as, during this operation, the most advantageous disposition of the eyeglass and lenses is not maintained, the benefit derived from it has its limits. This eye tube however is convenient for portable spyglasses. His second improvement we hold to be characteristic. The subject of it is opera-glasses, which, to a nation that cannot sleep but after being at a theatre, is an article of no small importance. Accordingly, it was submitted to the Institute; and this learned assembly, the representative and legislative body of French science, ratified its merit. Mr Cauchois's opera-glasses bear a power of seven, particularly in our splendid theatres, where so much light is so admirably diffused.

As to physical, mathematical and astronomical instruments, the French are still more behind us. *Lenoir* and *Fortin* are the only two artists who attempt any thing like the accurate division of delicate instruments; and we would ask whether, within the last twenty, thirty, or forty years, the sum total of the work delivered by both these persons together, amounts to one-tenth part of what Mr Troughton alone has executed, in the same period? But Mr Troughton has many competitors in London, as well as in other towns of England; while *Lenoir* and *Fortin* have not one in the whole territory of France; and, notwithstanding the manufactory of Mr *Juker*—who by the by is a German educated in England—more good sextants might be purchased at sight, in any one of at least ten towns of the United Kingdom, exclusive of London, than could be found in Paris at a month's notice.

An instrument which we cannot pass by in silence, and for which the astronomical world is indebted to Mr *Breguet*, is the following. In the focus of a celestial eyeglass, two hands, like those of a watch, are seen to pass, with an uninterrupted motion; and, in their passage, to correspond to the divisions of an immoveable circle, seen also in the field of the eyeglass. The correspondence of these hands, with the divisions of the circle, mark seconds, and tenths of seconds; and, as the eye can follow them, at the same time that it observes the star, which goes through the field of the telescope in the same direction, the duration of its passage can be determined with much more accuracy, than by the usual method. What is further remarkable in this instrument is, that an uninterrupted motion is produced by means of an escapement. One of the wheels which communicates motion to the hands, has a round hole in the centre, and is held upon a round arbor, by means of a spiral spring, the central point of which is fixed to the arbor, and the other extremity to the wheel. The vibrations of the balance are very rapid, and keep the spring in a continual state of nearly equal tension; by which means, the motion proceeds without any visible interruption, although seen through a powerful lens.

These manufactories are particularly deserving of attention, as they depend upon the highest state of human culture, united to a wide diffusion of wealth, which enables a greater portion of the population to indulge in tastes that are necessarily expensive. Beside this too, they bring back no returns of profit, except to the understanding. Their promoters are not induced to cultivate them by the hope of emolument; and even the art-



ists who devote themselves to manufacturing the instruments they employ, are generally impelled, by the love of science, rather than of gain. Such men are, as it were, the Poets of the manufacturing world; and, like their brethren of literature, their fortune, too, often consists of reputation, and the noble poverty of genius. We do not know that, in Paris or the environs, there is one single private observatory, except that of Mr Le Chevalier at St Genevieve; and we have good reasons for asserting, that, in the whole territory of France, there are not so many as in the single metropolis of England. Mr Breguet has lately established a transit instrument for better observing his chronometers. From our own personal acquaintance, we know of eight watchmakers in London, who have transit instruments—and there probably are more.

It is in the arts which depend upon Chemistry that Mr Chaptal pronounces the French to be without a rival. We can, however, by no means subscribe to this opinion; though very signal improvements have undoubtedly been made in both countries in the course of the last twenty years.

It is not very long since the manufacturer was suspicious of the counsels given him by the philosopher; neither did his apprehensions cease, until the establishments conducted by men of science were found to be the most flourishing in the country. One of the earliest of these was the powder manufactory of Grenelle; in which thirty-five thousand weight of gun-powder, fit for military service, were made per day. At the commencement of the Revolutionary wars, French gunpowder was stronger than English; but all the French gunpowder which has been examined in the concluding years of those wars, has been found to be less strong than our own. Consequently, whatever improvements the French may have made in this manufactory, the English must have made still greater.

In speaking of the instruments of war, which, according to Madame de Staël, was the only thing well done in France under Bonaparte, we must mention the Shrapnell shot and Congreve rocket, both English inventions; and which the French have not yet succeeded in imitating. Our cannon, too, are understood to be better bored than any made on the Continent.—And as to the artificial nitre beds, of which so much was said about the year 1794, Europe has long ago ascertained how little truth there was in all that was related of them.

The processes for bleaching by chlorine, are originally due to the genius of Mr Berthollet. But they have been considerably modified and improved in the United Kingdom; and at this moment they are more perfect there, than in France.

The state of paper manufactories in France is the more remarkable, as it is characteristic of the state of wealth and knowledge. Very beautiful painted papers for hangings are made, and sold at a low price. But the paper used for printing, except in what are emphatically called *les éditions de luxe*, is very inferior to ours. That which serves for the daily gazettes and journals, is not either so strong or so white as our own. A small quantity of luxurious writing paper of various kinds, satined, coloured, with vignettes, &c. is made for the use of Parisian belles and boudoirs; but, if an average could be taken of the quality of the paper upon which the letters, distributed daily by all the post-offices in the kingdom, are written, it would be much inferior to a like average taken in England. The mention of paper induces us to say something upon epistolary communication.

We can state, from very authentic information in both countries, that the number of letters of all descriptions, delivered daily by the post, in Paris, is, on an average, 32,000; and of journals, 1800: In London, the letters are 133,000; and the journals 26,000; making, in the former capital, one letter among seventy-two persons, and one journal among three hundred and eighty-eight; and, in the latter, one letter among nine persons, and one journal among forty-three. But this ratio is still greater in the provinces of France, because the communications between Lille, and Lyons, and Marseilles, and Bourdeaux, and Strasbourgh, are not near so great as between Liverpool, and Manchester, and Bristol, and Glasgow, and Dublin; and, including the whole population of France, the number of letters distributed is not quite one among ninety persons. Thus, then, every Englishman writes nine letters for every one letter which a Frenchman writes in the same space of time. Now, let the number of letters upon business be supposed in the ratio of the respective industry of the two countries; of those upon politics in the ratio of their respective liberties; and let the reader then deduce, according to his fancy, the share which friendship, social intercourse, and the heart, have in the excess of English over French correspondence, and we have no doubt that our superiority will be still greater there, than even in our wealth or freedom.—As to journals, 34,000 are despatched daily from Paris to the Departments, among a population of about 26,000,000, making one journal among 765 persons; and, by this, the number of newspaper readers in England would be, to those in France, as 20 to 1. But the number and circulation of country papers, in England, are so much greater than in

France, that they raise the proportion of English readers to about 25 to 1; and our papers contain about three times as much letter-press as a French paper. The result of all this, is, that an Englishman reads about 75 times as much of the newspapers of his country, in a given time, as a Frenchman does of his. But in the towns of England, most of the papers are distributed by means of porters, not by the post: on the other hand, on account of the number of coffeehouses, public gardens, and other modes of communication less usual in England, it is possible that each French newspaper may be read or listened to by a greater number of persons; and thus, the English mode of distribution may be compensated. To be quite within bounds, however, and in order not to overpower our readers, we state, as the final result, that every Englishman reads daily fifty times as much, as does a Frenchman, of the newspapers of his country.

The art of making Wine, at least good wine, is wholly French; and has been considerably improved by Mr Chaptal himself. In England, we can indeed boast of some deleterious manufactories of this commodity, which are national nuisances. Whatever be the improvements which the French have made in the various branches of distillery, they have not invented any machine which, for ingenuity and effect, can be compared with the stills introduced, toward the end of the last century, into our Scotch distilleries. One French instrument we shall mention, however, as particularly simple and ingenious; and applicable to every species of still. It consists in a series of receivers, connected together like a Wolf's apparatus; with this difference, that the tubes do not reach deeper than about one fourth of the height of the receiver. When the operation commences, the first portion of spirit is condensed in the first receiver; but as this becomes heated, the most volatile portion passes into the second, and so on from one receiver to another, as the preceding receivers are heated. By this process, each receiver contains a product of a different degree of force; the first being nearly water, and the last the most ardent spirit. A worm tub may terminate the whole to condense the most volatile of all.

The better carbonization of wood is one of the processes, to the improvement of which, we owe the superiority of our gunpowder; and we believe vinegar has been produced from it fully equal to that fabricated by Messrs Mollcrat, which we have seen crystallized. The wood vinegar, has not generally the agreeable taste of that which results from fermentation, because in the latter process a small portion of alcohol is developed at the same time with the acetic acid; which, meeting in their nascent state, unite to form acetic ether. A portion of this ether, made a-

part, and added to the vinegar resulting from the distillation of wood, would be an easy remedy to this very slight defect.

Among the products of the carbonization of wood, Mr C. enumerates carburetted hydrogen gas; 'of which a beautiful application,' he says, 'was made about 20 years ago, by Mr Lebon, *ingénieur des ponts et chaussées*, who was the first that used it for the purpose of illumination.' We know that a claim to the discovery of what is now in general use throughout England, under the name of gas light, is one of the favourite usurpations of the French; and, in order to gratify them, we will examine how well founded that is, before we say any thing of the state of its application to useful ends. If the idea of gas light were to be traced back to its origin, through all the steps it has made, before it reached its present state, it would, like most other arts or applications, offer a long list of discoverers or improvers. Among the earliest of these, perhaps, might be Mr Boyle, who, about 150 years ago, amused the scientific world with his philosopher's lamp. But, much earlier than this, though not in Europe, inflammable gas, evolved by nature, was conducted through hollow canes into a temple dedicated to Zoroaster; and there kept constantly burning by his priests. Indeed, the well known personage, who has affrighted so many old women, Will o' the wisp, may have as good a claim to the title of inventor, as any of our philosophers, or even the god Mithra himself. But the properties of the gas evolved from coal by distillation, were accurately determined, more than seventy years ago, and the gas itself pointed out as proper to give both light and heat, by Dr John Clayton; and, if any one person, more than another, deserves to be called the founder of this art, he is the man. It is full thirty years since a person, who exhibited musical glasses and other things in the Lyceum theatre in the Strand, exhibited also a lustre which was lighted up without oil or candles, and then supposed to burn ether, or a gas evolved from ether; but every thing now unites to prove that the effect was produced by carburetted hydrogen. In 1792, Mr Murdoch turned his thoughts toward applying gas light upon a very extensive scale; and it was soon adopted in some of our manufactories. In 1793, the establishment of Messrs Bolton and Watt, at Soho, was thus lighted; and the illuminations there for the peace of 1802, were altogether of gas produced from coal. According to our ideas of chronology, all this was prior to Mr Lebon, excepting indeed the illumination; but as it is possible that Mr Chaptal was ignorant of it, we will not accuse him of any other motive, for thus most erroneously stating that his countryman was the discoverer of gas light, or

its first applier. But we are ready to admit whatever the French may demand in favour of Mr Lebon, and sink the glory of the individual, in a national claim, by asking whence it comes that, if the French had the start of us in the discovery and knowledge of this admirable mode of illumination, we have now so much the lead of them in its application—that, while a small coffeehouse, in the Place de Greve, is lighted by gas, we have long had immense manufactories, from which all other artificial light is banished?—that many years after a system of subterraneous tubes had been made to diverge to the distance of a French league or more, in almost every direction, conveying light from one common centre to various parts of our metropolis, during one half of the twenty-four hours daily, the French have not been able to do more than to illuminate one short passage (*le passage des Panoramas*), and that so badly, that they have lately been obliged to return to the former method of oil and reverberés?—that the Hopital de St Louis, where a very well constructed, but very small apparatus, is established, is the only place in Paris which gives an appearance of success, except indeed a show-room which was fitting up some months past, and where the curious might be indulged with a sight of gas lights in full activity, for twopence a head? Is it not because the enlarged views we take of the wants and comforts of society, enable us to see an instrument, where the French have found only a play-thing?

The superior power which animal charcoal possesses, of purifying and discolouring vegetable substances, has been applied to refining sugar. In justice to the memory of Mr Edward Howard, the author of the fulminating mercury, and who fell a victim to his ardour in the pursuit of science, it should be stated, that he had made the same discovery long before it had been heard of in France.

The manufactories which have for object the production of chemical reagents, such as the acids and alkalis, most particularly belong to the science of Chemistry. It would take up too much time to follow all the details of their fabrication. Messrs Pluvinet & Co., says Mr C., have established a manufactory of muriate of ammonia, by distilling animal substances, and directing the carbonate of ammonia produced from them, through a solution or suspension of sulphate of lime in water; and then decomposing the sulphate of ammonia, thus produced, by muriate of soda. This, adds our author, is a new process. We perfectly remember to have *seen*, in the neighbourhood of London, about the year 1798, a manufactory of muriate of ammonia, precisely upon those principles, which we believe were ori-

ginal in that establishment; and, that they had then been practised for some time, we can prove by this fact. A lawsuit was then pending between the proprietor and Government, who claimed from him 30,000*l.* as duty on the saline substances he manufactured, upon the plea, that they came under the generic name of salt.

But Mr C., says Mr C., has made more progress than the preparation of Iron in all its shapes. Furnaces, bellows, and all the apparatus of forges, have been improved. Mr Molard has invented new scissars for cutting sheet iron, which, from the short description given of them, we conceive to be sharp edges placed round two cylinders, revolving near each other in contrary directions. The most perfect manufactories of coarse cutlery existing, he adds, are in France, though England is still superior in fine cutlery. In the fabrication of pins, needles, steel beads, the French are nearly equal to the English, &c.

Now, against the whole of this eulogium on French cutlery, we must enter our protest; and we would desire no better ground upon which to meet Mr C., on a comparative view of English and French industry, than that which he himself has here chosen. He says that the late Mr Fox was surprised at the knives and watches which he saw exposed at the exhibition of French industry in 1802. And very well he might! But such knives as those sold for ninepence the dozen, if a piece of iron stuck into a lump of wood or horn, can deserve that name—an Englishman would hardly admit into his pocket. He is accustomed to better things; and is too much the spoilt child of comfort, to set a value upon the very roughest productions of clumsiness and indexterity. The pride of England does not consist in making bad wares for nothing, but in making good things cheap; in contriving means to lower the price of well made articles, in proportion to their utility, that the mass of society may enjoy them. An English labourer prefers paying his half crown for a decent well finished durable knife, to giving six farthings for one which would disgrace his country and himself; neither would he set much value upon such scissars as those which Mr Chaptal tells us were manufactured in France, and sent to Turkey, to be stuck upon the walls of the Harams, as we use broken bottles; and which were valued for their flexibility. As to needles, it is utterly ridiculous to say that the French can rival us; and the colour alone of our steel beads is a sufficient characteristic.

We will conclude the subject of Iron by an historical anecdote concerning files. In former times, files, rasps, saws, and even scythes and sickles, were imported into France from Eng-

land and Germany. The use of the file is so important and so general in the mechanical arts, that the quantity used may, in some shape, be taken as the measure of their extent and prosperity. The communications with England and Germany, being interrupted, a person, named Raoul, succeeded in making good fine-grained files, for which he received from the minister of the interior, Mr Chaptal himself, a reward of 50*l*. A capital of 1200*l*., however, was necessary to form an establishment; and this sum was not forthcoming. Since that time, Mr Raoul has continued to work on a very small scale; employing only five or six children to cut his files by the hand. It must be remarked, that he is the only person in France that makes really good fine-grained files. But why is he so? It is time to tell the reader his secret: He uses *British* cast steel, and none other. We have been informed by a Frenchman who has furnished him with that commodity, that its importation into France was winked at by Bonaparte; and that at no time was there a want of it, though it was frequently sold for near ten shillings the pound. The great merit, then, of Mr Raoul, consists in this; that good English cast steel, which neither he nor his countrymen can make, does not grow soft in his hands. Some say he has a secret method of tempering. This may be; but still his secret is applicable only to English cast steel; for with none other can he make his best files; and these are, if any thing, a little softer than our *best* English, as we have found by trial. A propos of Bonaparte's commercial prohibitions, we remember to have seen one of his most virulent proclamations against admitting British merchandise into France, printed upon English paper!

In as far as nations can be judged by the materials in working which they most excel, and by the results they produce, it may be said that, in all countries where the fabrication of iron is carried to a high degree of perfection, the progress of civilization has been great; and that, where the arts depending upon gold have been the most flourishing, the advancement of society has been marked by luxury, more than by thought; by physical, rather than by intellectual improvement. It was on account of their ignorance in the art of working this difficult metal, that wrought iron bore so high a value among the ancients; and that some Eastern nations are still content to purchase it with an equal weight of gold. In the present day, no nation can vie with the English in this art; but in all the manufactories of the latter metal, we must allow the French to be our superiors. One of the things, indeed, which render gold, and gilding, in all its branches, of less importance in England, as furniture, is

the smoke of our coal, which soon tarnishes it; but the strongest of all, we conceive to be the turn of thought and disposition of the people, which have disposed them to employ more pains in fabricating the most useful, than the most splendid of metals. In plating silver, the French have long been much inferior to us. It is worthy of remark, that, in gilding, the principal operations are performed by the hand; while plating employs the most admirable combinations of machinery.

So much, then, for the improvements which, according to Mr Chaptal, have been made in French industry. To complete our task, we should now inquire what has been the progress of our own during the same period. This, however, would take up too much room: Yet we must briefly notice one or two things that stand out, as it were, for comparison. The first, though the most frivolous, will vex the French more than all the rest put together. Our Theatres are more spacious, and more beautifully decorated, than those of France; and the modes which have been adopted for ventilation and illumination, render them striking contrasts with the French playhouses, even those of Paris, so dismal, dark, and dirty, and in which every sense is offended.

Three Bridges have been built in Paris within about 18 years; and three have lately been built in London. The three bridges of Paris are among the curiosities which every Parisian cicerone, or lacquais de place, leads every stranger to see, and admire. But were the surface of our Waterloo bridge alone to be measured, and its mass weighed, it would be found to surpass the sum total of the three new bridges of Paris; yet no officious lacquais extorts the admiration of foreigners in its behalf. It is true, the greatest statuary of full twenty ages, Canova, is said to have expressed his opinion, that it was the finest bridge in Europe; and that it alone merited a journey from Rome to London. In the fine arts, we must also mention the British invention of Panoramas.

Mr Chaptal makes no mention of manufactures which have fallen into decay. We know that, before the Revolution, Marseilles possessed forty manufactories of soap; and that, in 1796, only six remained in activity. Several however, we believe, have been reestablished since that time.

The French have long possessed a species of establishment in which we have not yet indulged; and that is, *des Manufactures Royales*, such as those of the Sevres and the Gobelins. The products of these are very magnificent; but neither the one nor the other used to pay its expenses,—and they served principally as brilliant specks, to dazzle foreigners; or, to use an expression of



Mr Costaz, 'à aggrandir l'idée que les étrangers ont de la France.' From eight to twelve years are necessary to make a good workman at the Gobelins; and, at the end of that time, the best among them earns about four francs per day! Such is the sceptered munificence of France, toward the men who are kept in employment to make the country admired by foreigners! But whither can they carry their industry? and to what new trade can they devote themselves, who have spent twelve years in the study of drawing, colouring and embroidering?

In the same class of luxurious manufactories as these, may be ranked plate glass, in which the French have long excelled. The Lancashire company, however, have made plates of the enormous dimensions of twelve feet by six; which the manufactory of St Gobin has never thought of attempting. Mirrors of all kinds are among the things which one might, *a priori*, suppose to have been multiplied and perfected in France; as they contribute to gratify more than one species of vanity. It is but of late, however, and in imitation of England, that a decent drinking-glass has been made in the country; so much is luxury preferred to comfort. The French are particularly expert in bending large sheets of glass, and making them into various shapes, to cover clocks, vases, &c. Their green bottle glass, too, is generally superior to ours. But theirs is a wine country.

We believe we must stop here: But to illustrate the general character and result of the industry of France, we may remark, that with all her national advantages, there is no country in Europe that has suffered so much from financial embarrassments, or got so disreputably out of them. National Bankruptcy has been a most common resource: and to raise the nominal value of the coin, or to lower its intrinsic worth, to reduce the capital or the interests of the creditors of the State, have at all times been among her happiest financial operations. Without looking back to older times, to the reign St Louis, whom the French consider as their most virtuous monarch; or of John, who said that, if honour were banished from the earth, it should still find an asylum in the hearts of kings,—and who both did what they pleased with the coin, and the claims of their creditors—without quoting the examples of two of the most upright ministers that France has ever known, Sully and Colbert, both of whom were partisans of bankruptcy: we may say, that the money of which the subject has been defrauded or robbed, within the last hundred years, is equal to more than the national debt of England. Louis XIV, after repeatedly altering the value of his coin, left his kingdom loaded with a debt of 130,000,000 Sterling, which the honest St Simon gravely proposed to pay

by a national bankruptcy. This expedient, however, the Duke de Noailles opposed in words, though he adopted it in reality, under the names of a new coinage, the visa, and the chambre ardente: measures which gave rise to scenes of iniquity and corruption, such as never have occurred in England. After this followed the Regency, the System of Law, and further fluctuations in the value of coin, until Fleury, after employing the same means himself, at length abandoned them, and put a momentary stop to these profligate irregularities. The same distress, and the same deceptions, continued during all the administrations through which the finance department was handed; and the plans and operations of Silhouette, Boulogne, Sechelles, were precisely of the same complexion. Not even the enlightened views of Quesnai, or the still more extensive projects of Vincent de Gournai, could communicate to their countrymen, an efficient desire to become more honest and prudent; and, in 1770, the Abbé Terrai had recourse to the same expedients of violence and fraud, which were the subject of many songs and epigrams. At length Turgôt was placed at the head of the finances, who seems to have been the only Frenchman that, to this hour, had any sound ideas upon the subject; and therefore it was that he was so speedily dismissed. To him soon succeeded the levity of Calonne, the obstinate and impracticable self-sufficiency of Necker, and, finally, the Revolution,—which speedily eclipsed the glory of all earlier depredations. The confiscations of that dreadful period, at a moderate computation, may be estimated at nearly  $\frac{1}{3}$ d of the fee-simple of the territory of France. Reductions of interest, almost at another third. The amount of assignats, the value of which was annihilated by the Legislature, in the short space of six years, was fourteen hundred and seventy-four millions Sterling. When their successors, the mandats, were ushered into the world, by a sentence of death on whomsoever should refuse to receive them at their nominal value, their appearance was anticipated among the public, by a depreciation of about 66 per cent.; and an epigram, with which the walls of the Palais Royal were covered in one night, hastened on their untimely end.

‘ MANDATS.

‘ Pauvres petits infortunés !

Vous êtes morts avant d'être nés ! ’

In 15 months one hundred millions of this still-born paper, was annulled.

Although one of the objects proposed by the first partisans of the Revolution, was to equalize taxes, and to make every

man contribute in proportion to his wealth, this end was not long kept in view; and, although the subject of taxation has been discussed in the Legislative Body, during thirty successive years, little proficiency has been made in it. The rich, indeed, are not now, as formerly, exempted by any particular privilege, from contributing their share; but the system upon which the ways and means are raised, does most efficaciously exonerate them, by pressing too heavily upon objects which the poor consume, and too lightly upon those which contribute to the enjoyments of the wealthy. Nay, in one instance, the French have shown less wisdom now, than in the 14th century. Under king John, wine paid a tax, in proportion to its price; but, at this moment, the cheapest beverage is subject to the same duty, on its entry into Paris and other towns, as the dearest; and thus the poor contribute 125 per cent., and the rich about 5 per cent. upon this article of universal consumption. Game of every description is exempt from duty; and lamb, another delicacy reserved for the rich, pays none of the *droits d'entrée* to which the very worst meats, dead or alive, are subjected. Nay, what is still more striking, there is no tax upon seryants, horses, carriages, or any of the apparatus which ministers to luxury; but the miserable vehicles, called *pots de chambre*, in which the lower orders travel, at the rate of three halfpence per mile, pay a heavy duty to government. The *droit de patente*, which every artisan must deposit before he can exercise a trade, is a preventive tax upon industry. The land-tax is most unequally borne, by the different departments; and other imposts are paid, by some, in the proportion of  $\frac{1}{12}$ th, by others in the proportion of  $\frac{1}{4}$ d of the property. The absence of country banks shows the low state of internal trade; and, upon the whole, innumerable instances might be found, to demonstrate, that the opulent classes, to which the bulk of the legislators belongs, has not yet learned, in France, to strike the just balance between their country and themselves; but proceed upon a principle which pretty nearly amounts to levying rates upon the poor to enable the wealthy to live more at ease.

The territorial advantages of France, in what relates to subsistence, have been administered with equal incapacity; and the horrors of famine have preyed upon that country, to greater extent, and more frequently, than upon others, to whom nature has been far less bountiful. The famine under Robert, in 1031, during which human flesh was sold in the butchers' shops, exceeded every thing that English history records, even that of 1513 under Edward II., the most dreadful we have experienced. The years 1318, 1351, 1420, 1437,

1483, 1557, and, more recently, 1801, 1812, 1816, 1817, were remarkable for a much greater degree of distress than we have felt upon similar occasions; and, in modern times, we cannot but remark, how much more frequently the want of provisions has excited, or, at least, has served as a pretext, for the apprehensions of government, and the clamours of the people, in France than in England. Our extensive relations, our industry, our foresight, generally lay by something for a time of want; but the French, confiding in their natural advantages, never see misfortune till it falls upon them. The law of the *Maximum*, in 1793, was alone sufficient to create a famine; and, accordingly, distress was felt in its utmost fury, though its recollection was soon lost among the other horrors of that dreadful year.

Taking a final view of the state of French industry, now and formerly, it is certainly impossible to doubt that it has received a very powerful stimulus, from the destruction of old prejudices; and a proportionate increase, since the obstacles which once impeded its progress have been removed. We are far, however, from allowing that it can bear a comparison with English industry:—nor do we think it will ever be in a state so to do. At no time were the French a truly manufacturing and commercial people, like the English; and that, for a reason which acts most powerfully upon all human beings,—they can better do without manufactures and trade than we can. The charter they received from Nature was delivered in this Sybaritic aphorism, ‘Be thoughtless, and enjoy;’ while we were ordained to struggle under a harder, but a nobler mandate, ‘Reflect, and labour.’ The stimulants which have been applied to their vanity may rouse it for a time; but those effects, like all that is in opposition to nature, must have an end. The very exhibition of the products of French industry, for the present year, shows how little the comforts of the people have been attended to, in comparison with the luxuries of the great; how little the spirit of solidity and utility has gained over the national taste for frivolous ingenuity; and how much greater their wish still is to dazzle than instruct. No body of British manufacturers, we are persuaded, would submit to be the actors in such a theatrical pageant. The only exhibition about which an Englishman cares, is the diffusion of wealth and comfort in all its shapes; and he measures it, not by its surface or its brilliancy, but by its depth and its solidity. He does not collect rare specimens into palaces, that princes may gaze at them; he spreads out his every-day productions over the world, that men may imitate and enjoy them. The cottages and hamlets of the peasants, the neat mansions of the

yeomanry, the larger habitations of the more wealthy, and all the gradations of dwellings up to the palace of the monarch, are the places where the products of British industry are to be found,—not exhibited, but in use; and where active comfort reigns in every due proportion. To a Frenchman, indeed, exhibition is the limit of ambition; and the industry of which he can make a parade, is that which he will ever most value. Even while we look back—and forward—on the changes of empires and the overthrow of states, the rise of some upon the ruins of others, and the dread and interminable rotations of the wheel of fortune, we cannot but feel that there are characters inscribed on the hearts of nations which fortune can never wholly erase. What has long been among multitudes, has, for the most part, wisely been; and it is allowing too little to habit, to say that it is our *second* nature. It is more commonly the symbol of our *first* impulses, and our first feelings; the expression of an original bias, no matter how or when impressed, but continued to our latest years. Of this kind is the industry of England, together with the habit of reflexion by which it has been matured; not a result from any of the fortuitous events which chance has brought to light, and may again overwhelm in darkness; but a deep and indestructible proclivity, more long and lasting than her power itself. The splendour of nations may pass away; their wealth may be swallowed up in the vortex of revolutions; and the strength of to-day may be the weakness of to-morrow. But their characters are not thus to be effaced, nor their genius to be extinguished. With the power of Greece, the characteristic vivacity of her intellect did not perish: and, when the martial ardour of Rome, the last of all the virtues which forsook her, had become the dream of past ages, another spirit of glory, more peaceful though not less ambitious, took possession of her soul; and the world beheld, with admiration, a successive sceptre in her hands. The seat of the Useful Arts—of those which mankind bless, and by which they are blessed—of those which the heart reveres, and the understanding approves, is Britain:—and, should her armies be laid low—should wars or tempests sweep her fleets from the ocean—should even her Star of Liberty grow dim; she may yet hold her empire over the mind, and maintain a place among the nations, by the united influence of sense, industry, and beneficence.

Those who blame us for pointing out her faults and errors, do not know how we love and honour our country. It is the natural effect of sojourning in foreign climes, to make us too intensely national, and too proudly patriotic; and, on this occasion, we confess that we have wilfully shut our eyes both to the

evils under which we now suffer, and to the follies by which they have been partly provoked—and dwelt only on the brighter topics of our character, intelligence and industry, and of the prosperity which was once, and, we trust will be again, their natural reward. It is impossible, however, to exclude for ever the prospect which lies immediately before us; and the love and respect we feel for our countrymen, but aggravate the bitterness of the reflections it suggests. No man who feels, as he ought, for the character of this nation, but must ask, whether a people so industrious and skilful can be starving, without the greatest abuse and misgovernment; or whether any circumstances can justify words of contumely and menace, or measures of violence and intimidation, against a people so orderly, so reasonable, and so sincere?

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ART. VI. *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee, with a Statistical Account of that Kingdom, and Geographical Notices of other Parts of the Interior of Africa.* By T. EDWARD BOWDICH Esq., Conductor. London, Murray. 1819.

CAPE COAST CASTLE, or Cape Corso, is a factory of Africa, on the Gold Coast. The Portuguese settled here in 1610, and built the citadel; from which, in a few years afterwards, they were dislodged by the Dutch. In 1661, it was demolished by the English under Admiral Holmes; and, by the treaty of Breda, it was made over to our Government. The latitude of Cape Coast Castle is  $5^{\circ} 6'$  north; the longitude  $1^{\circ} 51'$  west. The capital of the kingdom of Ashantee is Coomassie, the latitude of which is about  $6^{\circ} 30' 20''$  north, and the longitude  $2^{\circ} 6' 30''$  west. The mission quitted Cape Coast Castle on the 22d of April, and arrived at Coomassie about the 16th of May,—halting two or three days on the route, and walking the whole distance, or carried by hammock-bearers at a foot pace. The distance between the fort and the capital is not more than 150 miles, or about as far as from Durham to Edinburgh:—and yet the kingdom of Ashantee was, before the mission of Mr Bowdich, almost as much unknown to us as if it had been situated in some other planet. The country which surrounds Cape Coast Castle belongs to the Fantees; and, about the year 1807, an Ashantee army reached the coast for the first time. They invaded Fantee again in 1811, and, for the third time, in 1816. To put a stop to the horrible cruelties committed by the stronger on the weaker nation; to secure their own safety, endangered by the A-

shantees ; and to enlarge our knowledge of Africa,—the Government of Cape Coast Castle persuaded the African Committee to send a deputation to the kingdom of Ashantee : And of this embassy, the publication now before us is the narrative. The embassy walked through a beautiful country, laid waste by the recent wars, and arrived in the time we have mentioned, and without meeting with any remarkable accident at Coomassie the capital. The account of their first reception there we shall lay before our readers.

‘ We entered Coomassie at two o’clock, passing under a fetish, or sacrifice of a dead sheep, wrapped up in red silk, and suspended between two lofty poles. Upwards of 5000 people, the greater part warriors, met us with awful bursts of martial music, discordant only in its mixture ; for horns, drums, rattles, and gong-gongs, were all exerted with a zeal bordering on phrenzy, to subdue us by the first impression. The smoke which encircled us from the incessant discharges of musquetry, confined our glimpses to the foreground ; and we were halted whilst the captains performed their Pyrrhic dance, in the centre of a circle formed by their warriors ; where a confusion of flags, English, Dutch, and Danish, were waved and flourished in all directions ; the bearers plunging and springing from side to side, with a passion of enthusiasm only equalled by the captains, who followed them, discharging their shining blunderbusses so close, that the flags now and then were in a blaze ; and emerging from the smoke with all the gesture and distortion of maniacs. Their followers kept up the firing around us in the rear. The dress of the captains was a war cap, with gilded rams horns projecting in front, the sides extended beyond all proportion by immense plumes of eagles feathers, and fastened under the chin with bands of cowries. Their vest was of red cloth, covered with fetishes and saphies in gold and silver ; and embroidered cases of almost every colour, which flapped against their bodies as they moved, intermixed with small brass bells, the horns and tails of animals, shells, and knives ; long leopards tails hung down their backs, over a small bow covered with fetishes. They wore loose cotton trowsers, with immense boots of a dull red leather, coming half way up the thigh, and fastened by small chains to their cartouch or waist belt ; these were also ornamented with bells, horses tails, strings of amulets, and innumerable shreds of leather ; a small quiver of poisoned arrows hung from their right wrist, and they held a long iron chain between their teeth, with a scrap of Moorish writing affixed to the end of it. A small spear was in their left hands, covered with red cloth and silk tassels ; their black countenances heightened the effect of this attire, and completed a figure scarcely human.

‘ This exhibition continued about half an hour, when we were allowed to proceed, encircled by the warriors, whose numbers, with the crowds of people, made our movement as gradual as if it had taken place in Cheapside ; the several streets branching off to the

right, presented long vistas crammed with people; and those on the left hand, being on an acclivity, innumerable rows of heads rose one above another: The large open porches of the houses, like the fronts of stages in small theatres, were filled with the better sort of females and children, all impatient to behold white men for the first time; their exclamations were drowned in the firing and music, but their gestures were in character with the scene. When we reached the palace, about half a mile from the place where we entered, we were again halted, and an open file was made, through which the bearers were passed, to deposit the presents and baggage in the house assigned to us. Here we were gratified by observing several of the caboceers (chiefs) pass by with their trains, the novel splendour of which astonished us. The bands, principally composed of horns and flutes, trained to play in concert, seemed to soothe our hearing into its natural tone again by their wild melodies; whilst the immense umbrellas, made to sink and rise from the jerkings of the bearers, and the large fans waving around, refreshed us with small currents of air, under a burning sun, clouds of dust, and a density of atmosphere almost suffocating. We were then squeezed, at the same funeral pace, up a long street, to an open-fronted house, where we were desired by a royal messenger to wait a further invitation from the king.' pp. 31-33.

The embassy remained about four months, leaving one of their members behind as a permanent resident. Their treatment, though subjected to the fluctuating passions of Barbarians, was, upon the whole, not bad; and a foundation appears to have been laid of future intercourse with the Ashantees, and a mean opened, through them, of becoming better acquainted with the interior of Africa.

The Moors, who seem (barbarians as they are) to be the civilizers of internal Africa, have penetrated to the capital of the Ashantees: They are bigotted and intolerant to Christians, but not sacrificers of human victims in their religious ceremonies;—nor averse to commerce; and civilized in comparison to most of the idolatrous natives of Africa.. From their merchants who resorted from various parts of the interior, Mr Bowdich employed himself in procuring all the geographical details which their travels enabled them to afford. Timbuctoo they described as inferior to Houssa, and not at all comparable to Boornoo. The Moorish influence was stated to be powerful, but not predominant. A small river goes nearly round the town, overflowing in the rains, and obliging the people of the suburbs to move to an eminence in the centre of the town, where the king lives. The king, a Moorish negro called Billabahada, had a few double-barrelled guns, which were fired on great occasions; and gunpowder was as dear as gold. Mr Bowdich calculates Houssa



to be NE. from the Niger 20 days' journey, of 18 miles each day; and the latitude and longitude to be  $18^{\circ} 59' N.$  and  $3^{\circ} 50' E.$  Boornoo was spoken of as the first empire in Africa. The Mahometans of Senaar reckon it among the four powerful empires of the world: the other three being Turkey, Persia, and Abyssinia.

The Niger is only known to the Moors by the name of the *Quolla*, pronounced as *Quorra* by the negroes, who, from whatever countries they come, all spoke of this as the largest river with which they were acquainted; and it was the grand feature in all the routes to Ashantee, whether from *Houssa*, *Boornoo*, or the intermediate countries. The Niger, after leaving the lake Dibri, was invariably described as dividing into two large streams; the *Quolla*, or the greater division, pursuing its course south-eastward, till it joined the *Bahr Abiad*; and the other branch running northward of east, near to Timbuctoo, and dividing again soon afterwards,—the smaller division running northwards by *Yahoodie*, a place of great trade, and the larger running directly eastward, and entering the lake *Caudi* under the name of *Gambaroo*. 'The variety of this concurrent evidence respecting the *Gambaroo*, made an impression on my mind,' says Mr Bowdich, 'almost amounting to conviction.' The same author adds, that he found the Moors very cautious in their accounts; declining to speak unless they were positive,—and frequently referring doubtful points to others whom they knew to be better acquainted with them.

The character of the present king is upon the whole respectable, but he is ambitious, has conquered a great deal, and is conquering still. He has a love of knowledge; and was always displeased when the European objects which attracted his attention were presented to him as gifts. His motives, he said, ought to be better understood, and more respect paid to his dignity and friendship. He is acute, capricious, and severe, but not devoid of humanity; and has incurred unpopularity on some occasions, by limiting the number of human sacrifices more than was compatible with strict orthodoxy. His general subjects of discourse with the Mission were war, legislation, and mechanics. He seemed very desirous of standing well in the estimation of his European friends; and put off a conversation, once, because he was a little tipsy, and at another time because he felt himself cross, and out of temper.

The king, four aristocratical assessors, and the assembly of captains, are the three estates of the Ashantee government. The noble quantumvirate, in all matters of foreign policy, have a veto on the king's decisions. They watch, rather than share

the domestic administration; generally influencing it by their opinion, rather than controlling it by their authority. In exercising his judicial function, the king always retires in private with the aristocracy, to hear their opinions. The course of succession in Ashantee is the brother, the sister's son, the son, and the chief slave.

The king's sisters may marry, or intrigue with any person they please, provided he is very strong and handsome; and these elevated and excellent women are always ready to set an example of submission to the laws of their country. The interest of money is about 300 per cent. A man may kill his own slave; or an inferior, for the price of seven slaves. Trifling thefts are punished by exposure. The property of the wife is distinct from that of the husband—though the king is heir to it. Those accused of witchcraft are tortured to death. Slaves, if ill treated, are allowed the liberty of transferring themselves to other masters.

The Ashantees believe that an higher sort of god takes care of the whites, and that they are left to the care of an inferior species of deities. Still the black kings and black nobility are to go to the upper gods after death, where they are to enjoy eternally the state and luxury which was their portion on earth. For this reason a certain number of cooks, butlers, and domestics of every description, are sacrificed on their tombs. They have two sets of priests: the one dwell in the temples, and communicate with the idols; the other species do business as conjurers and cunning men, tell fortunes, and detect small thefts. Half the offerings to the idols are (as the priests say) thrown into the river, the other half they claim as their own. The doors of the temples are, from motives of the highest humanity, open to runaway slaves; but shut, upon a fee paid by the master to the priest. Every person has a small set of household gods, bought of the Fetishmen. They please their gods by avoiding particular sorts of meat; but the prohibited viand is not always the same. Some curry favour by eating no veal; some seek protection by avoiding pork; others say, that the real monopoly which the celestials wish to establish, is that of beef—and so they piously and prudently rush into a course of mutton. They have the customary nonsense of lucky days, trial by ordeal, and libations and relics. The most horrid and detestable of their customs is their sacrifice of human victims, and the tortures preparatory to it. This takes place at all their great festivals, or Customs, as they are called.—Some of these occur every 21 days; and there are not fewer than 100 victims immolated at

each. Besides these, there are sacrifices at the death of every person of rank, more or less bloody according to their dignity. On the death of his mother, the king butchered no less than *three thousand* victims; and on his own death this number would probably be doubled. The funeral rites of a great captain were repeated weekly for three months; and 200 persons, it is said, were slaughtered each time, or 2400 in all. The author gives an account of the manner of these abominations, in one instance of which he was an unwilling spectator. On the funeral of the mother of Quatchie Quofie, which was by no means a great one—

‘ A dash of sheep and rum was exchanged between the King and Quatchie Quofie, and the drums announced the sacrifice of the victims. All the chiefs first visited them in turn; I was not near enough to distinguish wherefore. The executioners wrangled and struggled for the office; and the indifference with which the first poor creature looked on, in the torture he was from the knife passed through his cheeks, was remarkable. The nearest executioner snatched the sword from the others, the right hand of the victim was then lopped off, he was thrown down, and his head was sawed rather than cut off; it was cruelly prolonged, I will not say wilfully. Twelve more were dragged forward, but we forced our way through the crowd, and retired to our quarters. Other sacrifices, principally female, were made in the bush where the body was buried. It is usual to “wet the grave” with the blood of a freeman of respectability. All the retainers of the family being present, and the heads of all the victims deposited in the bottom of the grave, several are unsuspectingly called on in a hurry to assist in placing the coffin or basket; and just as it rests on the heads or skulls, a slave from behind stuns one of these freemen by a violent blow, followed by a deep gash in the back part of the neck, and he is rolled in on the top of the body, and the grave instantly filled up.’ pp. 287, 288.

‘ About a hundred persons, mostly culprits reserved, are generally sacrificed, in different quarters of the town, at this custom, (that is, at the feast for the new year). Several slaves were also sacrificed at Bantama, over the large brass pan, their blood mingling with the various vegetable and animal matter within (fresh and putrefied), to complete the charm, and produce invincible fetish. All the chiefs kill several slaves, that their blood may flow into the hole from whence the new yam is taken. Those who cannot afford to kill slaves, take the head of one already sacrificed, and place it on the hole.’ p. 279.

The Ashantees are very superior in discipline and courage to the water-side Africans: They never pursue when it is near sunset; the general is always in the rear, and the fugitives are instantly put to death. The army is prohibited, during the active part of the campaign, from all food but meal, which each man carries in a small bag by his side, and mixes in his hands

with the first water he comes to ; no fires are allowed, lest their position should be betrayed ; they eat little select bits of the first enemy's heart whom they kill ; and all wear ornaments of his teeth and bones.

• In their buildings, a mould is made for receiving the clay, by two rows of stakes placed at a distance equal to the intended thickness of the wall : the interval is then filled with gravelly clay mixed with water, which, with the outward surface of the frame-work, is plastered so as to exhibit the appearance of a thick mud wall. The captains have pillars, which assist to support the roof, and form a proscenium, or open front. The steps and raised floors of the rooms are clay and stone, with a thick layer of red earth, washed and painted daily.

“ While the walls are still soft, they formed moulds or frame-works of the patterns in delicate slips of cane, connected by grass. The two first slips (one end of each being inserted in the soft wall) projected the relief, commonly mezzo : the interstices were then filled up with the plaster, and assumed the appearance depicted. The poles or pillars were sometimes encircled by twists of cane, intersecting each other, which, being filled up with thin plaster, resembled the lozenge and cable ornaments of the Anglo-Norman order ; the quatre-foil was very common, and by no means rude, from the symmetrical bend of the cane which formed it. I saw a few pillars (after they had been squared with the plaster), with numerous slips of cane pressed perpendicularly on to the wet surface, which being covered again with a very thin coat of plaster, closely resembled fluting. When they formed a large arch, they inserted one end of a thick piece of cane in the wet clay of the floor or base, and, bending the other over, inserted it in the same manner ; the entablature was filled up with wattle work plastered over. Arcades and piazzas were common. A white wash, very frequently renewed, was made from a clay in the neighbourhood. Of course the plastering is very frail, and in the relief frequently discloses the edges of the cane, giving however a piquant effect, auxiliary to the ornament. The doors were an entire piece of cotton wood, cut with great labour out of the stems or buttresses of that tree ; battens variously cut and painted were afterwards nailed across. So disproportionate was the price of labour to that of provision, that I gave but two tokoos for a slab of cotton wood, five feet by three. The locks they use are from Houssa, and quite original ; one will be sent to the British Museum. Where they raised a first floor, the under room was divided into two by an intersecting wall, to support the rafters for the upper room, which were generally covered with a frame work thickly plastered over with red ochre. I saw but one attempt at flooring with plank, it was cotton wood shaped entirely with an adze, and looked like a ship's deck. The windows were open wood work, carved in fanciful figures and intricate patterns, and painted red ; the frames were frequently cased

in gold; about as thick as cartridge paper. What surprised me most, and is not the least of the many circumstances deciding their great superiority over the generality of negroes, was the discovery that every house had its cloaca, besides the common ones for the lower orders without the town.' pp. 305, 306.

The rubbish and offal of each house are burnt every morning at the back of the street; and they are as nice in their dwellings as in their persons. The Ashantee loom is precisely on the same principles as the English: the fineness, variety, brilliancy, and size of their cloths is astonishing. They paint white cloths, not inelegantly, as fast as an European can write. They excel in pottery, and are good goldsmiths. Their weights are very neat brass casts of almost every animal, fruit and vegetable, known in the country. The king's scales, blow-pan, boxes, weights, and pipe-tongs were neatly made of the purest gold. They work finely in iron, tan leather, and are excellent carpenters.

Mr Bowdich computes the number of men capable of bearing arms to be 204,000. The disposeable force is 150,000; the population a million; the number of square miles 14,000. Polygamy is tolerated to the greatest extent; the king's allowance is 3333 wives; and the full complement is always kept up. Four of the principal streets in Coomassie are half a mile long, and from 50 to 100 yards wide. The streets were all named, and a superior captain in charge of each. The street where the mission was lodged was called Apperemsoo, or Cannon Street: another street was called Daebrium, or *Great Market Street*; another, *Prison Street*, and so on. A plan of the town is given. The Ashantees persisted in saying, that the population of Coomassie was above 100,000; but this is thought, by the gentlemen of the mission, to allude rather to the population collected on great occasions, than the permanent residents, not computed by them at more than 15,000. The markets were daily; and the articles for sale, beef, mutton, wild-hog, deer, monkeys' flesh, fowls, yams, plantains, corn, sugar-cane, rice, peppers, vegetable butter, oranges, papans, pine apples, bananas, salt and dried fish, large snails smoke-dried; palm wine, rum, pipes, beads, looking-glasses; sandals, silk, cotton cloth, powder, small pillars, white and blue thread, and calabashes. The cattle in Ashantee are as large as English cattle; their sheep are hairy. They have no implement but the hoe; have two crops of corn in the year; plant their yams at Christmas, and dig them up in September. Their plantations, extensive and orderly, have the appearance of hop gardens well fenced in, and regularly planted in lines, with a

broad walk around, and a hut at each wicker-gate, where a slave and his family reside to protect the plantation. All the fruits mentioned as sold in the market grew in spontaneous abundance, as did the sugar-cane. The oranges were of a large size, and exquisite flavour. There were no cocoa trees. The berry which gives to acids the flavour of sweets, making limes taste like honey, is common here. The castor-oil plant rises to a large tree. The cotton tree sometimes rises to the height of 150 feet.

The great obstacle to the improvement of commerce with the Ashantee people (besides the jealousy natural to barbarians) is our rejection of the slave trade, and the continuance of that detestable traffic by the Spaniards. While the mission was in that country, one thousand slaves left Ashantee for two Spanish schooners on the coast.—How is an African monarch to be taught that he has not a right to turn human creatures into rum and tobacco? or that the nation which prohibits such an intercourse, are not his enemies? To have free access to Ashantee, would command Dagwumba. The people of Inta and Dagwumba being commercial, rather than warlike, an intercourse with them, would be an intercourse with the interior, as far as Timbuctoo and Houssa northwards, and Cassina, if not Boornoo, eastwards.

After the observations of Mr Bowdich, senior officer of the mission, follows the narrative of Mr Hutchison, left as chargé d'affaires, upon the departure of the other gentlemen. Mr Hutchison mentions some white men residing at Yenné, whom he supposes to have been companions of Park; and Ali Baba, a man of good character and consideration, upon the eve of departure from these regions, assured him, that there were two Europeans then resident at Timbuctoo.—In his observations on the river Gaboon, Mr Bowdich has the following information on the present state of the slave trade.

‘Three Portuguese, one French, and two large Spanish ships, visited the river for slaves during our stay; and the master of a Liverpool vessel assured me that he had fallen in with 22 between Gaboon and the Congo. Their grand rendezvous is Mayumba. The Portuguese of St Thomas’s and Prince’s islands send small schooner boats to Gaboon for slaves, which are kept, after they are transported this short distance, until the coast is clear for shipping them to America. A third large Spanish ship, well armed, entered the river the night before we quitted it, and hurried our exit, for one of that character was committing piracy in the neighbouring rivers. Having suffered from falling into their hands before, I felicitated myself on the escape. We were afterwards chased and boarded by a Spanish armed schooner, with three hundred slaves on board; they only desired provisions.’

These are the most important extracts from this publication, which is certainly one of considerable importance, from the account it gives us of a people hitherto almost entirely unknown; and from the light which the very diligent and laborious inquiries of Mr Bowdich have thrown upon the geography of Africa, and the probability held out to us of approaching the great kingdoms on the Niger, by means of an intercourse by no means difficult to be established with the kingdoms of Inta and Dagwumba. The river Volta flows into the gulf of Guinea, in latitude  $7^{\circ}$  north. It is navigable, and by the natives navigated for ten days, to Odentee. Now, from Odentee to Sallagha, the capital of the kingdom of Inta, is but four days' journey; and seven days' journey from Sallagha, through the Inta Jam of Zengoo, is Yahndi, the capital of Dagwumba. Yahndi is described to be beyond comparison larger than Coomassie, the houses much better built and ornamented. The Ashantees who had visited it, told Mr Bowdich they had frequently lost themselves in the streets. The king has been converted by the Moors, who have settled themselves there in great numbers. Mr Lucas calls it the Mahometan kingdom of Degomba; and it was represented to him as peculiarly wealthy and civilized. The markets of Yahndi are described as animated scenes of commerce, constantly crowded with merchants from almost all the countries of the interior. It seems to us, that the best way of becoming acquainted with Africa, is not to plan such sweeping expeditions as have been lately sent out by Government, but to submit to become acquainted with it by degrees, and to acquire by little and little a knowledge of the best methods of arranging expeditions. The kingdom of Dagwumba, for instance, is not 200 miles from a well known and regular water carriage, on the Volta. Perhaps it is nearer, but the distance is not greater than this. It is one of the most commercial nations in Africa, and one of the most civilized; and yet it is utterly unknown, except by report, to Europeans.—Then why not plan an expedition to Dagwumba? The expense of which would be very trifling, and the issue known in three or four months. The information procured from such a wise and moderate undertaking, would enable any future Mission to proceed with much greater ease and safety into the interior; or prevent them from proceeding, as they hitherto have done, to their own destruction. We strongly believe, with Mr Bowdich, that this is the right road to the Niger.

Nothing in this world is created in vain: lions, tigers, conquerors, have their use. Ambitious monarchs, who are the cause of civilized nations, are the civilizers of savage people,

With a number of little independent hordes, civilization is impossible. They must have a common interest before there can be peace; and be directed by one will, before there can be order. When mankind are prevented from daily quarrelling and fighting, they first begin to improve; and all this, we are afraid, is only to be accomplished, in the first instance, by some great conqueror. We sympathize, therefore, with the victories of the King of Ashantee—and feel ourselves, for the first time, in love with military glory. The ex-Emperor of the French would, at Coomassie, Dagumbá, or Inta, be an eminent benefactor to the human race.

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ART. VII. *L'Europe après le Congrès d'Aix-la-Chapelle, faisant Suite au Congrès de Vienne.* Par M. DE PRADT, ancien Archevêque de Malines. A Paris. Béchet Ainé. 1819. 8vo. pp. 378.

NO scene in the history of diplomacy ever presented so imposing an aspect as the assembly of Sovereigns which took place at Vienna in 1815,—certainly none where the objects of deliberation were of greater extent or importance. After a war so long and eventful as that which terminated in the overthrow of Napoleon, and of the influence which his arms had extended over the whole of Europe, and exercised in a manner so fatal to its independence, the necessity of settling the political balance in such a manner as to secure the weaker against the more powerful States, became, more than ever, an object of importance and necessity. The peace of Westphalia, and also that of Utrecht, had been concluded under very different circumstances. The object of the former was, to repress the undue preponderance of a particular State; of the latter, to prevent the creation of such a preponderance, by interdicting the union of the French and Spanish monarchies under one crown. The relative situation of the different powers who were engaged in these important negotiations, was also materially changed. Some had risen to power and civilization, from a comparative state of barbarism; while others, who were the principal actors in the former transactions, had fallen into complete insignificance. Such was the state of Spain, who, at the treaty of Westphalia, was in possession of Roussillon, Franche Comté, and the Netherlands, as well as of the preponderant power in Italy; and such also, in a lesser degree, was Sweden, who performed so important a part in the negotiations at Osnabruck; while Russia, who at that period was unknown in the system of European



policy, had not only risen into power and importance, but, by her interference in the affairs of Europe, had completely changed the principles on which the ancient system proceeded. Prussia, also, which became a kingdom a little before the peace of Utrecht, had succeeded to the influence formerly exercised by France and Sweden on the Protestant interest of the empire, and formed an important counterpoise, in the north of Germany, to the power of Austria.

But by far the most important features of the Congress of Vienna, is the solemn and general adoption of that system of Partition and compulsive cession, which first received its sanction in the unprincipled division of Poland, which has been carried to an alarming extent in the late arrangements, and which gives this Congress rather the appearance of an assemblage of sovereigns for the division of conquered territories, \* than for the purpose of fulfilling those generous intentions, promulgated in the proclamations of the Allies, on their advance towards the French capital, at Frankfort and at Chatillon, and recognised in the treaty of Chaumont and the peace of Paris. Occasions have certainly occurred, where the cession of a particular district has been attended with advantage; but in such cases the States themselves have always been admitted as parties, and their consent generally obtained to the alienation of their territory, while they received an indemnity for the loss; as in the case of the cession of Alsace and Lorraine to France, at the peace of Westphalia. In the act of cession, or instrument delivered

\* That the reader may have a distinct idea of the comparative increase of territory acquired by these arrangements, we subjoin the following Table, from an interesting work entitled 'La France et les Français, en 1817. Par C. L. Le Sur. Paris, 1817,'—showing the extent and population of the great States before the French Revolution, and after the Congress of Vienna.

	Extent of Territory acquired		Population	
	in 1789.	in 1817.	in 1789.	in 1817.
	<i>German sq. Miles</i>			
Russia in Europe	60,000	75,000	27,000,000	41,000,000
Austria	11,800	14,100	22,000,000	27,000,000
Prussia	2,600	4,900	6,000,000	10,500,000
Netherlands	625	1,094	2,700,000	4,800,000
	<i>square leagues</i>			
France	27,490	27,490	25,000,000	28,814,041

By the Emperor to France, on this occasion, it is expressly declared, that these districts are ceded. '*ex communi ordinum sententia pro publica tranquillitate, accedente etiam titulo oneroso (ut in tractatu videre est) in alterius dominium legitime translata.*' This, however, is widely different from the principle of 'that just repartition of force' adopted by the late Congress, where the States ceded were no parties to the transaction, being merely invited to accede, or submit rather, to the final decision already adopted by the Allied Powers. The sovereigns have, in fact, erected themselves into a sort of council for arranging the interests of Europe; under the sanction of which, they consider themselves authorized to extend or contract the territories of the other independent kingdoms and states, without the smallest respect for the personal interests of the subjects which compose those States; and, as in the case of Saxony, transferring an industrious and commercial people, from the mild and protecting sway of a pacific limited prince, to the dominion of a military and ambitious monarchy. We cannot agree with those who think, that by the creation of powerful and extensive kingdoms of the first order, and the annihilation of the smaller states, the peace or security of the rest is better ensured; for, besides the total want of justice or principle in such a system, it seems to us still more objectionable on the score of expediency.

The absorption of smaller states by the more powerful, has, in every period of the world, preceded the decline of civilization, the extinction of liberty, and the approach of barbarism; while the formation of smaller states has always been the result of industrious enterprise, and the invigorating spirit of freedom. We conceive, therefore, that the Plan of Partition has overthrown the greatest advantage introduced by the balancing system, in the barrier which it opposed to the spirit of conquest—rejecting every acquisition of territory, even when founded on lawful right, which tended to aggrandize an already powerful state, to the manifest detriment or danger of neighbouring kingdoms. It was the force of this principle which compelled Philip V. of Spain to renounce his right to the succession of the French crown—the narrative of which instrument of renunciation, recognises this principle in such concise and decisive terms, that we cannot avoid quoting it below, \* for the edifi-

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\* 'It being one of the principal positions of the treaties of peace, depending between the crowns of Spain and of France, with that of England, for the rendering it firm and lasting, and proceeding to a general one, on the maxim of securing for ever the universal good.

cation of our modern diplomatists, and at the same time recommending it as a valuable text in public law.

But it is said by the admirers of the late arrangements, that the equilibrium has not been unsettled, because a due proportion has been observed in the division of the spoil. But nothing can be more fallacious than such an argument; for if we once admit the dangerous principle that the greater powers may appropriate the smaller on such pretences as indemnification for losses occasioned by wars, or their political misdemeanor—provided only that they divide them fairly among themselves—where shall we find a check to the spirit of aggrandisement to which so strong a temptation and so ready an apology is thus suggested? Is it not evident, that the termination of every new war must necessarily witness the absorption of some of the weaker States by the stronger; till two or three giant powers alone are left, to fight with each other for the great prize of universal dominion?

Of all the questions reserved by the treaty of Paris for discussion at the Congress, those regarding the reestablishment of Poland, and the fate of Saxony, were of the most importance. There are fortunately a sufficient number of documents,\* although not published by any regular authority, to enable us to form a tolerably correct estimate of the proceedings which took place on these great questions. But as we have already entered very fully into the business of Poland, as well as of Genoa, in former Numbers of this Journal, we shall speak now more particularly to the question of Saxony. With these negotiations, another very important object, that of the reconstruction of the Prussian monarchy, was intimately connected. The treaties of Kalisch and Toeplitz had guaranteed to Prussia a determined scale of reconstruction, that of the year 1805. Those of Rei-

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*and quiet of Europe by an equal weight of power, so that by many being united in one, the balance might not turn to the advantage of one, and the danger and hazard of the rest; it was proposed and insisted on by England, and it was agreed on my part, &c. &c.*—*Renunciation of the Succession to the Crown of France by Philip V., appended to the Treaty of Utrecht, published by authority in 1714.*

\* Those which we shall have occasion to notice in the course of our remarks, are quoted from a tolerably complete and authentic collection of documents relative to the negotiations at the Congress, published in Germany under the following title, *Acten des Wiener Congresses in den Jahren 1814 und 1815. Herausgegeben von Dr. Johann Ludwig Klüber, &c. vii. Bande, Erlangen, 1815-17.* The same author has also written, in German, a very dry, but correct, detail of the arrangements, &c. adopted by the Congress.

chenbach and Toeplitz had assured the same to Austria. The adoption of this era must be considered as very favourable to Prussia, who at that time had reached her greatest height of territorial power; while Austria was considerably reduced by the ten years of war which she had waged against the French Revolution.

The population of Prussia in 1805, before the treaty which ceded Hanover, and deducting the Margraviates and Neufchatel, amounted, according to statistical notices of the best authority, to 9,884,600. The losses which she sustained by the treaty of Tilsit, reduced the number to 5,205,000. The events of the last campaign had already put her in possession of a part of what she had then lost; but the Emperor of Russia not having restored the Polish provinces, which constituted in 1807 the duchy of Warsaw, nor the circle of Bialystok, ceded in that year to Russia, the Margraviates being transferred by the treaty of Ried to Bavaria, and Hildesheim being ceded to England, the actual population of Prussia did not amount to more than 6,898,600. She had a claim, therefore, to an increase of territory, at least equivalent to 2,986,000 inhabitants.

The mode in which this reconstruction was to be accomplished, and the questions connected with it, occupied the Congress from its commencement in October 1814, till the month of May 1815; and it was generally understood, that the state of their discussions was on the point of lighting up a new war. The order issued 11th December 1814, by the Grand Duke Constantine at Warsaw, and addressed to the Poles, indicated pretty plainly the manner in which negotiations, conducted in opposition to the views of the Russian Emperor, were speedily to be terminated; and an army of 500,000 Russians were on the point of saving the Congress all further trouble regarding the future destiny of Poland. Alexander wished to preserve not only the circle of Bialystok, but also the whole of what formerly constituted the duchy of Warsaw, including the districts which in 1806 had been declared Southern Prussia, New Eastern Prussia, and New Silesia, with the part of Galicia which had been taken from Austria in 1809,—and would only consent, at most, to cede to Prussia a small district of Poland on the side of Neumark. The discussions on this question, are considered as the origin of the alarming dissensions which at this period agitated the Congress.

Prussia estimated her territorial losses, as equivalent to a population of 3,860,216, she having agreed to give up some part of the districts which the fortune of war had once more put her in possession of; and it was proposed to supply this deficiency by

ceding to her the Rhenish provinces on the French frontier, with those on the Moselle and the Meuse, forming a population of about 1,200,000, and still leaving a large surplus of two million, to be drawn either from Poland, or by the incorporation of the whole of Saxony. This arrangement appears to have been agreed on by the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia, before the entry of the Allies into Paris. Great Britain is said to have consented to it soon after; and it became the object of a Convention, \* entered into by the two first mentioned powers, signed 28th September 1814, but which, as far as we have been able to ascertain, has not been published. We may mention here, that the powers with which Lord Castlereagh was invested by his political friends on this occasion, were beyond all example extensive; and that we conceive the deputing to any one individual the whole royal prerogative, and that without the salutary control of public opinion, is as impolitic in itself, as we conceive it to be at variance with the deliberative spirit of our Constitution; and we believe, that if such a power had not been exercised by his Lordship, the partition of Saxony might have been prevented. It was indeed declared by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House of Commons, November 28. 1814, 'that he did not believe any British minister would be a party to the partition of Saxony;' and it was also understood that Ministers had sent instructions to his Lordship to protest against that act, to which it turned out that he himself had been a willing party.

In consequence of the declaration of the Congress of the 8th October 1814, Prince Hardenberg commenced the negotiations, by formally demanding Saxony, in two different notes; the first addressed to Prince Metternich of the 9th of October, the other to Lord Castlereagh of the 10th; neither of which documents, we suppose from a consciousness of the transactions to which they allude, have yet met the public eye: But the reasons advanced by his Lordship in support of this cession, are to be found in his answer to Prince Hardenberg of the 11th October, and in a defence of this measure written by his Lordship during the same month, but without date.† In these papers his Lordship states, That there is no object of European policy to which he attaches more importance, than the reconstruction of Prussia, as the only solid foundation of any arrangement for establishing the security of the North of Germany;—that if the

\* See Schoel, *Histoire Abregée des Traités de Paix*, Vol. xi. p. 37.

† Klüber *Acten des Wiener Congresses*, Vol. VII. pp. 7 to 15.

incorporation of the whole of Saxony with the Prussian monarchy is necessary to secure so great a benefit to Europe, whatever personal regret he might feel at the idea of seeing an ancient *family* so profoundly afflicted, he should entertain no moral or political repugnance against the measure itself;—that *this sovereign* had placed himself in the situation of being sacrificed to the tranquillity of Europe, by his perpetual tergiversations, and by his slavish devotion to the will of Bonaparte, in his double capacity of Chief of the Polish and the German States;—that the efforts of the Allies in the cause of Europe entitle them to indemnification for the risks they have run, and the losses they have sustained; and how could they better indemnify themselves than at the expense of those powers who have been aggrandized on account of their zeal for the common enemy, and who refused assistance in the common cause of the deliverance of Europe? If Russia was to be indemnified at the expense of an ally, why ought not Prussia at the expense of an enemy? If Russia ought to be aggrandized at the expense of a power which has done so much in the cause of Europe, wherefore ought not Prussia, at the expense of that State which has done the greatest evil to that cause?

Now, the solid answer to all this is, that the question was not about deposing the existing *Sovereign* of Saxony, but about annihilating the independence of *the State*,—depriving its population of the constitutional rights they had enjoyed for ages,—and turning them from a free and independent nation into an obscure and degraded province of a military monarchy. We can never admit, that the political existence of a whole people, who joined in the reestablishment of German independence with an ardour which has always been the distinguishing feature in their character, can be justly forfeited by the vacillating policy of their prince. Such a pretence affords no apology for the sacrifice of the rights and interests of the community, with all the affections and remembrances that are coupled with the mere name of country. None regretted more than they, and certainly none with greater cause, the temporizing policy which he adopted, rather with a view to save his country from the evils of war, || than from a decided partiality in favour of the French Emperor, whose army at that period was still in possession of a great part of Saxony. If the

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|| Talleyrand is said to have remarked, on the conduct of the King of Saxony, that the only fault to be attributed to him, was that of allowing his clock to go a quarter of an hour slower than some of his neighbours.

crimes of the Ruler were to be visited on the Nation at large, why was not France itself partitioned among its conquerors? Its long continued aggressions were indisputably more truly the acts of the nation, than any that were imputed to Saxony:— and if it was held enough, in that case, to punish and remove the Ruler, upon what principle was a measure of justice, so outrageously more severe, to be meted out for the comparatively trivial delinquencies of Saxony?

His Royal Highness the Duke of Saxe Cobourg Saalfeld addressed, on the 14th October, a very spirited note to Lord Castlereagh, containing many just and excellent views, and in which he discussed the question, both as a matter of right and of public interest. The observations of this illustrious person, in so far as regards the interests of the German Confederation, are so worthy of attention, that we shall offer them to the reader in his own words.\*

‘ Examinons à présent, si le bonheur de la Prusse, l'intérêt de l'Allemagne, la situation générale de l'Europe demandent si impérieusement la suppression de la Saxe.

‘ Vous voulez, My Lord, que la Prusse soit forte! —c'est l'affaiblir, —c'est lui donner une population qui d'un siècle n'oubliera pas ses sentimens pour l'ancienne dynastie, et nourrira dans son sein un germe perpétuel de mécontentement et de troubles. L'homme d'état ne doit pas oublier que la Saxe n'est pas un composé et ramas de petits états, fruit injuste des temps passés. La Saxe est telle qu'elle était, il y a des siècles, son origine nationale est fondée, et cet état est d'autant moins fait pour être une province tranquillement soumise. Vous voulez unir l'Autriche à la Prusse! La Saxe donnée à cette dernière suffirait pour les diviser. Les frontières de l'Autriche seront compromises, ses mouvemens militaires gênés et menacés, et les deux états placés aux portes de l'un et de l'autre, se trouveront tôt ou tard dans une situation hostile permanente, dangereuse pour eux, et pour l'Europe.

‘ Vous voulez diviser la Russie et la Prusse! Vous n'y parviendrez pas. Il y a entre les deux souverains les liens personnels qu'il n'est au pouvoir de personne de rompre. L'affection à part, vous unissez leurs intérêts quand vous pensez les séparer; car le Prusse sera appuyée par la Russie dans ses projets d'agrandissement en Allemagne, projets, par lesquels elle saura bientôt franchir les limites que vous prétendez lui assigner aujourd'hui, et elle appuiera de son côté les desseins de la Russie sur l'empire Ottoman. L'Allemagne sera détruite, l'Empire Ottoman renversé, la paix de l'Europe ébranlée, et tout cela par suite de votre plan. Voulez-vous savoir, My Lord,

quel est l'intérêt de l'Allemagne? Consultez ses vœux; car vous ne pensez certainement pas que les grands et les petits états ignorent complètement ce qui peut les sauver ou les perdre;—or, un seul excepté, tous à l'unanimité, regardent l'Allemagne comme perdue, si la Saxe l'est. L'espèce d'équilibre, que votre plan tend à établir est donc le renversement de tout équilibre; la première conséquence serait une guerre civile en Allemagne, et dans l'Europe un état de convulsion générale, dont il est peu probable que l'Angleterre ne ressente pas les suites.

L'Allemagne a fixé ses regards sur l'Angleterre; elle portera sa cause au tribunal d'une nation juste et éclairée; ennemie de tout acte de violence, elle ne saurait sanctionner la suppression d'un peuple attaché à la nation Anglaise par les liens de la religion, des arts et du commerce. Des observations que je me suis permis de soumettre à votre excellence sont dictées par le sentiment du bien général; et vous n'ignorez pas, My Lord, que l'intérêt personnel pourrait me faire tenir un autre langage: Mais j'aime ma patrie et l'honneur; et l'amitié même que me lie à la Russie, à l'Autriche, à la Prusse, ne peut que m'offrir un motif de plus pour combattre des projets, dangereux pour elles, malheureux pour nous.'

There is a spirit in these observations which contrasts very strongly with the casuistry of his Lordship; and Europe may still have cause to regret that they were not adopted. Talleyrand appears to have been the only minister engaged in the negotiations, who opposed himself to these measures, under all the disadvantage of the late humiliation of his country, and the consequent diminution of her influence. The Austrian plenipotentiary appears to have been willing enough that a part should be ceded; but seems to have been under considerable apprehension, from the near neighbourhood which the incorporation of the whole of Saxony must have produced on the Bohemian frontier.

Some intelligence of these transactions having reached England, the late Mr Whitbread, with that promptitude which distinguished him wherever the honour or interests of his country were concerned, raised his voice against the measure which it was evident the Congress were about to adopt, and in which it appeared also that the English government concurred; and we believe that it was the opposition and disgust exhibited against it in the House of Commons, which contributed to prevent the cession of the whole of Saxony—though it was not sufficient to prevent the incorporation of the greater part, with a population of about a million of individuals, with the Prussian dominions.

It is evident, from what we have before stated, that there was a sufficient extent of unappropriated territory, consisting of the ecclesiastical and lay Electorates on the Rhine and elsewhere,



completely to reestablish Prussia in the stipulated scale of 1805. What she has acquired of Saxony, therefore, we are to consider as a gratuitous donation, an indemnification, or, as it was formerly called in the language of diplomacy, *a satisfaction* for her exertions in the common cause. None can respect, more than we do, that policy which, first of all, raised up in Prussia a power which might protect the Protestant interest in the north of Germany, and counterbalance the influence of the Imperial House. And we agree also, that, in the changes which have lately taken place in the relative situations of the different European powers, it is equally important, in the general distribution of that power, that Prussia should be strong both against Russia and against France. But we can never admit that this is to be accomplished by the unjust plunder of neighbouring states; and, even if some pretext might be found in what has been called the rights of conquest for partitioning Saxony, it is impossible not to regret, that a British minister should have followed a course so alien to the just and generous character of his country—instead of seeking at once to restore and attach a fallen enemy, and to secure the union of the German confederation, by the reestablishment of her ancient brotherhood of nations and states.

But the negotiations were terminated in the same little spirit in which the late war was begun: and the foreign policy of the present administration has had the melancholy and mischievous effect of entirely destroying that respect for our national character which once prevailed over all the Continent—and turning the name which used to be the pledge of honour and generosity, into a signal for mockery and reproach. There is hardly a corner of Europe where the ears of the English traveller are not now assailed either by the open sneers, or the half vented execrations of the people. It is the same voice of bitter complaint which is heard at Paris, at Dresden, at Copenhagen, and at Genoa.

We conceive the European system to be weakened by the late arrangements in those two points, where it was most desirable to have strengthened it against the influence of Russia; first, in consenting to the seizure of Finland, which we guaranteed to that power by the treaty of Stockholm, 3d March 1813, and which led necessarily to another flagrant violation of public law, in the subsequent cession of Norway to Sweden, as an indemnity for the loss of Finland; and, in the next place, by adding what remained of Poland, to the already colossal power of Russia, instead of throwing that additional weight into the scale of Germany. We confess, that we are unable to discover any traces of regard to the balance of power, in the act of adding Finland to Russia with the one hand, and with the other bring-

ing her, by the annexation of Poland, into the very heart of Germany. The influence of that power, however, was notoriously predominant in the ultimate arrangements of the Congress; and it was the more to be dreaded, because exercised under that dangerous character of mediation, under which she had already acquired some of her most important conquests.

On the subject of *Russia*, M. De Pradt has some striking observations, in the Second Chapter of the present work, where he takes a general survey of the relations of the different Continental powers, produced by the late arrangements. He separates them into two great divisions, those of the South and of the North; and distinguishes those which contribute actively to the maintenance of general order, from those which exert no influence. The modern policy of Europe, he says, turns altogether on the Northern States and on Germany; and is little affected by any thing beyond the Alps and Pyrenees. He considers all without those two natural barriers, as passive or inactive; nay, he goes the length of including France in the number of inactive States; observing that the New Kingdom of the Netherlands, and the fortresses erected by Germany, have completely excluded her from Europe; and that the great game of European policy must now be played within that great square formed by the Alps, the Rhine, the Baltic, and the Vistula. We do not by any means deny, that there is some foundation for those very sweeping assertions; but we cannot possibly allow France to be considered as absolutely null and insignificant in any arrangements of a warlike or pacific nature that may hereafter take place on the Continent. That great kingdom, on the contrary, is still prodigiously powerful, whether regarded with a view to her territorial or natural resources, and may still exercise an influence in the political machine, most beneficial to the interests of the world: And it is to be hoped, the Representative Constitution she has lately acquired, will enable her to see her true interest,—and curb that spirit of aggrandizement to which Mr De Pradt, we suppose from the school in which he has been reared, seems still to cherish a lingering attachment. But however that may be, the supremacy of Russia may be considered as the principal cause of this new determination of policy. After a sketch of the resources of this extensive Empire, he adds,

‘ La Russie est donc aujourd’hui la puissance dominante sur le Continent, la puissance menaçante pour les autres, dans l’état d’atteindre les autres, hors de toute atteinte de leur part, et par conséquent d’un danger toujours imminent. Le Congrès de Vienne, en sanctionnant l’occupation de la Pologne a faussé la politique de l’Europe, qui exigeait d’éloigner la Russie à tout prix : tout devait être sacrifié à cette considération. Le moment de l’établissement est celui

dans lequel les réflexions sont le plus nécessaires, c'est celui des précautions. Une fois formés, qui n'en coûte-t-il point pour revenir, pour corriger, souvent pour obtenir un léger redressement ! On s'en apercevra avec la Russie. Maintenant qu'elle se trouve fortifiée par une avant-garde telle que les deux tiers de la Pologne, que ses aînés sont parfaitement à couvert, qui pourrait la faire reculer d'un pas, qui l'empêchera de franchir ses barrières ? Entre elle et l'Allemagne, quelle est désormais la distance, le mur de séparation et le rempart ? En vain dira-t-on que les effets de cette combinaison seront tempérés par les qualités du Souverain de ce redoutable Empire. Est-ce dont que l'on fait de la politique avec des hommes et bien avec des choses ? Est-ce que l'accroissement du pouvoir ne renferme pas l'invitation à l'usage du pouvoir ? Est-ce que l'on peut répondre de l'éternité d'Alexandre, comme de son immortalité ; son âme comme son sceptre passera-t-elle toute entière à ses successeurs ? N'en doutons pas, l'Europe, qui a soupiré après les revers de Napoleon, et qui en a profité pour s'émanciper, n'a fait que changer de joug, et prendre celui de la Russie au lieu de celui de la France : c'était au profit de l'Europe encore plus qu'au sien propre que Napoleon s'était lancé contre la Russie, et gardons qu'un jour on ne pleure sa défaite.

La partie de la Pologne, réunie en dernier lieu à la Russie, a reçu des consolations plutôt qu'un état. Il est des choses pour lesquelles il ne peut exister de compensation. Les peuples ont sur cela le tact encore plus fin que les particuliers : il n'est que d'être maître chez soi. Quelque nom qui decore une domination étrangère, c'est toujours être commandé : le plus petit grain de dépendance suffit pour gêner tout ce qui peut se trouver de liberté. L'armée Polonaise sera un auxiliaire très puissant pour le Russe : rien ne surpasse en bravoure, en patience, en force le soldat Polonais : il réunit les qualités du Russe et du Français ; il est excellent homme de cheval. Il aime la guerre, et en a l'usage. Parmi les Polonais réparaîtront des Sobieski, des Kosciuszko, des Poniatowski ; et leurs drapeaux, associés à ceux de la Russie, se montreront peut-être un jour aux mêmes lieux où ils parurent à côté d'autres enseignes. La Pologne se trouve plus morcelée qu'elle le fut jamais. La Gallicie appartient à l'Autriche par suite des premiers partages : le Duché de Posen, Dantzik, avec la Basse-Vistule, sont à la Prusse. Trois autres parties sont à la Russie, la Volhynie et la Lithuanie, comme provinces Russes, et le royaume de Pologne, comme Etat uni avec la Russie. La combinaison paraît singulière au premier coup-d'œil ; mais un peu d'attention y fait découvrir des précautions contre la réunion dans un même faisceau d'une trop grande partie de l'ancienne famille Polonaise. Des divisions d'Etats et d'aggrégations prêtent à moins d'outrages, portent moins à se compter que des réunions plus fortes : dix millions de Polonais réunis dans le même Etat se seraient sentis bien autrement forts que séparés entre eux, et partagés entre trois gouvernemens différens. Réunir les trois grandes parties de la Pologne,

eût été accomplir l'œuvre ébauché par Napoléon, et ses Vainqueurs ne pouvaient pas se faire ses exécuteurs testamentaires.' pp. 42-45.

*Sweden*, Mr de Pradt observes, has taken a peaceful and industrious direction, contrary to her former military system. The union of Norway he considers as beneficial; and that the security of the Baltic is better guaranteed by that event, than it ever could have been without it;—that one strong is better than two feeble powers united, and subject to division;—that, owing to the maritime and continental preponderance which Russia and England have acquired, it becomes the interest of Europe to fortify as much as possible that Northern Power which is most competent to guard the Baltic both against Russia and against England;—and, that this charge for the future is to be entrusted to Sweden. Now, we entertain great doubts whether Sweden would be found competent either for the one object or the other, should there be any necessity for the exercise of this influence: But it is a sufficient objection to this measure, that it formed part of a plan for the aggrandizement of Russia; a calamity not to be compensated, even on Mr de Pradt's own views, by the advantages which he mentions. Concerning the new relations of this Power, he observes,

' Les nouveaux rapports de l'existence politique de la Suède, d'après sa nouvelle formation, sont très importants. Il faut les observer avec soin, parce que, dans cet état, cette puissance aura, sur les affaires de l'Europe, une influence qu'elle ne pouvait pas obtenir auparavant. On ne veut pas pour cela lui permettre le retour des grands jours de Gustave Adolphe ou de Charles XII.—jours dans lesquels les armes Suédoises brillaient de l'éclat qu'avaient n'aguère les armes Françaises,—qui ont eu de plus avec elle la cruelle conformité d'un Pultava; seulement on veut la présenter comme attendue par un avenir plus important, que n'était sa position sous la presse de la Russie, et dans une égalité proportionnelle avec le Danemark; elle est affranchie de l'une, et elle dépasse l'autre. La Suède n'a plus rien à démêler avec la Prusse, qu'auparavant ses possessions de Pomeranie rendaient son ennemie; non plus qu'avec l'empire Germanique, auquel elle ne tient plus par aucun lien. Elle aura donc dans tous les temps la pleine disposition de ses forces, 1<sup>o</sup> pour elle-même, 2<sup>o</sup> pour concourir avec le reste de l'Europe, à réprimer les deux envahisseurs qui menacent à la fois par terre et par mer—l'Angleterre et la Russie. Alors personne n'a rien à demander à la Suède dans son état d'isolement: elle-même n'a plus rien à demander à personne: il ne peut y avoir une situation de paix mieux prononcée, mieux affirmée par la nature des choses, ni qui puisse mieux donner à un état les moyens de tourner toutes ses vues vers son amélioration intérieure.' pp. 51, 52.

*Denmark*, like Saxony, has been one of the victims of the

Congress. She has not yet received her promised indemnity in the dutchy of Lauenbourg, in return for her cession of Pomerania and Rugen to Prussia; which will probably come ultimately as a burden on this country, to be satisfied by a pecuniary indemnity. Our author observes, 'L'étoffe a manqué pour attribuer au Danemark les indemnités qui lui avaient été promises;' and conceives, that her best policy is to turn her attention to maritime commerce as the source of riches and population, and for which her position offers all the means necessary for success.

*The new kingdom of the Netherlands* is one of the most prominent, and perhaps the best legacy which the Congress of Vienna has left to Europe. There is no doubt a considerable difference in the manners and habits of the Belgian people and the frugal Dutch, with whom they are now united, chiefly arising from religious persuasion; but in the present age, we are not inclined to consider these differences as likely to produce any very serious discord. We fear, however, that the economical and industrious character of both nations, will not accommodate itself easily to the expensive duty they must now discharge, in garrisoning the great line of fortresses on the French frontier. We could wish also, that some more direct interest had been reserved to Austria, in the support of this line of defence against France, by the retention of some portion of her former possessions in the Netherlands. We cannot agree with our author, that it would have been for the interest of Europe to have incorporated the whole of Saxony with Prussia, and to have transported the king of Saxony to the Rhine, by giving him the sovereignty of these provinces, and placing an exiled prince, discontented and irritated by such policy, and also without the necessary resources, to guard the very portals of the German empire against the first irruption of France. Such a proposition was made at the Congress by the Russian plenipotentiary, Count Nesselrode, and addressed in a note to the Austrian, British, and Prussian ministers; and we are aware also, that it was modestly proposed in the same document, † that his Prussian Majesty should agree, in the event of receiving this princely boon, not to fortify the city of Dresden.

There is much truth, however, in the following observations of Mr de Pradt on this new kingdom.

Situé entre la France et la Prusse, en vue de l'Angleterre, le royaume de Pays Bas, enclavé entre trois puissances, dont chacune est plus forte que lui, ne peut présenter rien d'offens pour aucune. Il n'a d'intérêt qu'à la paix réciproque entre elles; car il serait bien

† Klüber Acten des Wiener Congresses, Vol. VII. p. 75.

difficile que d'une manière ou de l'autre les éclats de leurs querelles ne retombassent sur lui. La France le défendrait contre la Prusse, la Prusse et l'Angleterre contre la France ; les bases de son existence sont donc solides. Il est au premier rang des Etats du second ordre. Rien ne doit le porter à craindre la France,—ce serait une pensée vulgaire ; il doit reconnaître dans sa position de quoi s'élever audessus de ces vains outrages. Dans l'état actuel de l'Europe, avec le secours toujours certains de l'Angleterre sa créatrice, comme de la Prusse sa voisine, il doit penser qu'elle ne voudra pas courir les risques d'une guerre générale pour lui arracher quelques lieues de territoire. Pour triompher de lui, il faudrait aussi triompher de toute l'Europe ; l'armée du royaume des Pays-Bas n'est pas seulement dans la Belgique & dans la Hollande, mais de plus elle se trouve dans toutes les garnisons de l'Europe, surtout dans les ports de l'Angleterre ; les remparts du royaume des Pays-Bas ne se trouvent pas seulement dans les forteresses dont il garnit son frontière, mais de plus ils sont dans tous les arsenaux de l'Europe, que l'on verrait vomir sur la France tout ce qu'ils renferment de destructeur, au premier mouvement que celle-ci ferait contre ce royaume.

*Prussia*, in the space of half a century, has increased by two-thirds, and forms one of the most important barriers in the new system of defence against Russia. Her new acquisitions consist of the Dutchy of Saxony, and those of the Rhine, consisting of the Grand Dutchy of Berg, the town of Wetzlar and its territory, with the town and district of the antient Bishoprick of Cologne ; on the left bank of the Rhine she possesses a rich and fertile country. She exercises the rights of sovereignty over the Margraviates of Higher and Lower Lusatia, and also over a number of the Mediatized Princes of Germany.—Notwithstanding this great influence, we conceive the present intimate union of this power with Russia, arising altogether from the personal friendship of the two Sovereigns, to be contrary to her true interests : For Prussia can only be considered powerful, so long as she remains attached to the interests of the German Confederation ; and the divided and straggling nature of her dominions would, in the event of hostility, lay her in a great measure at the mercy of the other States of Germany. In addition to what we have already had occasion to remark concerning this power, the following observations of our author are worthy of attention.

‘ D’après le Congrès de Vienne, la Prusse a l’un de ses bras à la porte de Thionville sur la Moselle, et l’autre à Memel sur le Niemen, frontière de Russie : on cherche le corps qui unit ces deux membres. Il y a trois Prusses ; la première en Pologne, la seconde en Allemagne, la troisième entre Meuse et Rhin. La première est prolongée par la Russie qui court sur tout ce flanc, et qui de plus pèse

sur son front en Silésie; la troisième est située à la pointe de la France; il n'y a de compacte que la partie Allemande; mais elle est séparée de la troisième par l'interposition des Souverainetés de Saxe, d'Hanovre et de la Hesse. La première attaque de la Russie sépareroit la première partie du corps de la monarchie, qui serait de plus contenue sur son front par les armées Russes rassemblées en Pologne; la première attaque de la France lui enlèverait tout le grand duché du Rhin; de plus dans une guerre contre l'Autriche, la Silésie Prussienne aurait à supporter le poids de toute la puissance Autrichienne, libre de se mouvoir et de se porter sur elle de tous les points de la monarchie; car l'Autriche n'a, ni en Italie, ni en Allemagne de voisin inquietant. On voit qu'il est impossible de cumuler plus d'embaras que ne l'a fait la Prusse, ni de réunir un plus grand nombre de points vulnérables. La Prusse est démesurément trop faible contre chacune des trois puissances qui l'avoisinent, la Russie, la France, et l'Autriche.

' Il se trouvera donc toujours dans sa position quelque chose de contraint et de dépendant, produit par l'infériorité de sa position, qui ne permettant ni un développement complet, ni une action entièrement libre est la pire de toutes pour un grand Etat. La Prusse ne peut plus faire que des guerres d'alliance, 1° avec le reste de l'Europe contre la Russie, 2° avec le royaume de Pays-Bas contre la France, 3° avec la Russie contre l'Autriche; mais alors quel serait le plus dangereux, de l'allié ou de l'ennemi? ' pp. 77, 78.

Our author promises great advantages to Prussia, and to all the people inhabiting the shores of the Baltic, in a commercial point of view, from the new American Revolution and the establishment of independence throughout the whole extent of that vast continent. We doubt not but that this will be an advantage to Europe as well as to America; and Prussia may have her share. But we fear Mr De Pradt deceives himself, if he expects that any commercial advantages which Prussia might enjoy, will change her sandy deserts into fertile fields.

*Austria*, by the confinement of France within her own limits, and by the renunciation of her interest in the defence of the Netherlands, is brought back to her old policy, that of extending her influence in Italy, where her decided preponderance is the most remarkable feature of her new existence. By the peace of Vienna in 1809, the frontier of Austria was bounded by the Inn on the side of Germany, and by the Save in Italy; and she lost the Tyrol and Salzburg, given to Bavaria, by which this latter power acquired a defensive barrier against her. The creation of the kingdom of Westphalia, of the Grand Duchy of Frankfort and the Confederation of the Rhine, excluded her in a great measure from the politics of Germany. This system has entirely disappeared; and Austria has reassumed, with little variation,

her former existence in Germany. The ancient enmities, however, between France and Austria are at an end; and our author adds, ' Il n'y a plus de Belgique Autrichienne, plus de maison d'Autriche régentant le corps Germanique: la France n'a donc plus de raison pour craindre l'Autriche: en Italie l'Etat du Piémont et les Alpes sont deux barrières faites pour tenir leurs intérêts fort séparés. Toutes les causes des divisions anciennes ont donc disparu. De son côté la Prusse n'a rien à demander à l'Autriche: le mot de Joseph, *il n'y a plus de Silésie*, s'est réalisé, il est devenue l'axiome de l'Autriche. Du côté de l'Autriche la Prusse n'a plus qu'à conserver. Elle ne pourrait attaquer sans se rendre plus faible contre la Russie. Seule elle ne peut rien contre l'Autriche: s'allierait elle avec la Russie? Mais cette énorme faute ne serait-elle pas punie sur-le-champ par l'abandon, comme par les reproches de toute l'Allemagne et du reste de l'Europe, qui lui demanderait compte, et avec bien de raison, de l'affaiblissement qui serait la suite de cette désertion des intérêts généraux en faveur de l'ennemi commun! Il n'en faut pas douter, à l'avenir toute liaison avec la Russie portera avec elle une teinte de conspiration contre le reste de l'Europe; et si jamais la Prusse s'unissait avec la Russie contre l'Autriche, ce rapprochement serait attribué aux plus funestes souvenirs, et aux plus sinistres projets.'

The observations of Mr de Pradt concerning the *German Confederation*, bear evident marks of his partiality to the Confederation of the Rhine. The act of the Congress of the 8th June 1815, \* established this substitute for the loosened bonds of the ancient German Empire. The object of this league is the maintenance of the exterior and interior security of Germany, and the independence of every individual state. The Confederates promise mutual assistance in case of attack, and reciprocally guarantee their respective possessions. The fortresses of Landau, Mentz and Luxembourg, so important in the line of defence against France, have been declared fortresses of the Confederation. If the Confederation is at war, no member can negotiate a peace singly; and all disputes arising between the different States are to be submitted to the arbitration of the Diet, which is appointed to hold its sittings at Frankfort. This document, which secures the equal enjoyment of all civil, political and religious rights, and *promises* some more liberal regulations for securing the liberty of the press, we were at one time disposed to consider as a pledge of the increase and advancement of public spirit in Germany.

Our author has many intelligent observations on the present state of *France*, and its former system in the affairs of the Continent. But the bounds which we must prescribe to ourselves

\* Klüber Acten des Wiener Congresses, Vol. II. p. 587.



in this place, will not allow us, on the present occasion, to follow him in the discussions to which his observations give rise, or to enter on the consideration of a subject so important, in a cursory or superficial manner. With regard to the late Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, he observes, that it may be said to have assembled for the purpose of pronouncing judgment on the interior tranquillity of France, and giving her a kind of certificate of fitness to govern herself, and walk alone.

*In Italy*, we find the Imperial influence extending itself in such a manner, as to place the whole of that once flourishing portion of the world in a great measure under its power. Here, again, we find the smaller independent States offered as sacrifices at the shrine of aggrandizement and legitimacy. The States of Venice and Ragusa, united with those of Mantua and Milan, and the necessary influence of the Court of Vienna on the Grand Dutchy of Tuscany, with Parma and Placentia, have left the States of the Bishop of Rome, and the kingdom of Naples, rather as dependencies of Austria than independent States.

Genoa the Magnificent, erected into a Grand Dutchy according to the plan of Mr Pitt, submitted in 1805 to the Russian ambassador, is given to the King of Sardinia,—notwithstanding the most solemn declarations to the people, on placing their town under the protection of the British, that the integrity of their territory, and the independence of their government, should be preserved.

His Sardinian Majesty, according to the new order of things, is specially charged with the important office of defending the north of Italy from foreign intrusion. We agree entirely in the opinion so well expressed by Sir James Mackintosh, in the speech on his motion relating to the transfer of Genoa, ‘that this is putting the keys of Italy into hands too weak to hold them:’ especially when, by giving up the mountain passes of Savoy to France, we have opened up a passage into the heart of that country. The advantages, therefore, resulting from this measure, are not likely to counterbalance the loss which this country has sustained in the sacrifice of national honour occasioned by this disgraceful transaction.

*Spain*, a power once of so much importance in the affairs of Europe, seems reduced to a perfect cipher in the late transactions of the Congress. The Spanish ambassador protested against its decision relative to the Dutchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, which were adjudged to the Ex-empress of France, Maria Louisa; and reclaimed these possessions in behalf of the Queen of Etruria. This is the only occasion on which the interference of Spain is observable in the negotiations of Vienna.

Our author has also a few observations on the Continental relations of England under this new system; but this is a subject which, of itself, requires a separate and very extensive discussion,—and we shall probably take an early opportunity of offering some remarks on it. One of the most prominent defects of the late negotiations, in as far as regards our own interests, is the total neglect of our commercial relations with foreign powers. In the mass of treaties lately presented to both Houses of Parliament, there is not a commercial treaty to be found,—subsidies and accessions making up nearly the whole of this extensive collection of diplomatic lore. We are at a loss to account for this deficiency. The trade which has enriched this country, has contributed also to make it free; and it is impossible for us to see its interests neglected, without the deepest apprehension also for the decline of freedom. There is a certain class of politicians, who are of opinion that commerce should be left to make its way by its own efforts, and that commercial treaties are worse than useless. We should entertain the same opinion, if commerce was allowed to form channels for itself, by the commercial enterprise of our merchants, and its own energies; but, so long as the present pernicious system of restriction is acted upon, we ought to lose no opportunity of making arrangements with the different European powers, founded as much as possible on the principle of reciprocal advantage.

On the whole, we do not conceive that the Congress of Vienna can be said to have laid the foundations of a system which promises either durability or peace. It is impossible, even after a very superficial survey of the various distributions of territory, and other regulations adopted in consequence of the enactments of this assembly, not to be strongly impressed with the conviction, that their general tendency has been to extend the dominion of some of the more powerful and despotic empires, while it has annihilated some ancient and liberal constitutions, where the forms of liberty at least continued to be cherished and revered. We need only instance the unnecessary aggrandizement of Russia, by the addition of Finland and the greatest portion of Poland—of Austria, by the absorption of the Venetian territories—of Prussia, by the disgraceful partition of Saxony—of Sweden, by the equally lavish present which was made to her of Norway and the Norwegians—and last, though not least in this precious enumeration, the republic of Genoa to his Sardinian Majesty, under circumstances which must for ever reflect the highest dishonour on the public faith of England. The promise which the King of Prussia made to his subjects of a representative government, has not

yet been performed; and the desire of the Prussians, and of the Germans in general, for a more liberal system of government, seems of late to have afforded a pretext to their rulers to retract all their recent engagements with their people, and to repay the zealous and heroic exertions by which they rescued their independence from a foreign power, by a systematic and domestic servitude. This, however, is too large a subject to be entered upon at present: and we shall only say, therefore, that the spirit with which that mighty nation seems now to be animated, is not to be subdued, we trust, by such confederacies as seem to be forming against it; and that it will prove, in the language of Lord Bacon, 'a spark of fire that flies in the faces of those who seek to tread it out.' There is also to be found in these proceedings, too many indications of a narrow and vindictive spirit; which can never consort with the stability of any political arrangement, and is the very reverse of the spirit which ought to preside at a work of peace. It is for the upholding of this system, that the various States of Europe are at present weighed down by the support of armies, whose numbers correspond rather to a state of active warfare, or a temporary suspension of hostilities, than to that of a secure peace. The Russian army amounts to not less than 650,000 men; and what security is there for the German States, contiguous to her extended frontier, but in a system proportional to such a scale of armed tranquillity? The effects of this military system are also evident in the numbers of the Austrian and French forces, and in our own army, the expense of which is out of all proportion to the present financial resources of the country. We cannot conclude these observations better than in the just and applicable language of Sir William Temple. 'Any rough hand,' he says, 'can break a bone; whereas much art and care are required to set it right again, and restore it to its first strength and proportion. So 'tis an easie part in a Minister of State to engage a war; but 'tis given to few to know the times, and find the ways of making peace.'

ART. VIII. *An Essay on the Chemical History and Medical Treatment of CALCULOUS DISORDERS.* By ALEXANDER MACCET, M.D. F. R. S. &c. Second Edition. 8vo. London, 1819.

**W**e have much satisfaction in presenting our readers with a short analysis of the Treatise now before us. It is written by a physician of high and deserved reputation; who, in this

instance, has undertaken a task for which he is peculiarly well qualified; and has executed it in a manner worthy of his talents and good sense. The subject of it is one which has exercised the abilities of the most distinguished chemists; and which has this still stronger claim on our attention, that it relates to a class of diseases, not only of very frequent occurrence, but at once the most painful and the most uncontrollable by medicine, of any to which the human body is liable.

Since the well known Dissertations of SCHEELÉ, WOLLASTON and FOURCROY, several very interesting Essays on calculi have appeared in this country; some of which we had occasion to take notice of in a former Number. But these have chiefly had for their object the investigation of the chemical history of these concretions. In the present work, however, Dr MARCET has taken a more extensive range. In addition to the chemistry of the subject, which his familiar acquaintance with the general principles of that science, and his dexterity in the practice of analysis, have enabled him to discuss in the clearest and most satisfactory manner,—he has treated particularly of the different situations in which calculi are found; of the symptoms which they produce; of their comparative frequency in the inhabitants of the same or different countries; and, lastly, of the principles necessary to be attended to in any endeavours which may be made to prevent their formation, or to destroy them when formed. The little volume before us, therefore, may be regarded as presenting a complete view of the present state of our knowledge relative to calculous disorders.

The investigations hitherto made into the chemical constituents of urinary calculi, have discovered eight different substances entering into their composition; some calculi containing more, others fewer, of these ingredients. The substances are, an unknown animal matter, fibrine, lithic or uric acid, phosphat of lime, ammoniaco-magnesian phosphat, oxalat of lime, cystic oxyd, and xanthic oxyd.

The *unknown animal matter*, is most probably a portion of the mucus secreted by the internal membrane of the urinary organs. It always exists in very small quantity, and never occurs in a separate state; but is uniformly combined with some other ingredient, to the particles of which it serves the purpose of a cement. The substances with which it is commonly found in union, are lithic acid and phosphat of lime. Its presence in any calculous concretion is inferred from the black colour which a portion of the calculous acquires, and the peculiar animal smell it emits, when exposed to the action of the blow-pipe.

*Fibrine* seems an extremely rare ingredient of urinary calculi.

It has not been taken notice of by any author as a component part of such concretions, before Dr MARCET; and to him it has only occurred in one instance.

The *lithic*, or *uric acid*, is the most common constituent of calculi. Its properties, as first ascertained by SCHERLE, will be found treated of in all elementary works on chemistry; and to these therefore we refer. It is proper, however, to mention, that the experiments of BERZELIUS would render it probable, that the substance usually described under this name, is not pure lithic, or uric acid, but the super-urate of ammonia. Be this as it may, the uric acid is never found existing in calculi without some admixture of animal matter or other substances.

The *phosphat of lime* occurring in urinary calculi, appears to contain a smaller proportion of lime than the earth of bone; in consequence of which, it is susceptible of fusion under the blow-pipe, when the heat is intensely urged. It is always combined with other ingredients.

The *ammoniaco-magnesian phosphat* is a salt, for the knowledge of which as a constituent part of urinary concretions, we are indebted to Dr WOLLASTON. It is of a white colour, and frequently appears in the form of minute sparkling crystals, which are found to be trilateral prisms, formed on a right angled triangle, and terminated by a pyramid of three or of six sides. These are sparingly soluble in water, but dissolve readily in most of the acids.

The *oxalat of lime* occurs in that variety of stone, which, from its being often covered with tubercles or protuberant spheroidal grains, has been called the *mulberry calculus*. It is here united for the most part with lithic acid and phosphat of lime; and Dr WOLLASTON has shown how it may be separated, by first combining the lithic acid with potash, subsequently dissolving the phosphat of lime in phosphoric acid, and then decomposing the oxalat by means of sulphuric acid, so as to set free the oxalic.

To Dr WOLLASTON we are also indebted for the discovery of the *cystic oxyd*. This calculous concretion appears to be of rare occurrence, and has hitherto been found only in a state of purity, or free from intermixture of the other ingredients already enumerated as common to so many of the concretions. The author, from his own experience, considers that this calculus is formed in the kidney, and not in the bladder; but declines, very properly, changing the name already appropriated to it, into that of *Renal* or *Nephritic Oxyd*.

The substance which the discoverer Dr MARCET has called *Xanthic-Oxyd*, was first examined by himself, and exhibits the following properties. It is insoluble in alcohol, ether, oxalic

acid, bi-carbonat of potash, and saturated carbonat of ammonia; it is sparingly soluble in acetic acid, is soluble in water with more facility than lithic acid, and is also soluble, although not very readily, in the several mineral acids. The alkalies in any state appear all to dissolve it with great facility. Although it emits the smell of an animal substance before the blow-pipe and gives over fetid ammonia in distillation, it is not blackened by sulphuric acid. The solution in water would appear to exhibit slight acid properties, since it reddens litmus paper. It is easily distinguished from the lithic acid by the pale yellow colour it exhibits when acted on by nitric acid and from the cystic oxyd, by the white colour which this assumes under the same circumstances.

The several saline or other substances of which we have given this brief sketch, are generally united with a variable proportion of the animal matter or nucleus first mentioned, which often appears to act as a cement or connecting medium to those which have not sufficient tenacity in themselves to form a solid nodule. But it is rare to find any one of these existing in a state of purity in the different urinary concretions. It frequently happens that calculi are composed of different species of depositions disposed in layers around a common nucleus.

But as some one of the calculous depositions generally prevail in such a manner as to confer a decided character to the concretion into which it enters, the author has formed a correspondent classification of varieties. This arrangement is of great value to the medical practitioner, from the intimate connexion which it possesses with the views on which his practice must be founded. The different kinds of urinary calculi may be arranged under the following heads, viz.

I. The *Lithic Calculus*.

II. The *Bone-earth Calculus*, principally consisting of phosphat of Lime.

III. The *Ammoniaco-Magnesian Phosphat*, or calculus in which this triple salt obviously prevails.

IV. The *Fusible Calculus*, consisting of a mixture of the two former.

V. The *Mulberry Calculus*, or Oxalat of Lime.

VI. The *Cystic Calculus*, consisting of the substance called by Dr Wollaston Cystic Oxyd.

VII. The *Alternating Calculus*, or concretion composed of two or more different species arranged in alternate layers.

VIII. The *Compound Calculus*, the ingredients of which are so intimately mixed as not to be separable without chemical analysis.

IX. Calculus from the *Prostate gland*.

We shall conclude our account of this part of the subject, with as brief a view as we can give of the means which the author has pointed out, by which these several species of concretions may be recognised even by those whose chemical knowledge is moderate, and whose practice, in conducting chemical investigations, is limited. In pointing out this simple mode of analysis, he remarks—

‘It is not with the pretension of offering any thing new or important to professed experimental chemists, that I have introduced these details; but merely to enable those who may feel inclined to avail themselves of these hints, to select and procure, at the smallest possible expense, the apparatus necessary for carrying on experiments of this kind; and to obtain with great ease useful practical knowledge upon a subject which is commonly supposed to present great difficulties, and to require considerable chemical information.’

The requisite instruments are pointed out, and the descriptions are illustrated by coloured plates, giving very accurate representations of the different calculi.

The *lithic* calculus is a hard concretion of a brownish colour, varying in intensity, but generally of pale tints. It is very sparingly soluble in water, from which it separates in small yellowish crystals, or rather shapeless particles. It is easily dissolved by the fixed alkalis; solutions, from which all the acids precipitate it of a white colour. But to an inexperienced chemist, its most obvious characteristic is the pink or rosy hue, which it assumes when its solution in nitric acid is evaporated to dryness, that colour being also destroyed by the addition of an acid or an alkali. It may be further added, that it first blackens and then evaporates before the blow-pipe, leaving a white earthy powder. When it decrepitates under the same circumstances, that effect arises from the intermixture of oxalat of lime.

The concretions formed of *phosphat of lime* alone, or the pure ‘*bone earth* calculus,’ present a pale brown polished surface, and are regularly laminated; the adhesion of the laminæ being so slight, that they are easily separated in concentric crusts. Sometimes those laminæ are striated in the fracture, being apparently formed of radiating or nearly parallel fibres, at right angles to their surface. This concretion is readily soluble in nitrous and muriatic acids; is first blackened by the blow-pipe, but then becomes white, and undergoes no further change until the heat is intensely urged, when it is fused, in consequence of the excess of lime contained in the phosphat.

The *simple calculus*, or *ammoniaco-magnesian phosphat*, has not hitherto been found in a state of purity, or solely formed of that salt from which its name is derived. These calculi are,

however, characterized by the predominance of this salt; and they are whiter, and less compact than the preceding. Not unfrequently, the salt is found distinctly crystallized, either on the surface, or in the interstices of the laminæ of which the concretion is formed. Before the blow-pipe, they first emit an ammoniacal smell; the fragment then diminishes in size, and at length becomes imperfectly fused—the ammonia being at length dissipated, and phosphat of magnesia alone remaining.

The *fusible calculus* is particularly interesting,—since, with the exception of the lithic, it occurs more frequently than any other species. It is formed chiefly of a mixture of the ammoniacomagnesian phosphat and phosphat of lime; and its fusibility arises from the mixture of the two salts. Before the blow-pipe, it forms a vitreous globule; but as the proportions in which the two salts enter into its composition is very variable, its fusibility accordingly varies. The lithic acid, which always exists in this concretion, may be separated by pure potash, which dissolves it, but also separates the ammonia of the triple phosphat. To those who are desirous of separating the ingredients of which this concretion is formed, it will be sufficient to suggest, that acetic acid, or diluted sulphuric acid, will dissolve the triple phosphat, without acting on the phosphat of lime; and that the muriatic acid will afterwards dissolve this salt, leaving the lithic acid untouched. It must also be remarked, that the lithic acid is present in so large a proportion, as to render the character of the fusible calculus obscure. This concretion is commonly the whitest and most friable of the whole set, sometimes even resembling chalk; and thus capable, when dry, of being rubbed off in dust by the fingers. The structure is sometimes laminar; and the triple phosphat, as in a former case, is also sometimes crystallized in the interstices of these. In other instances, it is uniformly spongy and friable, exhibiting no marks of the laminated structure. These calculi are often remarkable for their great size, and for adapting themselves to the form of the bladder. It is worthy of remark, that those calculous concretions formed on foreign bodies, which have accidentally been introduced into the bladder, belong to this variety; and that this compound substance is also the matter deposited in all those cases in which, from whatever cause, the urine is detained in the passage. In these cases, the evolution of the ammonia, in consequence of the putrefaction of the detained urine, causes the precipitation of the phosphat in question. A remarkable instance of this sort of calculous deposition occurred in the case of a soldier, who received a wound at the battle of Waterloo from a musket ball



which lodged in his bladder. He was cut for it in the usual mode; and the ball, when extracted, was covered with a thick incrustation, which Dr Marcet found to be of the fusible kind.

The mulberry calculus, already mentioned as containing oxalat of lime, contains also a small proportion of lithic acid and of phosphat of lime. This concretion is not necessarily characterized by the appearance whence its name has been derived, being sometimes smooth, and of a very pale brownish colour. The author remarks, that in three instances coming under his knowledge, the surface of this concretion was found to be crystallized in flat octohedrons. This calculus, when powdered, may be dissolved, by the assistance of heat, in nitric and in muriatic acid. It is not acted on by the pure alkalies, but the carbonates decompose it by double affinity. In a red heat, the oxalic acid is volatilized, a quicklime remains; and by this trial its nature is readily ascertained.

The calculus formed of the *Cystic Oxyd*, the sixth in the author's list, is acted upon by all the chemical reagents, except water, alcohol, the acetic, tartaric, and citric acids; and saturated carbonat of ammonia. Hence the latter salt may be employed to precipitate it from the nitric, muriatic, or other acids in which it may have been dissolved; and the acetic or citric acids to separate it from the alkalies. By either process, the oxyd may be easily obtained. It is capable of crystallizing, when combined either with the alkalies or the acids; but the geometrical forms of the crystal have not been ascertained.

In the alternating calculus, the different substances formerly mentioned occur in layers. Thus lithic acid alternates with oxalat of lime, or with the phosphat; or the oxalat alternates with these latter. It is obvious, that attention is required to distinguish these calculi, and the several substances of which they are composed; and that their examination can only be conducted by separating the layers, and applying to the different substances the several tests already enumerated.

Under the 8th head are included all these concretions of a composition so mixed, as not to admit of being referred to any of the preceding: These are not frequent; and the author conceives, that they may be recognised by their irregular figures, their indeterminate colours, want of stratification and hardness. It is obvious that they cannot be analyzed without much experience and refined chemical knowledge; nor is it likely that medical practitioners, whose acquaintance with chemistry is unfortunately very rare, and very limited when it does exist, will ever be able to discriminate these varieties, as the author's good nature would perhaps vainly hope. It is not uncommon for liberal

and modest men, to forget the nature and variety of the acquirements by which they are distinguished from their neighbours. The calculus of the *Prostate gland* has been found by Dr. Wollaston to consist of a neutral or perfect phosphat of lime; and the size of these concretions varies from that of a pin's head to that of a hazel nut—their colour being yellowish brown, and their forms spheroidal.

Thus terminates Dr. Marcet's list; but he has subjoined a species of appendix in the 4th Chapter, in which he describes two additional substances incapable of being referred to any of the varieties which it contains: of each of these, however, but one example has occurred to him, and they may therefore be 'accidental and solitary productions.'

The first of these was of an oblong spheroidal shape, and weighed only 8 grains. The texture was compact, hard and laminated, and the surface smooth; the colour a reddish cinnamon. The substance of which it was formed has already been described by the name of the Xanthic Oxyd; and it is therefore unnecessary to enter into any further account of this concretion.

In the enumeration of the ingredients of calculi already given, we have also mentioned *fibrine*. This forms the second of the two new varieties contained in Chapter 4th; and the calculus itself was a spheroidal body of the size of a small pea.

From the examinations which the author has made of a great variety of the calculi preserved in the museums of different hospitals, it appears that the lithic concretion is of most common occurrence, and the fusible and mulberry calculi follow next in order; and, by the records of the cases in those hospitals where the stones have been preserved, the proportion of deaths appeared to be greatest among those patients labouring under calculi of the compound or mixed kind.

Dr Marcet has bestowed considerable pains in collecting information, with the view of ascertaining whether this disease prevails equally, or nearly so, in various countries, and in the different stations of life; or whether its frequency be influenced by varieties of climate, or peculiarities in our habits and occupations. He has met with considerable difficulties in this branch of his inquiry, from the negligent manner in which the records of cases are preserved in the great hospitals of this country; but he has nevertheless obtained some curious and important general results. As an honourable exception to this unaccountable defect in the regulations in public hospitals, the author mentions the Norwich Infirmary, where all the calculi which have been extracted by operation in that hospital for the last 44 years,

amounting to the enormous number of 506, have been carefully preserved, with the circumstances annexed to each stone, and the event of the operation distinctly recorded. From these documents the following Table has been constructed.

Returns of the cases of Lithotomy in the Norfolk and Norwich Hospital, from 1772 to 1816, making a period of 44 years.

	Number of Operations.			Deaths.		
	Children under 14.	Adults.	Total.	Children.	Adults.	Total.
Males	227	251	478	12	56	68
Females	8	20	28	1	1	2
	235	271	506	13	57	70

It appears from the above Table, that the mean annual number of cases of lithotomy in the Norwich Hospital, during the last forty-four years, has been  $11\frac{1}{2}$ , or 23 in every two years; and that the total number of fatal cases in the 506 operations, is 70;—a proportion of deaths corresponding to 1 in  $7\frac{1}{2}$ , or 4 in 29. It appears also, that the proportion of females undergoing the operation, is to that of males as 58 to 1000, or about 1 to 17; and that the mortality from the operation in children is only about 1 in 18, while in adults it is 4 in 19, that is, nearly quadruple. The number of patients admitted during that period, when these 506 cases of lithotomy occurred, amounted to 18,859; which corresponds to about 1 in 38, and exceeds, in an astonishing degree, that obtained from any of the other public institutions, to the records of which I have had access; and it becomes an object of considerable interest, for future inquirers to ascertain, by multiplied comparisons and observations of this kind, whether this circumstance may be traced to any peculiarities in the habits or situation of that district.

The number of stone cases in different hospitals, may no doubt be in some degree influenced by the particular bias of the surgeons, or by the celebrity which they may have acquired in that operation, in consequence of which patients come from a great distance for the purpose of being operated upon. But this circumstance cannot possibly account for so great a prevalence of stone cases in the Norwich Infirmary.

The quality nature of the soil in that part of the island, cannot throw any light on the subject, since the proportion of calculi containing lime, is smaller in the Norwich Infirmary than it is in London.

In Dr Dobson's "Commentary on Fixed Air," published in

1779, I find a curious statistical inquiry into the different frequency of the stone, in various parts of England; from which it appears, amongst other singular results, that the proportion of calculous cases in the Norwich Infirmary up to that period, was about 30 times as great as in the Cambridge Hospital. On the other hand, he found the disease in other parts of England remarkably uniform in its frequency. Thus, in the Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, and Exeter Hospitals, the proportion of stone cases was 1 in 394 patients. In the North-east part of England, including the hospitals of Newcastle, York, Leeds and Manchester, the proportion was 1 in 420. But in the North-west part of England, comprehending the hospitals of Liverpool, Chester, Shrewsbury, and the whole of North Wales, the proportion was only 1 in 3223. Dr Dobson therefore concluded, that the stone is a more common disease in the cider districts, than in North Wales and the North of England; and he was also led to believe, from the results of his inquiry, that hard waters rather prevent than promote the formation of the stone,—an opinion which seems to be confirmed by the good effects of the Buxton, Matlock; Bath, Bristol, and other hard waters in calculous disorders.' p. 27.

In St Thomas's Hospital in London, during the last 10 years, the average number of cases in lithotomy has not exceeded 1 in 528 patients; in Bartholomew's, in five years, 1 in 340; in Guy's, for the same period, 1 in 300.

In Paris, there are properly but two hospitals which may be considered as places of general resort for the operation of lithotomy; though a few insulated cases occasionally occur in other Infirmaries. These are, the *Hôpital de la Charité*, and the *Hôpital des Enfants Malades*.

In the *Hôpital de la Charité*, the proportion is about 1 in 250; in the *Hôpital des Enfants Malades*, about 3000 children of both sexes under the age of 15, are annually admitted; and the average number of stone cases is about six. In the hospital at CLEMENT FERRAND, about 2000 patients are annually admitted; and the average number of calculous cases for the last twelve years has been six.

' Before the Revolution, the average number of stone cases in this hospital was 10. The gradual diminution of this disease since the Revolution, is ascribed to the improvement which has taken place in the condition of the poorer classes, especially in regard to their diet.' p. 41.

' I think I have found, in the course of this inquiry, sufficient ground to conclude, (though accurate data cannot at present be obtained), that the occurrence of lithotomy in the London hospitals has, for some years, gradually diminished; and this may be owing, partly to a real reduction in the frequency of the stone from some alteration in the diet or habits of the people, or from the use of appropriate medicines, and partly to the circumstance of calculous patients

not resorting so exclusively, as was formerly the case, to the great London hospitals for the operation.

It appears, by a Dissertation published at Leyden in 1802, by Mr Schuitema, '*De Causis imminutæ in Republ. Batav. morbi calculosi frequentie*,' that similar remarks on a diminution in the frequency of calculous disorders, have also been made on the Continent. For it is stated in that Thesis, that from the year 1700 to 1733, 277 individuals had undergone the operation of lithotomy in the hospital of Amsterdam; from 1733 to 1766, the number was reduced to 147; and from 1767 to 1799, it was further diminished to 78. This progressive reduction in the frequency of the disease, is ascribed to the introduction and gradual dissemination of tea as an article of diet amongst all classes.' p. 36.

'It has been observed, that a very considerable proportion of the cases of calculi occurs in children. This, however, obtains only among the poor classes. For in the higher ranks, or even in the lowest classes, provided they are well fed, the same frequency is not observed.' p. 36.

'In this early stage of the inquiry, and until a much greater number of documents than those I have been able to collect shall have been procured, we should in vain attempt to connect the facts afforded by those reports with any systematic view of the causes of calculous disorders. In the mean time, sufficient evidence has already been obtained to show, that, in some establishments both in this and other countries, a remarkable uniformity prevails in regard to the frequency of the disease, whilst, in other instances, a great discordance is observable; and that none of the circumstances commonly suspected to influence this disorder, can satisfactorily account for this variety of results. This naturally leads to the suspicion, that the tendency to form urinary calculi must arise from some general causes, independent of any of the peculiarities of food or beverage to which they have been usually ascribed; and since it appears that, in hot climates, and especially between the tropics, these complaints are almost unknown, and that, in our climate, they are particularly apt to attack persons of studious or sedentary habits of life, one is naturally led to connect these circumstances with the great changes in the urine known to arise from different conditions of the surface of the body, and to inquire whether, amongst other causes, there may not be some essential connexion between the state of the cutaneous functions, and the greater or less prevalence of this class of disorders.—Mr Copland Hutchison, in a valuable paper in the Medical and Chirurgical Transactions, has shown that calculous disorders are of extremely rare occurrence among seafaring people.' p. 45.

The concluding chapter relates to the Medical Treatment of Calculous Disorders; but upon this branch of the subject, we cannot enter, without extending our remarks beyond the limits which we must observe; and indeed we suspect that some of

our readers will think we have already said quite enough. But we cannot conclude without noticing what Dr Marcet has said with regard to the use of Magnesia,—a remedy which had been recently introduced, and with great promise of advantage, when we last brought this subject before our readers, but which has been since proved, by more extended experience, to be by no means so generally applicable in this disease as was at first supposed, and to have been in many cases highly injurious.

The practice of substituting the use of magnesia for that of alkaline medicines, in cases of lithic calculus (which was suggested by Sir EVERARD HOME and Mr HATCHETT, and communicated to the public by Mr W. BRANDE), is an useful addition to the medical treatment of calculous disorders. Magnesia being less offensive to the stomach, and yet capable of removing acidity from the digestive organs, (an inconvenience generally accompanying the calculous diathesis), it is often found advantageous to use it in long protracted cases, rather than caustic or subcarbonated alkali, the constant use of which would ultimately injure the stomach. Yet such is the tendency which the public has to overrate the utility of a new practice, or to take a mistaken view of its proper application, that there is every reason to believe that the use of magnesia has, of late years, become a frequent source of evil in calculous disorders.

In the first place, it cannot be doubted, that whenever it is desirable to convey to the urine, alkaline properties, the mineral alkalies will answer this purpose more quickly and readily than magnesia, a much less soluble substance, the beneficial effects of which are chiefly to be ascribed to its absorbing and combining with any redundant acid in the *primæ viæ*, and thus acquiring an aperient property. But there is another and more important objection to the indiscriminate use of magnesia, which is, that this earth being the base of one of the most common species of calculi, the ammoniaco-magnesian phosphat, there is nearly an even chance, when magnesia is prescribed without any previous knowledge of the nature of the calculus, that it will prove injurious, not only by affording the principal element of that calculus, but also by neutralizing, in the *primæ viæ*, any portions of uncombined acid, by means of which the calculous matter might have been held in solution. That this may actually happen, I have myself, within the last four years, repeatedly witnessed; that is to say, I have met with patients who had been for months, or even for years, in the habit of taking daily doses of magnesia, either by the advice of their medical attendants, or merely in compliance with the popular practice, for the removal of calculi or gravel, which proved, on examination, to be of the magnesian or fusible kind. The complaint had, by this means, become more and more confirmed; and the patients, mistaking the neutralizing and aperient properties of the alkaline earth, for its supposed solvent powers, had continued this baneful practice, till the examination of the sand de-

posited by the urine, or of some fragment of the calculus, had made them aware of their error.

Another kind of inconvenience sometimes arising from the obstinate and injudicious use of magnesia, which was lately pointed out by Mr Edward Brande, is the accumulation and consolidation of large masses of magnesia, which, from accidental causes, are sometimes detained in the intestines, in which they have been known to produce distressing and even fatal effects. 'c p. 170.

ART. IX. *The Gas Blow-pipe; or Art of Fusion, by burning the Gaseous Constituents of Water: Giving the History of the Philosophical Apparatus so denominated; and the Proofs of Analogy in its Operations to the Nature of Volcanoes. With an Appendix, containing Account of Experiments with this Blow-pipe.* By EDWARD DANIEL CLARKE, LL. D. Professor of Mineralogy in the University of Cambridge, &c. &c. Cadell & Davies. London, 1819. pp. 109.

WHILE we are all sufficiently affected by changes in the moral and political world—by the fall of empires and the rise of republics—by the terrors of war abroad, and of peace establishments and reform meetings at home,—we survey, with unaccountable indifference, the operations which are perpetually going on in the natural world; the various wonders which are constantly presented to us, both on the surface and in the interior of the earth; the majesty of mountains, and the stupendous depth of the lakes and valleys they enclose; the boundless expanse of the ocean, or the sublimer horrors of volcanic explosion, with all the awful phenomena which accompany it. Even in those parts of the world which are most exposed to those tremendous visitations—where, in the short space of one night, a country rich in fertility and cultivation, may be overwhelmed by torrents of liquid fire—cities the most splendid and populous be buried beneath stones and ashes, or ingulphed in the bosom of the earth,—the inhabitants live in a state of stupid security, regardless of the wonders which surround them, and unmoved even by the dangers which, sooner or later, may be fatal to them.

To the apathy with which these natural phenomena are viewed, is owing the imperfect and inaccurate accounts given by persons residing in the countries themselves; and among the very few observers who have been directed in their investigations by scientific views, the most extraordinary misconceptions have been entertained, and the most absurd theories promulgated.

The historian of Vesuvius, the Padre della Torre, in his *Storia e Fenomeni del Vesuvio*, has the hardihood to assert, that Vesuvius has not been formed by volcanic irruption, by little and little; but is composed of different strata, and differs from other mountains only in being consumed by internal fire;—and even this observation he qualifies by saying, that in the interior rocks of the Somma, there is not a vestige of fire to be seen! Far superior certainly to this, is the work of Gioeni upon the lithology of Vesuvius, published at Naples in 1791: But it is confined to Vesuvius only; and his observations are not sufficiently extended to the volcanic district of which it forms a part, to establish the requisite comparison between the various substances which a long series of irruptions have produced, and to which every new irruption is adding. What was wanting, however, to complete this, was shortly after supplied in the able and ingenious work of Scipio Breislac, which was published at Florence in 1798. By his indefatigable researches, this writer has made us acquainted with the composition of the Campania, and added much more to our knowledge respecting volcanic productions, than any of his countrymen before or since. As to the accounts of travellers who visit those countries, they are by no means to be relied upon. Viewing the scenes around them with feelings very different from those of apathy with which the natives regard them, their minds are filled with consternation and surprise,—they are unable to collect their senses, scattered and terrified by the awful grandeur of phenomena, not unmingled with danger, which surround them. Every thing is seen under an exaggerated form; and their descriptions are replete with inaccuracies and misstatements. Some of them have added theory to narrative, and have undertaken, by ingenious hypotheses, to account for the appearances which they describe.

Of these, Dr Clarke, better known as a man of travel in Russia, than of science in Cambridge, but justly esteemed in this capacity also, has conceived a theory, which, in the dangerous and illusive moment of its first conception, he has been tempted to publish. In an account which he gave of a Gas Blow-pipe, in the *Journal of the Royal Institution* for 1816, this theory was hinted at, in language, however, somewhat obscure, and not calculated to provoke much discussion. But when the doctrine is formally stated in a book made on purpose, and gravely proposed as a discovery in natural science, we feel ourselves called upon to inquire into its merits, with all respect for the excellent and very ingenious author, but with the freedom which truth requires, and which he would be the last person in the world to complain of.

First of all, then, respecting the instrument itself, of which



this work professes to give the history, we must be permitted to observe, that, many years ago, the operations of the blow-pipe were assisted by the use of oxygen and hydrogen gases, in a very simple manner,—either by urging the flame of a spirit-lamp, by a condensed stream of oxygen gas, (the hydrogen from the alcohol mixing during combustion with the oxygen, and producing a very intense heat)—or, by propelling the two gases from *different* reservoirs, through *two* small apertures, applied to the flame of a candle. This contrivance is as old as the time of Lavoisier. But it was found that the heat was materially increased, if the gases were mixed in the *same* reservoir before they were inflamed; and it is said that they were first used in this way by an unknown German, who mixed and compressed them in a bladder having a blow-pipe attached to it. Certain it is, that seventeen years ago, Dr Thomson made experiments with the mixed gases; but was obliged to abandon the use of them in this state, by the frequent accidents that happened from the apparatus bursting when a retrograde motion of the flame took place. Soon after Mr Tennant's discovery (which is the foundation of Sir H. Davy's safety-lamp), that an explosive mixture of gas might be inflamed through a *capillary* tube, without danger of communicating with the body of the gas in the reservoir, Dr Clarke consulted with Mr Newman, a philosophical instrument maker in London, who recommended that a condensed mixture of oxygen and hydrogen should be propelled through a capillary tube. Sir H. Davy was consulted; and was of opinion that there could be no danger, if a tube not larger than  $\frac{1}{16}$ th of an inch in diameter was used. Accordingly, a blow-pipe upon this principle was made by Mr Newman, in which the mixture of two parts of hydrogen and one of oxygen was used, with perfect safety, for a quarter of a year,—when, by some defect in the capillary tube, the whole apparatus burst; and from that time the instrument could no longer be used with security. This danger was, however, got rid of by a most ingenious contrivance of Mr Cumming, Professor of Chemistry at Cambridge, who, by means of a cylinder partly filled with oil, effected a separation between the jet of the flame and the great body of gas in the reservoir; so that, should any accident produce the retrograde motion of the flame, it can communicate only with a small quantity of gas above the oil,—while the oil effectually prevents the further progress of the flame to the rest of the gaseous mixture. A detailed account of the blow-pipe itself, and of this simple and beautiful improvement, will best be seen in the book itself, in which there are explanatory plates of both instruments. Dr Clarke, we may add, does by no means attempt to arrogate to himself the

merit of this discovery, or to deprive Mr Cumming of his praise. On the contrary he states, that he has reason to be thankful for such a valuable addition to his apparatus, 'without which it is worse than useless;' and that 'it therefore becomes a duty of gratitude to lay the greater stress upon that part of the invention to which beyond all doubt he is indebted for his present safety.' 'Had it not been (says he, with his usual good nature) for this circumstance, it would have fallen to the lot of some other person to have written the history of the Gas Blow-pipe, and to have rendered it rather tragical than amusing.' p. 5. His doctrine of volcanoes, to which we now proceed, may therefore be deemed the principal object of this publication.

The grand postulate upon which almost all the theories of volcanoes depend, is the existence of fire in the bowels of the earth. To this, no doubt it has been objected, that it is a gratuitous assumption, and, even if granted, is inadequate to explain all that is required. We do not mean to enter at present into any discussion respecting the truth of the Huttonian theory; nor is it necessary, for the explanation of volcanic phenomena, to suppose a perpetual central heat capable of melting limestone by its intensity. But if it can be shown that with no very great elevation of temperature, the observed effects may be produced—we conceive such an hypothesis may be admitted, without any great violation of probability. But before we state what we have to offer upon this subject, we shall briefly consider the theory which is proposed by Dr Clarke, and mention our objections to it.

His own statement is somewhat loose and unconnected, nor is it calculated to convey his meaning with precision; but the principle upon which he proceeds is simply this—That water, from the sea, is admitted into the lower parts of the mountain, and there decomposed,—that its gaseous constituents are obtained in a state of mixture and *extreme compression*, and afterwards set fire to,—that in some cases the whole mixture explodes at once, with tremendous violence, tearing whole mountains from their beds, and blowing them into the air; while in others, the mixture is propelled through an infinite multitude of tubes in the bosom of the mountain, and the jet of flame thrown upon masses of rock and other substances, which immediately yield to its power; and entering into a state of perfect fusion, boil over at the mouth of the crater in torrents of liquid fire.

In the *first* place, we would ask, *how* does Dr Clarke conceive the water to be decomposed? In page 12, he says, 'If, under all the circumstances of more exalted temperature, and of the changes induced by chemical affinities, such as those which

result from the action of water on the *metals of the earths*, water be decomposed, and its *gaseous constituents* exposed to combustion, &c. Now, we apprehend Dr Clarke's meaning to be, that if water has access to large masses of those peculiar metals which constitute the alkaline and earthy bases, heated by unknown causes to a very high temperature, it will, in consequence of chemical affinity, be decomposed by the heated metal. The great heat so near the base of the mountain, is almost as difficult to be accounted for as the volcano itself: But if this were got over; is Dr Clarke, after all his chemical experience, to be informed what must be the result of the affinity to which he refers? Is it possible he should have forgot, that the oxygen of the water will combine with the metal, forming an oxide,—and that hydrogen alone will be evolved? Let us suppose, for example, that *calcium* is the metallic base which the water flows over. Upon the water being decomposed, oxide of calcium, or *lime*, is formed; and the hydrogen that is evolved, either escapes through the crevices of the rocks in a state of harmless gas, or, mixing with the first body of atmospheric air which it comes in contact with, *may possibly* be inflamed, and occasion an explosion. So that, even granting, what we are by no means disposed to admit, that water is thus decomposed, it will avail the author nothing. For how can he establish his analogy to the blow-pipe, without his oxygen gas? And where is he to obtain this? If from atmospheric air, how will he ever get the mixture properly compressed, and then inflamed just at the critical moment? Perhaps he has a volcanic battery in reserve to decompose the water, from the positive and negative wires of which he will see no difficulty whatever in collecting, uniting and compressing the gases: the facility of inflaming the mixture will be the same as before—stones will be ejected—rocks melted—lava formed—and, in short, every uncommon appearance accounted for in the most precise and satisfactory manner; as satisfactorily and as precisely at least, as framers of hypotheses generally desire, when they have no limits to their assumptions in the facts of the case, and change their assumptions to meet every turn in the difficulty.

We proceed, however, to offer what we conceive to be a more plausible explanation of volcanic phenomena. There can be no doubt that heat will have different effects upon bodies, according to the circumstances in which they are placed, and under which the fire is applied to them. The same heat which produces one change at the surface of the earth, will operate in quite another manner when it acts upon the same substances at any considerable depth below the surface. What this difference, in effect, may amount to, our inexperience of the processes which are going on in the interior of the globe prevents us from com-

puting; but as it can be shown by direct experiment, that the action of heat is modified when applied to bodies under the pressure of a superincumbent weight, we may safely infer, that analogous results will be produced upon substances placed in similar circumstances, beneath the surface of the earth.

• The tendency of an increased pressure on bodies to which an increasing heat is applied, is to confine those parts which, from their volatility, would otherwise be dispersed; and, by thus confining, to force them to undergo a more intense heat. These volatile parts will necessarily be changed, not only by the increase of temperature to which they are exposed, but by being at the same time kept in combination with the substances from which they originate: and a compound will be formed, essentially differing from the results which the action of the same heat would produce from the same body, under a pressure not exceeding that of the atmosphere. Suppose, for example, that calcareous bodies, under great compression, are subjected to a variable heat: the first effect produced will be the evolution of carbonic acid gas; but the escape of this air being prevented by the pressure, and the calcareous earth exposed to a more intense heat, it will be, in all probability, softened, or even completely melted.

This theory was first suggested to that truly great philosopher, the late Dr Black, by some experiments which he made with the barytic earth; and it was afterwards confirmed by a series of experiments performed with singular accuracy and patience by Sir James Hall,—an account of which is published in the sixth volume of the *Edinburgh Philosophical Transactions*, and reviewed in the ninth volume of this *Journal*. As the barytic earth has a greater attraction for carbonic acid gas than common calcareous earth has, the carbonate of barytes will stand a greater heat before it parts with its carbonic acid gas. Dr Black accordingly found, that at a certain temperature the earth was *fused*, while the gas was not yet expelled; and that, when the heat was so increased as to drive off the carbonic acid gas, the earth immediately lost its fluidity, and was reduced to a caustic state. Hence he concluded, that the fusion was owing to the gas remaining embodied in the earth, and entering into some new chemical combination with it when exposed to a more intense action of heat. He thought it, therefore, perfectly reasonable to suppose, that, if other bodies, such as the calcareous, though they may resist the force of any heat, however intense, on the surface of the earth, were confined by pressure, so as to prevent the fixed air they contain from escaping, they would become softened, and melt like the carbonate of bary-

tes: and, as the pressure that is required is afforded by their subterranean situation, he conceived that the fusion which is sometimes found to have taken place among calcareous strata, was in this manner satisfactorily accounted for.

Dr Hutton, who founded the strongest arguments in favour of his system upon these experiments of Dr Black, contented himself with deducing from analogy all that was wanting to generalize the principle, supposing always, that the degrees of heat and compression employed by Nature were beyond any that the art of man could produce:—nor was it till Sir J. Hall instituted his course of experiments, that direct proof of the truth of this theory was obtained. From some trials which he happened to make on the fusion of whinstone, he ascertained that it hardened at about  $28^{\circ}$  of Wedgwood's pyrometer: He recollected, at the same time, that crystals of calcareous spar were not uncommonly found enclosed in whinstone; and therefore concluded, that if the Huttonian theory were true, the two bodies must have been in a state of fusion; and the temperature at which the liquid spar congealed must be, if any thing, *lower* than in the case of the whinstone. The heat, then, at which such a substance as carbonate of lime *might* be fused, was not beyond the power of his application; and the only difficulty that occurred was, how to apply a pressure sufficient to prevent its decomposition. The various means he resorted to are given at length in the account before mentioned; and to this our limits oblige us to refer such of our readers as have the curiosity to follow this interesting subject in its details. We shall confine ourselves to a very brief notice of his experiments.

Sir James Hall's first experiments were made with carbonate of lime introduced into a common gun barrel, which, when rammed down to the breech, occupied about three inches; the remaining space was crammed to the muzzle with baked pipe-clay, and the barrel hermetically sealed. The breech was then exposed, in a muffle, to a heat marked  $25^{\circ}$  by Wedgwood's pyrometer; and the result obtained (when the expansive force did not injure the barrel, and thereby spoil the experiment) was an agglutinated mass resembling stone, and requiring a considerable blow from a hammer to break it. It effervesced in nitric acid,—thus showing that it still retained its carbonic acid. In a further stage of his experiments, his apparatus being made more perfect, from various improvements that suggested themselves in the course of the inquiry, the results obtained were in the highest degree satisfactory. One of these appeared with a rim of a yellowish hue, semitransparent, and having a saline fracture. On breaking it," says Sir James Hall, "a space more than one-tenth of an inch square was found to be completely crystal-

lized, and to have acquired the rhomboidal fracture of calcareous spar. It was white and opaque, and presented three sets of parallel plates, which were seen under three different angles.' And afterwards, when a more intense heat was applied, 'the carbonate boiled over the lips of the small tube in which it was enclosed, and ran down the sides of it,'—its *complete fusion* being thus accomplished. A new adjustment of his apparatus, by a contrivance on the principle of the safety-valves in a steam-engine, enabled him to ascertain a very important desideratum; namely, a comparison of the quantity of compression with some known standard. And the conclusions to be drawn from his experiments on this part of the subject, are, that a compressing force equal to 52 atmospheres, or 1700 feet of sea, is sufficient to form limestone—that a weight equal to 82 atmospheres, or 3000 feet of water, is requisite for the formation of perfect marble—and that a pressure of 173 atmospheres, or about a mile of sea, is all that is required to fuse carbonate of lime, and to produce it in a state of perfect crystallization,—the proper degree of heat, of course, being in all these cases applied.

The application of these statements to volcanic phenomena, is obvious. Putting the Huttonian general hypothesis of a central fire out of the question, it cannot be denied, that, in volcanic regions, there must exist a considerable heat. Its position is probably not far below the surface; but its existence is a fact of which we have undeniable evidence. The only argument of any plausibility that has ever been adduced against the explanation of volcanic eruption, by the presence of heat alone, is the difficulty of conceiving a heat so intense as to melt rocks and calcareous matter, and at the same time so variable as sometimes to produce this mighty effect, while at other times it remains in a state of comparative inactivity. Now, we think that sufficient proof has been given, that such effects as the fusion of rocks and formation of lava *may* be produced by no very extraordinary elevation of temperature, assisted by the compression which the superincumbent strata will naturally afford. That Nature actually does perform those operations by these means, is another question, and one which cannot be decided upon with absolute certainty: But if ever there was a theory founded upon a synthetical argument (which must be resorted to where the operations to be explained are beyond the reach of actual observation), and strengthened by a strict consistency with known facts, we conceive it to be the one now propounded.

As to the disappearance of water in the neighbouring wells, and even the diminution which is sometimes observed of the sea, previous to a great irruption,—facts which Dr Clarke lays much

stress upon as arguments in favour of *his* theory,—no great ingenuity will be necessary to account for them. The commotion which must inevitably take place in the bowels of the mountain while the internal fires are augmenting—the calcareous earths, and other substances of the mineral kingdom passing from a solid to a liquid state, and exerting expansive forces, vast in proportion to the magnitude of the melted matter—will necessarily cause partial rendings and earthquakes in the lower regions of the mountain; the springs which supply the neighbouring wells will be for a time dried up by the sudden heat; and the fissures, which must occasionally be made in the bed of the sea, will swallow up the water that flows over them, and cause a temporary diminution of its height. The consequence of this will be—what is frequently observed to be the case—that the part of the water which happens to be admitted into the heated part of the mountain, will be converted into steam—and, where it is confined by the strata around it, will burst forth with all its uncontrollable power, detonating with the noise of thunder, and ejecting rocks and mud and lava, and everything that opposes it, by the vehemence of its explosion.

We ought not to close this article, without giving the reader some specimen of the book before us.—We may not be able to extract much scientific matter for his edification, but are sure that something may be found for his amusement. Dr Clarke excels most writers in description; and has in great perfection the talent of placing the scenes he has witnessed before our eyes. An instance of this occurs in these pages. In the year 1793, he, with some English gentlemen resident in Naples, wished to ascertain whether the streams of lava at their sources exhibited the substances composing it, in a state of perfect or imperfect fusion. A stream of lava having broke out near the crater of Vesuvius, and the quantity of ejected matter being smaller at the source, and the danger of approaching it thereby diminished, the party in question took the opportunity of a strong wind, which carried the vapours towards a different side of the mountain from that whence it issued, to set out from Naples, for the purpose of ascending the mountain. The expedition is thus described.

Upon proceeding up the cone of Vesuvius, the party found the crater, at the summit, in a very active state, throwing out volleys of immense stones translucent with vitrification, and such heavy showers of ashes, involved in dense sulphureous clouds, as to render any approach to it extremely dangerous. The party ascended, however, as near to the summit as possible; then crossing over to the side whence the lava was issuing, they reached the bed of the torrent, and attempted to ascend by the side of it to its source. This they soon

found to be impossible, owing to an unfortunate change of wind ; in consequence of which, all the smoke of the lava came hot upon them, accompanied at the same time with so thick a mist of minute ashes from the crater, and such suffocating fumes of sulphur, that they knew not what course to steer. In this perplexity, the author called to mind an expedient recommended by Sir William Hamilton upon a former occasion, and proposed crossing immediately the current of the flowing lava, with a view to gain its windward side. All his companions were against this measure, owing to the very liquid appearance the lava then had, so near its source ; but while they stood deliberating what was to be done, immense fragments of rocks that had been ejected from the crater, and huge volcanic bombs, which the smoke had prevented their observing, fell thick among them ; vast masses of slag and of other matter, rolling upon their edges like enormous wheels, passed by them with a force and velocity sufficient to crush every one of the party to atoms, if directed to the spot where they all stood huddled together. There was not a moment to be lost ; the author, therefore, covering his face with his hat, descended the high bank beneath which the lava ran, and rushing upon the surface of the melted matter, reached the opposite side, having only his boots burned, and his hands somewhat scorched. Here he saw clearly the whole of the danger to which his friends were exposed : the noise was such as almost prevented his being heard : but he endeavoured, by calling and by gestures, to persuade them to follow. Vast rocks of indurated lava from the crater, were bounding by them, and others falling that would have overwhelmed a citadel. Not one of the party would stir ; not even the guides accustomed for hire to conduct persons over the mountain. At last he had the satisfaction to see them descend, and endeavour to cross the torrent somewhat lower down ; where the lava from its redness appeared to be less liquid ; and where the stream was narrower. In fact, the narrowness of the stream deceived them ; the current had divided into two branches ; in the midst of which was an island, if such it might be called, surrounded by liquid fire. They crossed over the first stream in safety ; but being a good deal scorched upon the island, they attempted the passage of the second branch ; in doing which, one of the guides, laden with torches and other things, fell down and was terribly burned.

Being now all on the windward side, they continued their ascent ; the bellowings, belchings and explosions, as of cannon, evidently not from the crater, (which sent forth one uniform roaring and deafening noise), convinced them they were now not far from the source. The lava appeared whiter and whiter as they advanced, owing to its intense heat ; and in about half an hour they reached the chasm through which the melted matter had opened itself a passage. It was a narrow fissure in the solid lava of the cone. The sides, smooth, compact, and destitute of that porous appearance which the superficies of lava exhibits : when it is cooled under exposure to atmospheric air, resembled the most solid trap or basalt. To describe the rest of the spectacle here displayed, is utterly beyond



all human ability : the author can only appeal to those who participated the astonishment he felt upon that occasion, and to the sensations which they experienced in common with him, the remembrance of which can only be obliterated with their lives. All he had previously seen of volcanic phenomena, had not prepared him for what he then beheld. He had often witnessed the rivers of lava, after their descent into the valley between Somma and Vesuvius ; they resembled moving heaps of scorix falling over one another with a rattling noise, which in their further progress, carried ruin and devastation into the plains : But from the centre of this arched chasm, and along a channel cut finer than art can imitate, beamed the most intense light, radiating with such ineffable lustre, that the eye could only contemplate it for one instant, and by successive glances : While, issuing with the velocity of a flood, and accompanied with a rushing wind, this light itself, in milder splendour, seemed to melt away into a translucent and vivid stream, exhibiting matter in the most perfect fusion, running like liquid silver, down the side of the mountain. In its progress downwards, and as soon as the air began to act upon it, the superficies lost its whiteness ; becoming first red, and afterwards of a darker hue, until, lower down, black scorix began to form upon its surface. Above the arched chasm, there was a natural chimney, about four feet in height, throwing up occasionally stones, attended with detonations.\* The author approached near enough to this aperture to gather from the lips of it, some incrustations of pure sulphur ; the fumes of which were so suffocating, that it was with difficulty, and only at intervals, a sight could be obtained of what was passing below. It was evident, however, that the current of lava, with the same indescribable splendour, was flowing rapidly at the bottom of this chimney, towards the mouth of the chasm ; and, had it not been for this vent, it is probable the party now mentioned, could never have been able to approach so nearly as they had done to the source of the lava. The eruptions from the crater increased with such violence, that it was necessary to use all possible expedition in making the remaining observations.

The eruptions from the crater were now without intermission, and the danger of remaining any longer near this place, was alarmingly conspicuous. A huge mass, cast to an immense height in the air, seemed to be falling in a direction so fatally perpendicular, that there was not one of the party present who did not expect to be crushed by it ; fortunately it fell beyond the spot on which they stood, where it was shattered into a thousand pieces ; and these rolling onwards, were carried with great velocity into the valley below. Not more than five minutes had elapsed after this accident, when the whole surface of the cone of Vesuvius, near the source of the lava, which the party had rapidly quitted, was entirely covered with a shower of stones from the crater. The object of their undertaking had been, however, satisfactorily accomplished : it had been fully ascertained, that lava issued from its source in a state of perfect fusion.

p. 14-24.

ART. X. 1. *A Letter to JOHN RALPH FENWICK, Esq., by JOHN DAVISON, B. D., Rector of Washington.* Third Edition. Newcastle, Walker. 1819.

2. *A Letter to the Freeholders of the County of Durham, on the Proceedings of the County Meeting holden on Thursday, 21st October instant, and particularly on the Speech of J. E. LAMBTON, Esq. M. P.* By the Rev. HENRY PHILPOTTS, M. A. Prebendary of Durham. Durham, Humble. 1819.

THESE are the two pamphlets which have been most industriously circulated, and unsparingly puffed by those misguided friends of the existing administration, who think their patrons can be effectually served by stifling inquiry into the late unhappy proceedings at Manchester. Their importance is wholly derived from the respectable names of the authors, both of whom are advantageously known in the lists of controversy as able disputants upon some matters of a speculative kind; and one enjoys a deserved reputation of a higher order. We believe neither of the gentlemen (certainly not Mr Davison) will be disposed, after a few months are past, to rejoice that we have prevented their incubrations, on the present occasion, from sinking into the oblivion to which they seem naturally destined. We feel it, however, to be a necessary act of justice towards the question with which they have interfered, as well as a proper gratification of literary curiosity, that we should lay before the readers of this Journal so remarkable a specimen of the sinister influence which party zeal, or supineness, may sometimes exert upon very acute intellects.

We begin with the least of these two small articles,—that which, however, bears the most considerable name, Mr Davison's. What could have induced him thus to dabble in such matters, we are at some loss to guess. Could any one have believed that the leading logician of Oxford, and a person advantageously known both as a man of letters and a writer upon the Poor Laws, would put himself forth as the author of *five* tiny pages of rash and blundering argumentation, and print and publish, with his name, a few paragraphs that would certainly make no great figure in the columns of a daily paper. In the space to which he has confined himself, he has hardly room to do more than deliver his opinion upon the momentous question at issue; but surely the weight of that opinion is not so great upon such matters, as to make its publi-

city indispensable to the safety of the State. That he is ignorant of the whole merits of the controversy, will presently appear—and that, we venture to predict, so signally, as to warn him against similar acts of rashness for the future. But we are now speaking of the size of his production: And, looking at this, one is forced to conclude, that the man who could send it into the world must surely have imagined that each particular line of it contained truths of inestimable value; and that the whole was, like Dryden's Ode, to be classed among those rare products of human genius, which, being engendered by an instant act of creation, and displaying the utmost excellence within the narrowest limits, have won for their authors a celebrity never to be attained by the more elaborate efforts of ordinary talent:—And certainly it is not to be denied, that Mr Davison has in some respects brought himself within this description of authors. His work is struck out at a heat; it is not put together by the help of reasoning and much thinking; nay, it is what any other man would vainly attempt to parallel by all the thought and pains he could bestow. Moreover, it comprises a great deal in a very little space;—for we believe it would be hard to exhibit a richer variety of misstatements, oversights and plain blunders, in the same number of sentences, than this learned clerk has here laid before us. But truly Dryden himself, when exhausted with composing the immortal Ode, was not more confident of his success, or so quick to promulgate it; for our Reverend disputant writes his Letter on the 20th of October, against holding the Durham County Meeting, which was fixed to be holden on the 21st; and he sends it forth on the same day, with the expectation, doubtless, of its magical influence operating at once in preventing that assembly. These wonder-working pages were to fly over the county,—above ground and below; to make each sturdy requisitionist repent of having set his hand to the call, and fix him at home; to dispel in the minds of the speakers all their fair visions of oratorical fame; to arrest the mover in his course—make the seconder forget his office—cause the tongues of the cheerers to cleave to the roofs of their mouths—paralyse the hands that might be lifted and shown—scatter the earthly spectators about the surface of the county, and restore the more dusky bands of its subterraneous population to their ancient caverns. How the event of the morrow should have so cruelly blasted these delightful prospects, Mr Davison may find it hard to explain; but as we certainly are not much pressed with this difficulty, we shall proceed to give him our solution of it.

He sets out with admitting that Inquiry is necessary; but he

differs with those whom he addresses as to the mode of inquiry. ‘ By all means let there be Inquiry, ’ (says he.) ‘ But is not the subject travelling through a regular investigation in the usual channels of publick justice? Inquiry is already instituted before the Tribunals of the Country. Charges have been preferred; bills have been found, and publick trials promise to give decisive and authentic information. ’ (p. 3.) Now really we are at a loss whether most to admire, the marvellous ignorance that prevails in this passage, or the confident tone in which it is delivered to the world. When and where has Inquiry been instituted? Before what Tribunals is the matter in a course of investigation? What Bills have been found? What Trials are pending which can lead to any sifting of the question? The facts, notorious to all the world, are, that bills were preferred against the yeomanry, and thrown out by the Grand Jury; that none were even offered against the Magistrates; that warrants were refused by them against persons intended to be prosecuted for capital felonies; and that the Coroner’s Inquest was adjourned for seven weeks, in order, we suppose, to accelerate the journey of ‘ the subject travelling through a regular investigation. ’ There may be doubts upon the merits of the case; but that, as yet, it is not even begun to be examined, no man doubts. How the Inquiry, whether in Parliament or at Law, may end, if any is instituted, may be a question; but, excepting Mr Davison, no man has ever yet affirmed, that it was actually begun in the Courts of Justice. The Bills, the Process, the Pleadings, the Trials, are creatures of his own imagination; and as alarm, how fertile soever in raising up phantoms of mischief, never before conjured the ghosts of remedial and penal proceedings—never haunted any man with the airy forms of unreal declarations, and the baseless fabric of unsubstantial prisons, we must ascribe to the politick zeal of the Reverend author, a power over the intellects not possessed by terror itself.

It has been observed, that a diseased imagination, though commonly said to create, is more correctly described as transmuting and distorting the ideas furnished by existing objects. Perhaps, then, Mr Davison means all the while to speak of the prosecutions pending against some persons charged with rioting and conspiracy on the memorable 16th of August. But how can *their* trial possibly give rise to a Judicial Inquiry into the conduct of the Magistrates and Yeomanry upon that day? The only question which the Court can try, in the case of those individuals, is the legality of their conduct. How can Mr Davison pretend to discover what the evidence against them is to be? Will he take upon him to say, that

these six or seven persons may not be proved guilty of a conspiracy by evidence affecting no other individual, much less the character of the meeting; and consequently leaving every thing relating to the dispersion of it wholly untouched? No man denies that there is a *primâ facie* case against these persons; for the bills have been found: But who has informed this author, that the prosecutor means to put in issue the legality of the meeting, which the Magistrates themselves never denied till the moment of issuing the warrants? Nay, suppose the character of the meeting to form a necessary part of the case before the Jury, how has this gentleman discovered, that the question respecting the Magistrates depends solely upon that point? If he had taken the most ordinary pains to inform himself upon the important subject which he has been so forward to handle, and, in so dogmatical a style; if he had spoken to any attorney's clerk of six months' standing, he would have learnt, that *unlawful means* may be employed to disperse an *illegal meeting*. Indeed, it requires no acquaintance with law, but only a little reflexion, (which Mr Davison's hot and presumptuous zeal has prevented), to perceive that the military instruments used, and the manner of using them, for a purpose possibly lawful, was fully as likely to form the ground of charge against the authors of the mischief, as the mere interference with the assembly,—because such a charge could be maintained without any regard to the character of that assembly. Now, surely he cannot be so wholly ignorant of proceedings in Courts of Justice, as not to know, that not one word can possibly be said by any party at the trials of the persons already indicted, which can have the most remote connexion with the manner of executing the warrants for their apprehension. Surely Mr Davison must know, that in trying a man for an offence, the inquiry is confined to *his* conduct, and not extended to that of the persons arresting him.

But he knows as little (or has taken as little time to reflect on what all men know) of the proceedings in Parliament, as of those in courts of law. 'Upon what constitutional principle' (he asks) 'is it proposed to annul the jurisdiction of the courts of the country in this particular case, by transferring the inquiry instituted in them, but not completed, to another jurisdiction?' And again,—'Why should you tolerate the jurisdiction of tribunals which you pronounce to be inadequate to their duties? The powers and principles of those courts have been so constituted for ages back, as to afford a great, but it seems illusory satisfaction, to many wise and virtuous men. Some defect, inherent in their constitution, must warrant the

‘interference which you recommend. But ought not your interference to go to a complete interruption of their authority, ‘in its erroneous operation, if such it be?’ We doubt not that the learned author fancied all this to be the very refinement of delicate sarcasm, when it is truly a piece of the most extraordinary ignorance, or want of reflexion. Whoever proposed to make Parliament try the question—the only question now ‘travelling in the channels of justice,’—viz. whether Messrs Hunt, &c. were guilty of a *mi-demeanour*? How could any proceeding in Parliament interfere with the trial of *that issue*?—But did Mr Davison never hear of Parliament debating upon the propriety of prosecutions? Has no one ever told him of votes ordering persons to be prosecuted? Then how does the inquiry, supposing it to end in a resolution that the conduct of the Magistrates was illegal, and that *they* ought to be proceeded against, ‘annul the jurisdiction of the courts,’ any more than similar resolutions have always done in former cases? When the House of Commons voted Lord Melville guilty of certain offences, and ordered him to be prosecuted, did any man ever dream of saying, ‘You are interrupting the course of justice: the courts are open: and such votes send the defendant to his trial with a load of prejudice to contend against?’ In that case, the proceeding by Impeachment was substituted for Information. But when the House of Commons ordered Stockdale and Reeves to be prosecuted for libels, and, more recently, Lopez for bribery, so little harm appeared to have been done by the previous inquiry, debates and votes of the House, that the Juries acquitted all those defendants. What a pity that no sage politician was then to be found, so deeply imbued with the learning of the Constitution, so practised alike in politics and jurisprudence, so versed both in the law of the land and the more recondite law of Parliament, (known, as Lord Coke says, only to a chosen few)—in a word, no Davison, nor even one Philpotts—to indicate the dangers of mixing the two proceedings of Inquiry and Trial—and ‘for ages back’ to protect from parliamentary ‘complete interruption’ the ‘powers and principles of courts,’ which have afforded satisfaction ‘to many wise and virtuous men!’

Towards the end of his pamphlet, some misgiving seems to have come over the author, that ‘the expected trials might not embrace the whole of the transactions.’ But observe his answer.—‘Looking at the substance of things, I think this cannot ‘be properly alleged; because the legal character of the *transactions in question* is closely and intimately connected with the ‘subject-matter of the trials; and the evidence to be adduced

‘ and examined before a Jury, must throw light upon the whole  
 ‘ state and posture of things, as it stood, when the Magis-  
 ‘ trates had to act. The strict issue of those trials is, whether  
 ‘ certain persons were engaged in a conspiracy to alter the  
 ‘ laws by intimidation and force. The conduct of the Magis-  
 ‘ trates, therefore, must be judged of with reference to such a  
 ‘ conspiracy supposed to exist. It is nugatory to judge of their  
 ‘ conduct in reference merely to the unquestionable right of the  
 ‘ people to meet and petition in a peaceable way.’

This passage, besides being composed with the obscurity and incorrectness that distinguish Mr Davison's style, \* is conceived with a vagueness and want of precision by no means habitual to him, except in the tract before us. But its inaccuracies are almost equal in number to the lines of which it consists. The ‘ close and intimate connexion’ between the ‘ legal character of the *transactions in question*,’ and the ‘ subject-matter of the trial,’ is undeniable—but not in his sense:—the legal character of the proceedings adopted by the Magistrates, has no intimate connexion with that subject-matter. It is not clear that the evidence ‘ *must*’ throw light upon the ‘ whole posture of things,’ even *before* the execution of the warrant; and it is clear that it can throw no light on the matters attending that execution. The conduct of the Magistrates may have been culpable, although ‘ a conspiracy be supposed to exist;’ and it may be innocent, though the people were met ‘ in a peaceable way,’ if there was any obstruction given to the execution of the warrant. Indeed, to show how little our author has considered the subject, we may note his confident statement, that ‘ the strict issue of the trials is, whether certain persons were engaged in a conspiracy to alter the law by intimidation and force;’ which is not, and could not be the issue—for that is high treason. Into this error both the Reverend authors freely plunge. Whereunto Mr Philpotts adds the blunder of supposing the *prima facie* case to be all against the legality of the meeting,—because the bills have been found; whereas *the defendants* may be convicted of the misdemeanour charged, though *the meeting* was legal; and one of the bills found, is for perjury against the witness whose evidence contributed towards finding the other bills. He is also completely mistaken in supposing, that the Grand

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\* Hardly a sentence in these pages is free from such faults. Who ever talked of a ‘ *state*’ or a ‘ *posture*,’ ‘ *standing*?’—or of ‘ *laying out strength*?’—or of ‘ *travelling to the point of sobriety*?’ And when did a case, or any thing but a river, (or perhaps a rat), ‘ *travel in a channel*?’

Jury, by throwing out the bills, gave any opinion upon the conduct of the Magistrates; for the bills were solely against the Yeomanry—who might be innocent, though the Magistrates had committed murder. He is equally happy in his forgetfulness of the severe remarks made by a learned Judge upon the throwing out of another bill at the same assizes, when, notwithstanding, the defendant being tried on the Coroner's Inquest, was convicted of manslaughter, and sentenced to the greatest punishment allowed by law for that offence;—a striking commentary upon the fallible nature of Grand Juries in these times.

We shall not enter further into the details of the endless mistakes committed by these two Reverend disputants in their zealous attempts to discuss the present question; but content ourselves with shortly stating the grounds upon which a Parliamentary Inquiry is, by all persons who value the Constitution, deemed indispensably necessary, even admitting that there should be no failure of justice in any of the courts below. These gentlemen will, therefore, be pleased to bear in mind, that we lay entirely out of view the various most questionable passages in the conduct of the Magistrates acting after the affair of the 16th of August, and which have tended more to irritate the people all over the country, than even the proceedings of that unhappy day. The treatment of the prisoners when under examination for commitment; the refusal to allow legal and regular questions to be put; the threat of committing them for High Treason; the equivocating and paltry manner of abandoning that charge; the commitment for a misdemeanour and holding to bail, although the intention of afterwards proceeding on the capital offence was still avowed; the refusal to grant warrants, first, because the bills on which they were asked had been thrown out by the Grand Jury, and afterwards (when demanded against different parties) on the pretence that the matter was too delicate, because their own conduct came in question; the subsequent refusal of other magistrates in the same county, upon the ground that their brethren might be concerned, and that delicacy towards them precluded their interference; the refusal of the Grand Jury to send the cases to trial; the adjournment of the Coroner's Inquest—All these matters we pass over, in as far as they have thrown impediments in the way of proceedings at law; and we are ready to argue the question upon the broad and very liberal assumption, that the Courts are all accessible—the gates of Justice opened wide—both for granting compensation to the injured, and bestowing punishment on the guilty.—Still we say the Jurisdiction of Parliament—the Great National Inquest—is not ousted; and the safety—the expediency—the



necessity of its interposition, is clear upon every constitutional principle.

*First*, then, it is competent for Parliament, at all times, to interpose its superintending authority for the purpose of putting the ordinary administration of justice in motion: Where there appears any slowness in those who usually attend to this, or any impediment whatever in the course of justice, Parliament is *bound* to interfere; but upon important occasions, it has been accustomed to interfere even when no such obstacle was apprehended. Several prosecutions ordered by the House of Commons have already been referred to. Some of these, no doubt, were for offences affecting its privileges, as libels, and bribery; but those who are so delicate about interfering with the course of justice, should object to these prosecutions also, upon the ground that the parties might have been indicted by private prosecutors, or by the Crown, without any vote *prejudging* the question. Others are liable to no such remark—For example, the case of Lord Melville—where the House of Commons was in no manner of way a party, and only acted as the Grand Inquest of the Nation. How often, too, has Parliament inquired generally into matters which were, or might be, the subject of judicial proceedings, and taken steps to secure the due administration of the law, when no man could fairly say that he thought it would not be enforced, or, if enforced, would prove insufficient! To take only one example:—In the riots of 1780, both Houses addressed the Crown to arrest and prosecute the offenders, while the excesses were as yet going on, and the whole matter was avowedly cognisable by the ordinary tribunals.\*

And this leads us to remark the absolute necessity of Parliament having and exercising such powers. The Courts of Law are open, indeed—and private individuals, who have been injured, may there seek redress; or prosecutors may prefer bills against wrongdoers. But suppose the very common case of the injured having no means of suing,—the lovers of justice no means of prosecuting; or suppose those parties to be tampered with, or otherwise prevailed upon, or even intimidated by the authors of the injuries;—what chance have the public of the redress to which their claim is irresistible? The case is always supposable, that the Crown is leagued with the wrongdoers. Then, what chance is there of *ex officio* proceedings being commenced in England, or of the public prosecutor indicting in Scotland? And shall it be contended that a flagrant violation

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\* The Reports upon Seditious and Treasonable Conspiracies, furnish other instances.

of the Constitution may be committed, and that Parliament must tamely stand by, and allow the impunity of the offenders to encourage a repetition of the offence—nay, a still further violation upon the next occasion—merely because all whom it more immediately affected might bring their actions, and any man who could afford it might prosecute? Nor is it any answer to say, that Parliament may wait until there shall appear no chance of individuals moving; for *then* the objectors would not fail to urge, that the want of suitors and prosecutors proved the cases to be desperate, and amply vindicated the parties asspersed.\*

*Secondly*, Parliament has a concurrent jurisdiction with the Courts of Law, upon all matters affecting the general welfare, quite independent of its right to put the powers of these courts in motion. The very same matters are cognisable by the Tribunals with one view, and by Parliament with another. The former inquire for the purpose of redressing and punishing individuals; the latter for the purposes of legislation, and of protecting the publick against abuse. The instances of this are of almost daily occurrence: and in every one the same arguments (so to call them) might be urged about interference and prejudication, which we have heard in the case before us. Committees of both Houses have inquired into plots; have examined the very same evidence which came before the courts that tried the conspirators; and have sometimes come to conclusions the reverse of those which the courts have subsequently formed. Thus, Mr Herne Tooke and others were charged with treasonable practices by the Reports of Parliamentary Committees; acquitted by the Jury; again accused before the publick by the private publishers of the Parliamentary Reports; and refused redress against these when they applied for it to the Court of King's Bench. The Grand Jury has thrown out certain Bills against the authors of, or rather the agents in, the mischief at Manchester; *non constat* that Parliament may not come to another conclusion, in the course of an inquiry whether some further legislative security for the right of petitioning is not wanting. Who ever objected to the Committees of 1794, upon the ground that they were interfering with the justice of the country? The answer would have been at once made by Mr Pitt, had his adversaries taken so feeble a ground—'We are not going to try

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\* It may be remarked, that all these wise objections to interfering and prejudging, apply just as strongly to aiding parties with the means of going into court. A meeting to promote a subscription must proceed by certain speeches and resolutions, which assert the necessity of trials, that is, the existence of a *primâ facie* case.

these men, but to examine the whole transaction *diverso intuitu*, for the purpose of seeing whether the safety of the State requires extraordinary legislative precautions.' 'The very same answer may be made to the thoughtless persons who now complain of Inquiry; unless indeed it be the Law of Parliament, that none of its functions shall ever be exercised to protect the rights of the people, while they are called into full action as often as there is any question of the safety of the monarchy, or any pretence of danger to the publick peace:—So, where conduct is imputed to publick officers, for which they are answerable in courts of justice, Parliament is not satisfied with leaving the law to take its course—nay, it does not wait for the result of the legal investigation; but if, on inquiry, it sees cause, censures, or obtains their removal from offices held during pleasure. Lord Melville resigned, to avoid an impending motion for an address, a severe censure having been passed on him after resigning. For a similar reason he was struck out of the Privy Council; yet he was only ordered to be prosecuted judicially, after he had thus been punished parliamentarily; and when (by a strange proceeding) impeachment had been substituted for prosecution, and he was acquitted by his Peers, though restored to the Privy Council, he never was restored to office—as if to prove that the opinion of the Commons and the country had some weight even against so favourite, and, in many respects, so meritorious a servant of the Crown.

But the *Third*, and by far the most important ground of Parliamentary interference, remains;—where no law whatever has been violated, but only an unsound use has been made of the discretion vested in publick officers. Who ever questioned either the right or the duty of Parliament to interpose in all cases of discretionary powers abused, or unwisely or inexpediently exercised, where the mischief is of sufficient magnitude to call for such high interposition? The whole Law of Impeachment for the numerous class of State offences not cognisable in Courts of Law, is founded upon this principle; and there is a multitude of cases where those courts cannot act, and where Parliamentary proceedings may be had of less magnitude than impeachment; as, resolutions of censure, addresses for removal, and observations by members in their places, (equally a Parliamentary proceeding), without any regular vote of the Houses. Suppose (to apply this principle) the Manchester Magistrates are found to have acted in all respects legally, so that neither action nor prosecution can be maintained against them; still they may have acted with such rashness, or imprudence, or ignorance, as to require censure, and even to call for an address for their re-

removal from the commission. Thus the law justifies them in arresting those accused of a conspiracy: But, did they choose the fittest time for executing their warrant? Or, did they not execute it at the moment most likely to occasion a breach of the peace? Again, suppose the meeting to have been illegal, they had, in strict law, a right to arrest every one engaged in it: Yet, who could hesitate to say, that so great a number might have been arrested, and most legally and regularly arrested, as to render the authors of the proceeding unworthy of a place on the bench? To seize and imprison twenty thousand people, would have been justifiable in strict law, under such circumstances; and no man could have been tried or sued in a court for doing so, how great soever the loss of life and other injury accompanying this wild but strictly legal act. But would any man living question the competency of Parliament to inquire into a charge of such a nature? So, with respect to the manner of conducting magisterial business, and especially that more delicate portion of it which is judicial, and that part which partakes of both judicial and ministerial, the inquiring with a view to commitment for trial, and other purposes of police—Here much may be done of a most reprehensible cast, and of a tendency the most pernicious to the peace of the community, and the respect due to the laws—and yet there may be no ground for a criminal information, because there may be nothing beyond an error in judgment. We think the statements, denied by no one, of what lately passed before the Manchester Magistrates at the examination of the persons arrested, and the accounts, equally uncontradicted, of indecorous demeanour in some other Justices of the same county, afford ample room for Parliamentary inquiry, although there may be nothing, in this branch of the case, upon which the interposition of a Court of Law can be required.

One broad ground of proceeding may be inferred from the general result of the conduct pursued at Manchester, contrasted with the peaceable termination of all the other meetings, without exception, which have been held elsewhere, and many of which differed in no respect from that at Manchester, except in the conduct pursued by the constituted authorities. It may very possibly have been lawful for the Manchester Magistrates to follow the course they took; but when the blood of the people has been shed, and a meeting dispersed, there ought to be some account rendered to the Great Inquest of the Nation, why such proceedings were more necessary upon that than upon other similar occasions. Magistrates, like all other public functionaries, are answerable for the legality of their con-

duct in Courts of Justice; but they are not, on that account, the less answerable to Parliament for the discretion with which they use the powers entrusted to them by law. And it is a vain and empty thought to imagine, that they can, with absolute impunity, do every thing which the letter of the law permits: They may be censured, at least, and removed from offices of which they have abused the powers.

It is hardly necessary for us to remind the reader, that we give no opinion upon the facts; that we neither say the Magistrates have acted legally nor illegally; and that we are only showing how futile the idea is of excluding Parliamentary investigation, although their whole proceedings should be allowed to have been lawful. But we think enough has been said to demonstrate the right and duty of Parliamentary Inquiry; *first*, for securing the due administration of justice; *secondly*, for ascertaining whether measures may not be necessary to which no courts of law are competent; and, *thirdly*, for watching over the exercise of the powers enjoyed by the Magistrates, although no breach of law may have been committed. A great deal more might be urged upon this subject; but we suspect that the two Reverend politicians, whose works are before us, will admit, without further argument, the temerity of which they have been guilty, in rushing into a controversy upon matters apparently so foreign to the usual course of their studies.

Before closing this article, we must take notice of a remarkable difference between the two disputants. Mr Davison's pamphlet is distinguished by great urbanity, and moderation of language. He treats his adversary as one gentleman should treat another; and if his little work adds nothing to his literary reputation, it is not likely to take any thing from his character. —Mr Philpotts cannot be so commended. His language is insolent and coarse; he attacks individuals, and imputes motives; he is ambitious of sustaining, not merely the questionable part of a political parson, or the inconsistent part of an angry parson, but the despicable part of a foul-mouthed parson; a part always most contemned by those who set the highest value upon that amiable and venerable character, happily so frequent an ornament of the Church,—a meek, charitable, and liberal minister of religion. What right has this man to accuse one of the most honourable and patriotic gentlemen in all England, of being actuated solely by 'a morbid avidity of distinction?' What authorizes this wrangling pamphleteer to insinuate, in plain terms, and contrary to the manifest sense of the words, that Mr Lambton recommended measures too '*atrocious*' to be particularized? Who that deserves regard, or possesses any

authority, will approve of this forward priest launching, from the stall of his cathedral, against that most respectable individual, the charge of ‘ wantonly tossing about the torch of sedition?’ As long as he only indulges his overweening self-conceit with puffs of his own abilities, ostentatiously preferring them to those of the Member for Durham, we leave him alone: The topic is an odd one for any man to choose; but that is matter of taste. We believe there is no great risk of any body doubting Mr Lambton’s talents; and Mr Philpotts, himself, probably means to rate them pretty high, when he takes so much pains to prove that they are inferior to his own. We should be inclined, therefore, to pass over his petulant sneering at the Honourable Member’s speech, were it not for the gross and unpardonable want of candour, which can make any speaker answerable for the faults of a newspaper report. But the calumnious attacks, and the still more base insinuations, against that Gentleman’s motives, in which this Reverend Dignitary indulges, deserve the reprobation of all who value the purity of the clerical character; and no man of ordinary discernment can read them without feeling a perfect conviction, that Mr Philpotts durst as soon have set fire to his own stall, as whisper one tythe of this abuse against any man, woman, child, or domestic animal, in any way befriended by the powers that be, either in Church or State.

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ART. XI. 1. *A New View of Society; or, Essays on the Formation of Human Character, preparatory to the Development of a Plan for ameliorating the Condition of Mankind.*

2. *Observations on the Effects of the Manufacturing System.*

3. *Two Memorials on Behalf of the Working Classes, presented to the Governments of America and Europe.*

4. *Three Tracts; and an Account of Public Proceedings relative to the Employment of the Poor.* By ROBERT OWEN, of New Lanark.

POLITICAL economy, when considered in all its bearings, is one of the most important and useful branches of science. It has a connexion more or less intimate with almost every question of politics and morals; and, whether with respect to the conduct of private life, or to the administration of public affairs, cases are perpetually occurring, in which, without a competent knowledge of its principles, it is impossible either to

judge correctly, or to act with wisdom. Benevolence and charity, when not under the guidance of economical science, frequently degenerate into ministers of mischief, aggravating the misery they endeavour to relieve, and resembling, in their effects, those splendid but baneful meteors, which throw a deceitful lustre over the disorder they create.

These remarks have been suggested to us by the degree of public attention and countenance, which, on some recent occasions, have been given to Mr Owen's plans for relieving the national distress. We are quite willing to grant that this gentleman is a most estimable person. Indeed, it is impossible to contemplate his disinterested labours and perfect benevolence, without feeling personally attached to the amiable enthusiast; and, whether his plans are practicable or not, the motives which induce him to pursue them are sufficient to command our approbation and respect. While, therefore, an anxious desire to contribute what we can to the formation of correct opinions respecting the causes of public distress, and the means which should be employed for removing or mitigating it, constrains us to enter into a free and rigid examination, both of the practicability of his particular plans, and of the soundness of his general principles, we can assure Mr Owen, that no particle of angry feeling mingles itself with our opposition, and that we cordially esteem the man whose projects we venture unequivocally to condemn.

In politics, as in medicine, the regular practitioner, before he prescribes his remedies for any existing disorder, will endeavour to ascertain its nature and its cause. When we examine into the condition of the labouring classes in this country, we immediately perceive that their distress arises from *Want of Employment*; and, on pushing the inquiry a step further, we find, that want of employment is occasioned by the depressed state of agriculture, manufactures, and trade. In tracing the causes of the existing distress, therefore, the ultimate question for our consideration is, why are these great branches of our national industry in a state of depression? Our soil and climate are not changed; our varied and admirable machinery for abridging and perfecting labour has undergone no deterioration; and our working population has, as yet, lost nothing in point of energy or skill. But if all these original sources of wealth and instruments of production continue unimpaired, whence is it that prosperity is suspended, that the capitalist obtains no adequate return, and that the labourer remains without employment?

These interesting and momentous questions cannot be answered in a manner completely satisfactory, unless we refer to

first principles, and trace those general laws which at one period raise the rate of profit so high, that capital accumulates with rapidity, and is eagerly demanded for reinvestment; and at another period, depress the rate of profit so low, that capital either ceases to accumulate, or passes off to foreign countries, to seek that beneficial occupation which cannot be obtained at home. This preliminary inquiry we will endeavour to render as clear and as brief as possible: though, before entering upon it, we must be allowed to say one word in answer to an objection which persons conversant only with the particular details of business not unfrequently urge against general disquisition and theory, on the ground of their being at variance with experience and inapplicable to facts. In all the sciences, except those which relate to number and quantity, a principle is nothing more than a general rule, ascertained by the process of induction, from an examination of particular cases. To lay down a principle, therefore, is merely to assert that some one attribute, or circumstance, is common to a whole class of phenomena; and if, upon actual observation, or experiment, this attribute, is found not to be common to the class, the assumed principle must necessarily be erroneous. A general law or principle embraces particulars; and that which does not embrace particulars, ceases to be a general law. The objection, therefore, that general principles, or theory, may be at variance with experience, and contrary to facts, is applicable to those erroneous theories only, which have no foundation beyond hypothesis, and cannot be justly urged against a correct theory deduced analytically from observation or experiment, and which affords a satisfactory solution of the facts it is applied synthetically to explain. With this very simple explanation of the nature of general reasoning, we shall now proceed to trace, with as much brevity as possible, the laws which regulate the rate of profit, and thereby accelerate or retard the prosperity of nations.

Profit is that net surplus which remains with the capitalist after the complete replacement of all his advances:—And the first circumstance which influences its rate is, the quality of the Soil under cultivation. If the farmer occupy land so fertile that the expenditure of a capital of 100 quarters of corn in tillage yields him a reproduction of 150 quarters, it is self-evident that the net surplus will be 50 quarters; and that, supposing no rent to be paid, the rate of agricultural profit will be fifty per cent. But, should the farmer cultivate a soil so inferior that the expenditure of 100 yields a reproduction of no more than 105, it is equally self-evident, that the rate of profit will sink from



fifty to five per cent.; while, if, from the next quality of land to be taken in, the expenditure of 100 quarters creates a reproduction of no more than 100 quarters, the further employment of agricultural capital could be attended with no surplus or profit whatever. In the first case, capital, and the demand for labour, might double every two years; in the second, they could not double in less than twenty years; and, in the third, no additional capital could be created, and therefore no additional labour could be employed,—and the country would have arrived at that stationary and melancholy state, in which every birth beyond what is necessary to keep up the existing population, must be followed by a death brought on by want.

The second circumstance which influences the rate of profit, is the degree of Skill and economy with which labour is employed, whether in agriculture, or in manufactures. If a farmer expend 100 quarters of corn, or the value of 100 quarters, in cultivation, and obtain a reproduction of 200 quarters, it makes not the smallest difference with respect to the rate of profit, whether this return be raised from a very fertile soil unskilfully managed, or from one of inferior quality judiciously managed. In either case there are 100 quarters expended, and 200 produced; and though the cause of the increased proportion in which the return exceeds the advance is different, the effect is the same, and the rate of profit in either case is cent. per cent.

Improvements in manufactures have the same influence on the rate of profit as improvements in agriculture. If a farmer were to employ 50 labourers in cultivating fields which yielded 150 quarters of corn, and were to expend 60 quarters on the food and seed, and 60 on the clothing and implements they consumed while at work, his total surplus or profit would be 25 per cent.; but if an improvement in manufacturing industry were to take place, which so reduced the productive cost, and consequently the exchangeable value of wrought necessities, that the farmer could purchase the clothing and implements consumed by his 50 labourers for 40, instead of 60 quarters of corn, his profit would rise from 25 to 50 per cent.; for, in this case, the reproduction of 150 quarters would be obtained by an advance of 60 quarters for food and seed, and 40 for clothing and implements.

Now, the two causes which we have mentioned, namely, the quality of the land under cultivation, and the degree of skill with which labour is applied, have precisely the same effect in regulating the rate of manufacturing that they have in regulating the rate of agricultural profit. When a master-manufacturer, employing 100 labourers their clothing and tools, with

food and material equal to these in value, can fabricate clothing and tools for 300, his surplus of product above expenditure will be 50 per cent. But if, in consequence of cultivating inferior soils, or of pursuing a less skilful mode of husbandry, the productive cost, and consequently the exchangeable value of agricultural produce should be so increased, that for the food and raw material furnished to his 100 labourers he is obliged give clothing and tools for 150 instead of for 100, his profit would sink to 20 per cent.; because, in producing clothing and tools for 300, he would have expended the clothing and tools of 250.

The third circumstance which influences the rate of return upon capital, is the real amount of Wages, or the quantity of the products of labour advanced to the labourer while performing his work. When a farmer, in cultivating a field which yields him 300 quarters of corn, employs 150 labourers, and expends 100 quarters in supplying them with seed and implements, then, if he gives them 50 quarters more as their wages, his profit will be cent. per cent.; while, if he is obliged to advance 100 quarters as their wages, his profits will sink to 50 per cent. In like manner, when a master-manufacturer employs a set of labourers in fabricating 300 suits of clothing, and expends the value of 100 suits in supplying them with material and tools, he will obtain a profit of cent. per cent., if he pay them 50 suits as their wages; and a profit of only 50 per cent., if he pay them 100 suits. While real wages remain stationary, profit will rise or fall as the effective powers of industry are increased or diminished; and while the effective powers of industry remain stationary, the capitalist will receive a larger portion of its products as the labourer receives less; or, in other words, profits will rise as wages fall. Improvements in the effective powers of industry, however, may raise the rate of profit and the amount of wages at one and the same time. If a farmer and a master-manufacturer, by employing 100 labourers each throughout the year, obtain the one 300 quarters of corn, and the other 300 suits of clothing,—then, supposing the yearly wages of a labourer to be 1 quarter and 1 suit, the rate of profit will be 50 per cent. But were an improvement to take place in the effective powers of industry, enabling the master-manufacturer and farmer to obtain, the one 500 quarters and the other 500 suits from the work of the same men—then, though the annual wages of the labourer should be increased to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  quarters and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  suits, the rate of profit would rise to 66 per cent. For, a quarter of corn and a suit of clothing being equal in productive cost, would be also equal in exchangeable value; and, consequently, the farmer's advance to his 100

labourers of 150 quarters and 150 suits, would be equivalent to 300 quarters, while his return would be 500 quarters. In like manner, the master-manufacturer's advance to his 100 labourers would be equivalent to 300 suits, while his return would be 500. The total expenditure of the farmer and master-manufacturer being 300 quarters and 300 suits, and their total reproduction 500 quarters and 500 suits, it is evident that the aggregate profit of our little society would be 66 per cent. But the aggregate profit of the society is composed of the particular profits of individuals. Were the farmer to obtain more or less than 66 per cent., the manufacturer would obtain less or more. Yet, though such an irregularity might occasionally occur, the law of competition would prevent its continuance, and, on the average, would render the products of equal capitals equivalent, and the rate of profit equal.

There are three causes then,—the quality of the soil under cultivation,—the degree of skill with which labour is applied,—and the proportion of the produce absorbed as wages, which determine the rate of return upon productive capital, and which may, at any time accelerate, retard, or even suspend the prosperity of a country. The two first, however, exert a much more powerful influence than the third. When a larger quantity of the products of labour fall to the share of labourers, their numbers are always found to increase; and hence, as the supply of labour augments with the demand, wages scarcely ever retain an elevation sufficient to depress the rate of profit in any material degree. Neither can the return upon capital be permanently raised by the reduction of wages below their natural level; because when the labouring classes do not obtain that quantity of the necessaries of life which climate and custom have rendered essential to their healthful existence, distress diminishes their numbers, until the failing supply of labour restores its value in the market. Very different is the case with respect to the quality of the soil under cultivation, and the degree of skill with which labour is applied. These causes exert a powerful and permanent influence on the rate of return upon productive capital; and it is only by a due consideration of the manner in which they operate in any given circumstances, that we can obtain a satisfactory solution of the difficult but most important problem, Why a country at one period should advance rapidly in prosperity, and at another should, without any external disaster, approach the limits of her prosperity, or verge sensibly to decay.

In new, or in thinly peopled countries, no lands except those of the first quality, and most eligible situation, will be resorted to for the supply of food and materials; and consequently the

effective powers of Agricultural industry will be extremely high. But as the division of employment is limited by the extent of the market, and can be perfectly established only amongst a dense population, it follows, that in new or thinly inhabited countries, the effective powers of Manufacturing industry must be extremely low. Hence, in the progress of society, the two main causes which determine the rate of return upon productive capital, are as antagonist muscles, modifying and balancing the action of each other. As increasing population compels us, on the one hand, to resort to inferior soils, and thus raises the natural price of raw produce, so it leads, on the other, to more accurate divisions of employment, and to that extension of machinery which is at once their cause and their effect, and thus lowers the natural price of all wrought goods. Thus, as population and improvement advance, manufactured articles are constantly falling in value, as compared with agricultural produce. But, on the principles already unfolded, increased facility in producing wrought necessities, has the same effect in raising the rate of profit, which diminished facility in producing food and material has in lowering it. And hence it will frequently happen, that a greater degree of economy and skill in the application of labour may completely counteract the effects of resorting to inferior soils; and that the return upon productive capital may rise, on the whole, though the difficulty of obtaining food and material should increase. Such a process, however, could not continue long. Under any given degree of skill and economy in the application of labour, the return upon capital will be determined by the quality of the land in cultivation; and as inferior soils are resorted to, the rate of profit will constantly diminish, until that stationary state is attained, in which no additional capital can be employed, and all tendency to increased population must be checked by famine.

In considering the causes which accelerate or retard prosperity, it is important to remark, that any country which has started before her neighbours in wealth and population, will arrive at the stationary state long before the next quality of land to be taken in becomes so inferior that it will not replace the expenses of cultivation, with the lowest rate of profit for the sake of which the capitalist will engage in production. That constant desire on the part of individuals to turn their capital to the best account, which equalizes the rate of profit throughout the different districts of a country, tends also to equalize it throughout the different countries of the world. If in France the customary rate of profit were 20 per cent., while in England it was only 10 per cent., then, allowing property to be equally secure in the two countries, British capital would in

profitably flow to France. \* If the inequality in the rate of profit arose from the higher degree of skill possessed by France in the application of her labour, it would be corrected as soon as England adopted the more accurate divisions of employment, or copied the superior machinery of her neighbour. But if the inequality arose from England's having resorted to soils inferior to those under cultivation in France, it could not be corrected; and consequently the efflux of British capital could not be checked, until the progress of wealth and population in France compelled her to obtain additional supplies of agricultural produce from soils incapable of returning a larger surplus than those under cultivation in England. No superiority of skill in the application of labour could enable England to retain in tillage soils very much inferior to those under the plough in France. The divisions of employment, and the use of machinery, on which superiority in the application of labour depends, would be speedily copied by an intelligent people living under a free government; and, when copied, they would immediately raise the rate of profit in France, in the same proportion in which they had raised it in England; and the equilibrium which had been established, when different degrees of skill in the application of labour counterbalanced different degrees of fertility in the land, would be again disturbed, when skill became equal and the inequality in the soil resorted to for the supply of food and material, was left, uncounteracted, to produce its natural effect. Should this inequality be considerable, the rate of profit would be much higher in France than in England; and the desire of improving their condition becoming too powerful for those associations which bind men to their native land, capitalists would emigrate with their productive stock from the former to the latter country. When the next quality of land to be taken in cannot yield a produce sufficient to replace expenditure, it is *physically* impossible that wealth and population should continue to increase; and when the next quality of soil to which any particular nation is compelled to resort, in order to obtain an additional supply of food, is very much inferior to the soils under cultivation in neighbouring countries, it becomes *morally* impossible that they should continue to increase. In either case, a country will have reached, for the present, the limits of its resources; and will have attained that stationary and languid state, in which the pressure of distress causes a premature death to follow upon every birth

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\* See an admirable article on the Corn Laws and Trade, in the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica.

beyond what is necessary to keep up the actual numbers of the labouring population.

That stationary and melancholy state, to which, from the operation of natural and necessary causes, every country is gradually approaching, may however be prodigiously accelerated by artificial and accidental circumstances; and forced prematurely upon us by *unwise Commercial Regulations*, or by the *pressure of Taxation*. To enter into a scientific exposition of the effects of these upon the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth, would far exceed the limits we have prescribed to ourselves in the present article. But lest, in assigning the causes of the distress which has recently overspread this country, we should appear to reason from principles the truth of which we are not prepared to demonstrate, it may be necessary to resort to one or two very brief illustrations, in order to show how Restrictive systems and heavy Taxes influence the rate of return upon productive capital.

In old and advanced countries, the great obstacle to the further increase of wealth and population, is, the reduced effective power of Agricultural industry, brought on by the necessity of resorting to inferior soils for additional supplies of raw produce; while, on the contrary, in new or thinly inhabited countries, the main obstacle to prosperity arises from the low effective power of Manufacturing industry, occasioned by the absence of those divisions of employment, and the want of that extensive machinery, which, in densely peopled regions, reciprocally promote the introduction of each other.

But these obstacles to the accumulation of wealth would in a great measure be removed, by establishing a free intercourse between countries in these opposite situations. If, for example, an expenditure of a given amount of capital and labour would suffice to produce such a quantity of cottons, hardware, &c. at Glasgow or Birmingham, as would exchange for 400 or 500 quarters of Polish or American corn; while, because of the necessity under which we are placed of cultivating soils of a far inferior degree of fertility, the same expenditure, if applied directly to the raising of corn in this country, would not yield more than 200 or 250 quarters, it is obvious, that by exchanging our manufactured goods for foreign corn, we should double the profits of stock, and enable the country indefinitely to advance in the career of improvement. This supposition is not very remote from the truth,—and it shows that we are yet a long way removed from the degree of wealth to which it is in our power to attain before arriving at the stationary state. But if we persist in excluding the raw products of other countries, and consequently force our capitalists to employ their stock in a comparatively

disadvantageous production, it requires very little sagacity to foresee that we must continue to languish and decline. Capital will unquestionably be transferred to more favoured situations, and we shall have to contend not only against the difficulties arising from small profits, but also against those occasioned by a diminution of the fund for setting labour in motion, and by whose extent, the extent of the productive industry of the country must always be regulated.

It is self-evident, that a relatively heavy Taxation must also occasion this efflux of capital. If the productive power of capital in Great Britain and France were equal, there could be no inducement to transfer stock from the one to the other. But if, when profits were thus equal, a greater amount of taxes should be imposed in one country, the equilibrium of profit would instantly be deranged; and there would be an immediate inducement, varying in its efficacy according to the relative increase of taxation, to transfer capital from that country in which the government claimed a large share of its profits, to that in which it was satisfied with a smaller share.

From the analysis here attempted of the laws which regulate the rate of return upon productive capital, it is hoped that we may be enabled to trace the causes of the deep distress which has now overspread this once happy country, as well as to ascertain in what degree the schemes of Mr Owen are calculated to revive our drooping industry, and restore employment to our people. Our climate has not changed; our sun is as warm, and our seasons as genial, as heretofore; our admirable machinery for the abridgment and perfecting of labour has in no way deteriorated; and our working classes have, as yet, lost nothing of their wonted industry, energy, and skill. But with all these original sources of wealth unimpaired, there are, in our present circumstances, three several causes combining to suspend prosperity. In the *first* place, we have extended Tillage over lands of a quality so inferior, that, upon any given expenditure, they yield a much less proportional return than the lands under cultivation in any other country in the world. In the *second* place, our *barbarous Restrictions upon Commerce*, deprive us of these continued sources of prosperity which, in the natural course of events, and under a system of free external trade, improvements in manufactures open to a country whose domestic agriculture can be no further extended without a diminished rate of return upon capital. And, in the *third* place, the Tax-gatherer appropriates so large a portion of the surplus produce of industry, already too much diminished by the preceding causes, that in many instances the farmer and manufacturer are not amply sufficient to replace their advances. The conse-

queness are, that the productive cost of food and material, as marked by their average prices in the market, are 100 per cent. higher in these than in any neighbouring countries; that from the low rate of profit and of interest, capital either ceases to accumulate at all, or else seeks in foreign investments that beneficial occupation which cannot be obtained at home; and that our labouring classes, though possessed of unequalled energy and skill, are left without employment, and driven upon their parishes for support.

Such are the causes of that widely spread, and we fear deeply seated distress which the proposed establishments of Mr Owen are intended to remove. The means by which he undertakes to accomplish this most desirable end, are, to divide the country into compartments, containing each a thousand acres; to erect on each of these a village in the form of a parallelogram, with the requisite enclosures and buildings for carrying on agricultural and manufacturing industry; and to place in each village a thousand inhabitants, who are to cultivate the soil and work up its produce on the principle of combined labour and expenditure; who, from the period of infancy, are to be placed in preparatory schools, and subjected to a regular system of instruction and moral training. Under these arrangements he promises that poverty and crime shall cease, and evil physical and moral, be utterly banished from the earth! The effective powers of industry are to be so increased, that his villagers shall produce sufficient to pay the rent of the land they occupy, and the interest of the money expended on their first establishment, with their due proportion of taxes; and ultimately, to enable the country to support a greatly augmented population, in ten times the comfort enjoyed at present; while the system of education and moral training is to be rendered so perfect, that every species of useful knowledge shall be infused into the mind, and every selfish and unamiable propensity eradicated from the heart!

Our sincere esteem for the benevolent character and disinterested conduct of Mr Owen, withholds us from expressing any opinion respecting the intellect of the person who seriously proposes to accomplish such ends by such means. We shall merely say, that we have given no inconsiderable portion of attention to Mr Owen's several addresses and publications, but have been unable to discover any conceivable relation or connexion between his premises and his conclusions. His schemes do not touch, nay, they have not the most distant bearing upon, the causes of our present distress. We would appeal to his sober-minded consideration, whether dividing the country into districts or farms of a thousand acres each, could improve the quality of



those inferior soils to which we are obliged to resort for the supply of food. We would entreat him to explain in what way the erection of villages in the form of parallelograms, could repeal those enactments against foreign trade which are a disgrace to the age in which we live. We would demand of him, whether the principle of combined labour and expenditure could charm away the collector of taxes; and we would ask him distinctly to state, whether he has any chance of inducing Mrs Marcet to establish in one of his villages a preparatory school for instructing the members of the Cabinet in the first rudiments of economical science, and for affording them sufficient light to retrace their ignorant and infatuated steps towards bankruptcy and ruin. Could Mr Owen either increase the quantity of our fertile land, open our commerce, lighten our taxes, or instruct our Rulers, we should be among the foremost to hail him as the deliverer of the people, and the saviour of his country; but so long as he is incapable of accomplishing any one of these things, so long must we continue to regard him in the light of an amiable, but mistaken enthusiast, who, had he the means of executing his plans, would aggravate the evils he dreams he could remove. This is our deliberate opinion; and we shall proceed to establish its correctness by demonstrating, that it is not in the nature of things that Mr Owen's establishments should increase the effective powers of industry so as to afford beneficial occupation to capital, and adequate reward to labour.

With respect to the powers of agricultural industry, if Mr Owen were to erect his villages on waste lands, inferior in quality to those already under cultivation, it is evident that the return upon the capital which he invested in the soil would be less than at present; and that so far from relieving the existing distress of the country, he would bring us a step nearer to that stationary state of society in which, as Adam Smith long ago observed, the condition of the labouring classes becomes wretched in the extreme. And if Mr Owen, instead of resorting to inferior lands, should seek to obtain a more abundant supply of the necessaries of life, by applying additional portions of capital to lands of good quality, he would, though by a process somewhat different, arrive at an exactly similar result. It is an ascertained and fundamental principle in political economy, that each additional portion of capital applied to heighten the cultivation of the soil, yields a less proportional return; that is, if 100 quarters of corn, expended in cultivating a field in the ordinary way, will occasion a return of 120 quarters, then a capital of 200 quarters, expended on what is called high farming, will produce from this field a return of 210 quarters, but some

less quantity, as 220. Now, it is necessary for Mr Owen demonstrate to us, that his villages, with their system of instruction and moral training, are calculated to alter this essential property of the soil, and to enable him to employ upon each of his farms of 1000 acres, additional portions of capital, with an undiminishing ratio of return. Unless he can demonstrate this,—unless his mode of culture increase the produce in the same proportion in which additional capital is employed, every increase of food and material which he obtains will be raised at an additional expense; the surplus of produce above expenditure will become less and less; and, consequently, the means of accumulating capital, and of employing an additional population, will be perpetually *diminishing* in his hands. Mr Owen, indeed, fancies he can overcome all these difficulties by the adoption of spade cultivation; but we will tell him, without fear of contradiction, that spade cultivation, so far from being capable of working the miracles he supposes, is less profitable than cultivation by the plough. Why, in the improved husbandry of this country, has the spade been in so great a degree supplanted by the plough? Only because experience has convinced the farmer that the plough is the cheapest instrument of production, and that, by employing it, he obtains a greater net produce—a larger surplus over and above expenditure. Mr Owen will no doubt contend, that he cares nothing about the net produce; that his plans do not embrace the consideration respecting the proportion in which the return may exceed the expenditure; and that, without regarding what merely concerns the rate of agricultural profit, he rejects the plough, and reduces the number of horses employed in husbandry, in order to obtain a greater gross produce applicable to the maintenance of the productive labourers of his villages. This might perhaps answer tolerably well, if Mr Owen could evade taxation,—if he could obtain land without paying rent,—borrow money without interest,—and persuade his villagers not to increase their numbers. But we must again inform this miscalculating enthusiast, that, with respect to the claims of the tax-gatherer, the rent of the land he occupies, the interest of the money he borrows, and the means of accumulating additional capital for employing a growing population, the net produce, or surplus of return above expenditure, is *the only fund to which he can look*—and that, for these purposes, the gross produce is to be regarded as absolutely nothing. By discarding the plough, and performing the work of husbandry without the aid of horses, Mr Owen might possibly find employment on one of his farms for 1000 instead of for 900 labourers; but though he might thus increase

the gross, he would infallibly diminish the *net* produce. Assuming, by way of example, that the net-produce is reduced from 1000 to 800 quarters of corn, and that the taxes, the rent, and the interest of the money borrowed to erect the village, amounted to 600 quarters, then, that portion of the produce of the soil which is applicable to increase the existing capital, and thus to give employment to additional hands, will be reduced from 400 to 200 quarters. Spade cultivation, therefore, though in the first instance it might allow a greater number of labourers to be engaged on a given surface, would dry up the sources of accumulation and of increased employment; and unless, as we before hinted, Mr Owen could persuade his villagers not to add to their existing numbers, would in a very short time plunge them into *aggravated* misery. For employment can increase only with the increase of capital; and the rapidity with which capital can accumulate, must be in proportion to the degree in which the return exceeds the expenditure by which it is obtained.

But Mr Owen's villages are intended to be manufacturing as well as agricultural establishments; and therefore we must inquire how far his arrangements are calculated to improve the condition of the working classes, by increasing the effective powers of *manufacturing* industry. We understand that, when asked whether the manufactured goods prepared in his villages are intended to be consumed in the places where they are produced, or to be sent out and sold in other markets; Mr Owen replies somewhat ambiguously, and says, that the point will be determined by circumstances. But this vague and indefinite language can avail him nothing. It is a matter of perfect indifference which alternative he may chuse; for, whether his manufactured goods are sent to other markets, or consumed in the villages in which they are fabricated, it is equally impossible that Mr Owen's arrangements should insure increased returns upon manufacturing industry. If he send his wrought goods to find a distant sale, then their prices will occasionally fluctuate with the variations of demand and supply; a brisker flow of commerce will place his villagers in affluent circumstances, while a stagnation or revulsion of trade may not leave them where-withal to pay their rent and taxes, and may plunge them in bankruptcy and misery. If the whole manufacturing population of England could be placed at once in such establishments as Mr Owen proposes, foreign trade could not be thereby improved, nor the continents of Europe and America enabled to consume an additional yard of our fabrics. As long as the sale of goods, and consequently the employment of the manufacturer,

depends upon external sale, it is not in the nature of things that internal training, however conducive to the forming of moral habits, should insure an adequate remuneration to industry, or obviate the recurrence of distress.

But Mr Owen is careful not to pledge himself to any definite mode of proceeding; and, when pressed with the difficulty of glutted markets and suspended demand, he will no doubt endeavour to escape, by saying, that it forms a part of his plan to confine the consumption of manufactured articles to the respective establishments in which they are made. This, however, is escaping from one horn of the dilemma, only to fix himself upon the other. The great cause which increases the powers of manufacturing industry is the division of labour; and the division of labour, as Adam Smith long ago demonstrated, is limited by the extent of the market. In a small village, fabricating within itself whatever it consumed, there could exist no division of labour worthy of the name; each individual would have to follow a multiplicity of occupations; half his time would be wasted in shifting his tools and adjusting his materials; and he would lose the advantage of that miraculous dexterity and quickness which the human hand acquires when confined to one or two simple operations. It is precisely because the effective powers of industry are increased by the division of labour, and because the division of labour is limited by the extent of the market, that roads are constructed, bridges erected, canals opened, and every possible means resorted to, in order to facilitate the intercourse between one district and another. But Mr Owen's discoveries in the science of wealth render all these unnecessary. In as much as his plans extend to make the villages consume within themselves whatever they produce, the division of labour, whether territorial or mechanical, will be superseded; the exchange of commodities between one place and another will cease; and with it all the advantages of commercial intercourse will be lost. What should we think of the person who should propose to increase the wealth of the country, and to give uninterrupted employment to the plough and the loom, by breaking up our roads and destroying our canals, by obstructing our rivers and closing our ports, and by everywhere intersecting the country with impassable mountains? But Mr Owen's project for penning up the population in quadrangular villages, and causing each village to consume its own productions, is in effect the same:—and yet, with the most amusing simplicity and the most undoubting confidence in his own superior wisdom, he gravely proposes it, in the country which gave birth to Adam Smith, and in an age when the

discoveries of that great man have been extended by Say, and Malthus, and Ricardo; and rendered familiar to every school girl by an admirable little book, entitled, 'Conversations on Political Economy.' In every human character, in all human affairs, there is a mixture of good and evil; and perfection has no habitation except in the dreams of the enthusiast. The fluctuations of demand and supply, the occasional glutting of markets, and stagnations in trade, are evils which necessarily accompany, and, in some degree, counterpoise the advantages resulting from the division of employment. If Mr Owen retain the division of labour in his establishments, the changes in the state of external markets, and the consequent impossibility of obtaining an uniformly profitable sale for their productions, will occasionally deprive his villagers of the means of paying their rent and taxes, and reduce them to the condition of bankrupts and paupers; and if, to avoid such evils, he discard the divisions of labour, and cause each establishment to consume within itself whatever it supplies, then the great principle which multiplies the effective powers of industry will be thrown out of operation, all the sources of prosperity will be dried up, and universal poverty overspread the land.

In his reasonings, as well as in his plans, Mr Owen shows himself profoundly ignorant of all the laws which regulate the production and distribution of wealth. He tells us, that the distress to which the people of this country are exposed arises from scientific and mechanical power producing more than the existing regulations of society permit to be consumed. This is tantamount to saying, that wealth is poverty, and that the necessaries of life are unattainable, because they exist in excess. The application of scientific power, and the various improvements which have been effected in machinery, instead of being the causes of distress, have counteracted, in a very considerable degree, the effects of our absurd commercial laws, and still accumulating taxes, and have, as yet, averted a national bankruptcy. The steam engine has fought our battles, and pays the interest of our debt. If our improved machinery did not tend to reduce the expense of producing manufactured goods, we could neither sell our fabrics in the foreign market, nor keep our inferior lands under cultivation. The truth of the latter assertion may not be very obvious, but it is quite demonstrable. If a piece of ground will produce 100 quarters of corn, and if the labourers employed upon it expend 50 quarters for seed and food, with clothing and implements which cost 50 quarters more, then it is evident that such land will not be cultivated; and for the plain reason, that its cultivation will afford the farm-

er no profit. But if improved machinery were to lower the price of manufactured goods, until the farmer could purchase for 30 quarters the same quantity of necessary clothing and implements which formerly cost him 50, then this land would be eagerly sought, for the purpose of tillage; because in this case the diminished expenditure of 30 instead of 50 quarters for the purchase of clothing and implements, would yield the farmer a profit of 25 per cent. A reduction in the value of manufactured goods, which allows lands of an inferior quality to be taken in, also admits of the additional application of capital to our better soils, and promotes that system of high farming for which England is so conspicuous. Were it not for the application of that scientific power and improved machinery, to which Mr Owen erroneously attributes our distress, the whole of our foreign trade would be annihilated, and our tillage reduced one half. Highly as we respect this gentleman for his benevolent intentions, and however we may be disposed to approve his experiments in education and moral training, truth constrains us to declare, that with regard to political economy, and the essential order of society, his principles are radically erroneous, and his projects for relieving the national distress altogether impracticable and absurd.

But as Mr Owen's pretended principle, that the employment of machinery occasions the production of a greater quantity of commodities than the existing arrangements of society permit to be consumed, is at variance with some important and fundamental doctrines of political economy, it seems to demand a stricter examination and more scientific refutation than that contained in the preceding paragraph. The principal difficulty which we have to encounter in performing this new task, arises from the very vague and indefinite language which Mr Owen has employed. 'The existing arrangements of society' is an expression so extremely general, that it may stand for almost any thing; and it is not very easy to conjecture the precise idea which Mr Owen intended it to represent. Should he by this phraseology mean those barbarous enactments against importation which disgrace our statute book, his proposition must be admitted to be correct. Commerce is the exchange of equivalents,—the bartering between nations of one commodity for another; and that country which refuses to receive the equivalents which her neighbours have to offer, cannot in the nature of things obtain foreign consumers for her goods. In this sense of the phrase, therefore, the use of machinery certainly does enable us to produce more than the existing arrangements of society permit to be consumed. But as the appropriate remedy

for this evil is, the gradual abolition of restriction upon foreign trade, and not the erection of quadrangular villages, Mr Owen must attach some other signification to the phrase 'existing regulations of society.' It appears by the context, that he conceives that when competition is unchecked by any artificial regulations, and industry permitted to flow in its natural channels, the use of machinery may increase the supply of the several articles of wealth beyond the demand for them, and, by creating an excess of all commodities, throw the working classes out of employment. This is the position which we hold to be fundamentally erroneous; and as it is strongly insisted on by the celebrated M. de Sismondi in his '*Nouveaux Principes d'Economie Politique*;' \* we must entreat the indulgence of our readers while we endeavour to point out its fallacy, and to demonstrate, that the power of consuming necessarily increases with every increase in the power of producing.

Demand and supply are truly correlative and convertible terms. The supply of one set of commodities constitutes the demand for another. Thus, there is a demand for a given quantity of agricultural produce, when a quantity of wrought goods equal thereto in productive cost is offered in exchange for it; and conversely, there is an effectual demand for this quantity of wrought goods, when the supply of agricultural produce which it required the same expense to raise, is presented as its equivalent. As long as commodities are brought to market in such proportions, that the things offered to be bartered against each other are equal in productive cost, and therefore in value, an increase in the supply of one class of goods will afford increased equivalents for the purchase of an increased supply of another class. Supposing, for the sake of illustration, that a cultivator advanced food and clothing for 100 labourers, who raised for him *food* for 200; while a master-manufacturer also advanced food and clothing for 100, who fabricated for him *clothing* for 200; then the farmer, besides replacing the food of his own labourers, would have food for 100 to dispose of; while the manufacturer, after replacing the clothing of his own labourers, would have clothing for 100 to bring to market. In this case, the two articles would be exchanged against each other; the supply of food constituting the demand for the clothing, and that of the clothing the demand for the food. Now, let us suppose that there are 1000 farmers, *each* of whom advances food and clothing for 100, and obtains in return food for

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\* Livre VII. ch. 7. De la population rendue superflue par l'invention des machines.

200; and also 1000 master-manufacturers, each of whom, by advancing food and clothing for 100, gets clothing for 200;—In this case, each of the 1000 farmers will feel the same necessity for exchanging his surplus food which the single farmer formerly felt; and each of the 1000 manufacturers the same necessity for exchanging his superfluous clothing. Food and clothing for 100,000 will reciprocally purchase each other, just in the same way that food and clothing for 100 formerly did. The demand for each is increased a thousand fold, because the supply of each is increased a thousand fold. But let us suppose, once more, that in consequence of more skilful applications of labour, and of the introduction of machinery, each of the 1000 farmers, by advancing food and clothing for 100 labourers, obtains a return consisting of ordinary food for 200, together with sugar, grapes and tobacco equal in productive cost to that food; while each of the 1000 master-manufacturers, by advancing clothing and food for 100, obtains a return consisting of ordinary clothing for 200, with ribands, cambrics and lace, equal in productive cost, and therefore in exchangeable value, to that clothing;—In this case, the supply and demand with respect to the food and clothing will remain, it is obvious, exactly as before; while the sugar, grapes and tobacco, which the farmers do not wish to consume themselves, will be offered in exchange for the ribands, cambrics and silks, which the manufacturers do not wish to consume themselves. These different articles, therefore, will be the reciprocal equivalents and purchasers of each other; and there will be an increased demand for commodities, exactly proportional to their increased supply.

It may be objected, perhaps, that on the principle that the demand for commodities increases in the same ratio as their supply, there is no accounting for the gluts and stagnation produced by overtrading. We answer very easily—A glut is an increase in the supply of a particular class of commodities, unaccompanied by a corresponding increase in the supply of those other commodities which should serve as their equivalents. While our 1000 farmers and 1000 master-manufacturers are exchanging their respective surplus products, and reciprocally affording a market to each other, if 1000 new capitalists were to join their society, employing each 100 labourers in tillage, there would be an immediate glut of agricultural produce;—because in this case there would be no contemporaneous increase in the supply of the manufactured articles which should purchase it. But let one half of the new capitalists become manufacturers, and equivalents in the form of wrought goods will



be created for the raw produce raised by the other half: The equilibrium will be restored, and the 1500 farmers and 1500 master-manufacturers will exchange their respective surplus products with exactly the same facility with which the 1000 farmers and 1000 manufacturers formerly exchanged theirs. When an increase takes place in the supply of some particular commodity, or class of commodities, then a glut, or want of sale, is experienced; but when an increase takes place in the supply of commodities in general, the different articles are employed in the purchase of each other,—and augmented supply is identical with extended demand. Let us apply these principles more particularly to Mr Owen's leading doctrine, that the employment of machinery and scientific power, throws the labouring classes out of employment, by producing more wealth than can be consumed.

In the former example, when 1000 farmers and 1000 manufacturers had exchanged their surplus food and clothing with each other, capital was completely replaced; and the sugar, grapes and tobacco of the one class, with the ribands, lace and velvet of the other, remained as net surpluses for immediate enjoyment. Further, as the food and clothing created were equal to each other in cost of production, and the agricultural luxuries equal to the food, and the manufacturing luxuries equal to the clothing, it follows, that all the sugar, grapes and tobacco was equal in productive cost, and should therefore be equal, in exchangeable value, to all the ribands, lace and velvet. Hence, if the farmers were to retain one half of their agricultural luxuries for their own use, and bring the other half to market, they would have the power of purchasing and consuming one half the ribands, lace and velvet, prepared by the manufacturers; while, if the latter retained half their manufactured luxuries for their own use, and brought the other half to market, they would have the power of purchasing and of consuming half the sugar, grapes and tobacco, raised by the class of cultivators. Now, while things are going on in this way, and consumption exactly balances production, let us suppose, that the introduction of improved machinery so increases the effective powers of those branches of manufacturing industry which prepare luxuries; that the 1000 master-manufacturers, without any additional expense, can cause the same number of labourers to fabricate twice the former quantity of ribands, lace and velvet;—Will this increase in the quantity of commodities disturb the previously existing balance between consumption and production? Will the 1000 farmers be unable to purchase, with full equivalents, the additional articles

which the 1000 manufacturers present for sale? Certainly not. With respect to productive cost, and therefore to exchangeable value, the double quantity of manufactured luxuries, now obtained, is exactly equal to the smaller quantity formerly obtained. Hence in this, as in the former case, one half of the sugar, grapes and tobacco which are raised, will be equivalent to one half of the ribands, lace and velvet which are fabricated. The class of cultivators, with the sacrifice of the same quantity of their unwrought luxuries, will be able to purchase and to consume a double quantity of wrought luxuries, while the class of master-manufacturers, after purchasing the same quantity of sugar, grapes and tobacco, will be able to retain and to consume a double quantity of ribands, lace and velvet. Demand will increase in the same ratio with supply, and the power of consumption keep pace with the power of production.

It is no answer to this reasoning to say, that though the class of cultivators have the power, they may not have the inclination to purchase and consume the double quantity of wrought luxuries thrown upon the market by improved machinery. With the exception of a few insane misers who hoard their treasures, all persons are desirous of consuming whatever wealth they can command, either productively with a view to improving their condition, or else unproductively with a view to immediate enjoyment. The alterations which occasionally take place in the distribution of industry, may lead to temporary embarrassment; but after the readjustment has been effected, and commodities are brought to market in quantities duly proportioned to each other, the increased supply will be accompanied by increased demand. Effectual demand is nothing more than the offering of one commodity in exchange for another. Increased production, therefore, provided it be general and duly proportioned, is precisely the same thing as extended demand. So long as the passion for the expenditure or accumulation of wealth shall actuate the human heart, it will be impossible for the use of machinery, and the application of scientific power, to increase the supply of commodities beyond what the regulations of society permit to be consumed.

The important and fundamental principle, that increased demand is created by increased supply, appears to have been first noticed by the celebrated M. Say in his *Traité d'Economie Politique*, and by Mr James Mill, in his pamphlet in answer to Mr Spence, entitled, '*Commerce Defended.*' We conceive that on this subject the reasoning of the latter gentleman is the

most clear and conclusive; and to his able Tract we beg to refer those amongst our readers who, upon questions of this sort, prefer synthetical demonstration from general principles, to that analytical induction from particular cases which we have here attempted to employ. We shall merely add, in this place, that the late glut of British goods in the markets of Europe and America, to which M. de Sismondi refers as a practical proof of his paradox, that poverty may be occasioned by the superabundance of wealth, furnishes no solid objection to the doctrine that a balance necessarily exists between consumption and production. The present crisis constitutes a case removed by special circumstances from the operation of the general rule. In the *first* place, as we explained in our former Number, the transition from war to peace has caused certain classes of commodities to be less sought for than before, and thus for a time disturbed the due proportion in the quantities of the different articles brought to market, which makes them the reciprocal purchasers of each other, and renders the amount of the supply identical with the extent of the demand. In the *second* place, as commerce is the exchange of equivalents, and demand and supply reciprocal, if our merchants throw goods into foreign markets, under a restrictive system which prevents their bringing back the only articles with which foreigners can purchase them, such goods must necessarily remain unsold; and, in these circumstances, the glut of British goods in foreign markets, instead of militating against our general principle, is a fact which, even prior to experience, that principle would lead us to predict. *Lastly*, taxation counteracts the natural tendency of improved machinery to reduce the cost of production, and consequently prevents that fall in the exchangeable value of our manufactured articles which might otherwise cause the demand for them to extend as their supply increased.

Thus there are, at the present crisis, three special circumstances which account satisfactorily for the existing difficulty in finding a foreign market for British goods, without resorting to the gratuitous, and, as we conceive, absurd assumption, that our distress is created by machinery and scientific power producing more wealth than can be consumed. That part of our distress which has arisen from the transition from war to peace, and from the loss attendant on the transference of capital from one species of employment to another, will in a short time work out its own correction. The other, and *the greater portion of the national suffering, which is produced by fettered trade, and oppressive taxes, will be as permanent as its causes.* Should these be continued, it requires no gift of prophecy to predict, that

England, like Holland, must gradually cease to be a manufacturing and commercial, and consequently a rich and a powerful country. The recent history of our nearest neighbour, holds out to us this awful warning. The republic of Holland, though her commercial system was infinitely superior to ours, yet sunk under taxation comparatively light. In the foreign carrying trade, and in foreign wars, her productive capital glided from beneath the burden which oppressed it. The laws of nature are unchanged; the principles of human action remain the same; and the desire of bettering his condition, continues to exert an influence more or less powerful upon the conduct of every man who lives. Mr Owen will be a potent enchanter, indeed, if, by inscribing productive capital within magic circles, or magic parallelograms, he can prevent its flowing off to seek, in foreign investments, that beneficial occupation which cannot be found at home. \*

It has been objected to those who oppose Mr Owen's plans, that they do not themselves suggest any effectual means for the relief of the country. This objection appears to us most extraordinary and unreasonable. Is no one to object to the introduction of absurd and pernicious projects, unless he substitute some project of his own? Is no one to detect and denounce the nostrums of an empiric, unless he pretend to be himself in possession of a panacea? For ourselves, we do not despair of our country: and we have no objection to state what, in our opinion, would restore the kingdom to its once flourishing condition. Give Freedom to Commerce, and lighten the pressure of Taxation, and we shall have no complaining in our streets. As commerce is always an exchange of equivalents, a nation that will not buy, cannot sell; and restrictions upon import, are prohibitory duties upon export. On the contrary, the more we admit the productions of foreign countries, the more extensive becomes their demand for our commodities. Let the absurd system of our Corn Laws be cautiously and gradually abolished, and allow the cheap agricultural produce of the North of Europe, and of the Continents of America and Africa, to be freely introduced, and we shall obtain an unlimited vent for our manufactures; the profits of stock will be restored to their level in other countries; and the consequent accumulation of capital,

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\* We have learned from an intelligent traveller, lately returned from France, that a considerable portion of the lands in Brittany have been purchased by Englishmen, and are now cultivated under their direction. Let the landed proprietors of England, who support the present system, look to this!

will cause the increasing demand for labour to bear a nearer proportion to the increasing supply of labourers. A rigid and effectual system of Retrenchment, would powerfully contribute to these most desirable results. Our advantages, from position, from coal-mines, and from the industry, skill, and energy of our people, are so considerable, that, were it not for unwise laws, and overstrained taxation, England, for ages to come, might continue to be the great workshop and emporium of the world. There is nothing appalling in our situation, except the want of wisdom in our Rulers. This, indeed 'must give us pause.' It is a singular and an alarming fact, that at a period when the questions which come before the Legislature are almost exclusively economical, the Ministers of this country should be ignorant of the leading principles of Economical Science. On the termination of hostilities, and while our influence in Europe was as yet almost supreme, our Foreign Minister abandoned the vital interests of British industry; and, instead of making commercial arrangements for aiding the country in meeting the transition from war to peace, and in supporting the burthens imposed during the Continental quarrel, returned from his mission, declaring that our manufactures and trade had already been carried to an injurious extent, and impeded the exertions of the State! \* Our Finance Minister has laid on duties, not with a view to the improvement of the Revenue, but for the express and avowed purpose of diminishing our trade with France. In war, while we were annually borrowing enormous sums, the value of the currency was suffered to sink considerably below that of the coin; and in peace, when extraordinary efforts are required to pay off debt, measures have been adopted for keeping the Bank note at par with gold. And at an awful crisis, when the exhausted nation staggers beneath its load, the Government, instead of reducing, have added three millions to the taxes. These are facts, which the supposition of ignorance alone can scarcely account for, or excuse: And we

\* See the debate upon the Corn Bill:—When Lord Castlereagh censured the people for their 'ignorant impatience of taxation,' he should have reflected that, in a Statesman, an 'ignorant impatience' of manufactures and commerce, was an offence which even persons unskilled in Economical Science might consider to be almost as disgraceful as that which he condemned. His Lordship's reasonings, when logically pursued, tend indeed to very original and wonderful conclusions. On the principle that complaints against taxation have their origin in ignorance, and that our manufactures and commerce have been pushed to an injurious extent, it would be easy to demonstrate that we have too little barren, and too much fertile soil.

are sure that it is a mild and mitigated censure to say, that in that important department of the science of legislation which relates to the causes of national wealth and prosperity, the persons who have obtained the management of our affairs, are considerably below the common intellectual level of English gentlemen,—nay, of English ladies. We know one female, at least, fully competent to instruct the Members of our present Cabinet in Political Economy—a branch of knowledge at all times highly important, and, at this difficult crisis, as indispensably necessary to the practical statesman, as anatomy is to the operative surgeon, who undertakes to extract the barbed and venom-ed steel from a festering and deep-seated wound.

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ART. XII. 1. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on the Highways of the Kingdom.* Ordered to be printed 25th June 1819.

2. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on the Turnpike Trusts between London and Holyhead.* Ordered to be printed 6th July 1819.

3. *An Essay on the Construction of Roads and Carriages.* By RICHARD LOVELL EDGEWORTH, Esq., F. R. S. M. R. I. A. London, 1813.

IN the absence of all higher grounds of congratulation, it is no doubt consolatory to see the time of Parliament so much occupied with subjects of Economic Polity, and to find that, in this department at least, sound principles are making so much way against those ancient prejudices, and mischievous habits, which have so long stood in the way of necessary reformati-  
 ons. Of the many subjects of internal economy which were submitted to the consideration of Committees of the House of Commons in the last session, there is none which is more immediately interesting to the public than the state of the Highways of the kingdom; for, next to the general influence of the seasons, upon which the regular supply of our wants and comforts depend, there is perhaps no circumstance more interesting to men in a civilized state, than the perfection of the means of interior communication.

Although it is common for Englishmen to boast that no foreign country possesses, in so great a degree, the advantages of numerous roads as England, it ought always to be remembered, that there is a vast difference between a road without form or solidity,

and which is nothing more than an open space in an enclosed country, along which travellers and carriages may pass, and a road fit to allow of carriages being drawn with rapidity, with little labour to the horses, and perfect security to the passengers. But this way of viewing the subject has been little considered, and our southern fellow-subjects have hitherto been willing to put up with a very absurd system of road-making and management, and with roads in all essential points extremely defective. The evidence, for instance, contained in the Reports at the head of this article, shows how great a difference there is between a hard and a soft road, that is, between a good one and a bad one; and how much property is wasted, by more horses being employed on bad roads, than are necessary on good roads. Mr Walker says, with regard to the paved commercial road from London to the West India docks, that he does not overstate the advantage of paving, when he says that two horses will do more work upon such a road, than three upon an ordinary, or even a good gravelled road. Supposing the loads annually carried on this commercial road to be 250,000 tons, at the rate of 3s. a ton, which is the established price, in place of 4s., which is the price on gravelled roads, the annual saving would be 12,500*l*. He further states, that the East India dock branch has not cost 20*l*. in the repairs of the paving in thirteen years. Mr Waterhouse, Mr Horne, and Mr Eames, three of the principal coachmasters in London, say, that where the roads are smooth and hard, *eight* horses, costing on an average 15*l*. each, will work a stage coach over twelve miles through a year, at the rate of eight miles an hour, and that they will last, one with another, for six years; but that, where the roads are heavy, *twelve* horses, costing 30*l*. each, are necessary for twelve miles; and these will last only from three to four years. Mr Foment of Thatcham, who works different coaches above 500 miles a day, says, he has killed some hundred horses (extra) in pulling through dirty gravel heaped up in the middle of the road; and that he is convinced one-third less labour is required to work a fast coach over part of the road between Reading and London, where Mr M'Adam's plan has been adopted, than is necessary over other parts of the road, where they still continue the old plan.

What makes it at this time particularly necessary to inquire into the soundness of the system, by which the turnpike roads are managed, is the rapidity with which additional tolls are everywhere established, and the debt which is owing by the different trustees still further increased. Mr M'Adam states in his evidence, that in the years 1816, 1817, and 1818, no

less than ninety petitions were presented to the House of Commons for bills to levy additional tolls. Mr Waterhouse says, that the tolls on the roads which his coaches travel have been *doubled* in the last fifteen years. Mr M'Adam computes the road revenue of England and Wales at no less than *one million and a quarter*; and the total debt due by the trusts at *seven millions*. And when it is considered how easy it generally is for a body of turnpike commissioners to obtain a new act to levy additional tolls whenever they think proper, and that money may be borrowed by them on the security of the tolls *ad libitum*, it is surely high time to inquire whether the system of leaving the management of so large a revenue to numerous bodies of irresponsible local commissioners, ought to be continued any longer.

If the roads had been improved in a degree corresponding with the additional tolls and increasing debts, there might be little reason to complain: but this is so far from being the case, that the concurrent testimony of *all* the witnesses goes to establish a very opposite result. Mr Telford, for example—a most competent judge—says, ‘With regard to the roads of England and Wales, they are in general very defective, both as to their direction and inclinations; they are frequently carried over hills, which might be avoided by passing along the adjacent valleys; the shape, or cross sections, and drainage of the roads, are quite as defective as the general direction and inclinations; there has been no attention paid to constructing good and solid foundations; the materials, whether consisting of gravel or stones, have seldom been sufficiently selected and arranged; and they lie so promiscuously upon the roads, as to render it inconvenient to travel upon them,—so to promote their speedy destruction. The shape of the road or cross-section of the surface, is frequently hollow in the middle; the sides incumbered with great banks of road dirt, which have accumulated in some places to the height of six, seven, and eight feet: these prevent the water from falling into the side drains; they also throw a considerable shade upon the road, and are gross and unpardonable nuisances. The materials, instead of being cleaned of the mud and soil with which they are mixed in their native state, are laid promiscuously on the road: this, in the first place, creates an unnecessary expense of carriage to the road, and afterwards nearly as much in removing it, besides inconvenience and obstruction to travelling.’

This description of the turnpike roads of England and Wales does no great credit to the ability and attention of the country gentlemen who have the entire management of 1,250,000*l.* of annual revenue. In a country where the numerous magnificent bridges, docks, harbours and canals, testify so proudly to the talents of British engineers, it is not a little strange to find no



trace of skill, or a particle of science, except in a few recent instances, throughout the whole extent of the turnpike roads. There surely must be something in the composition of an English turnpike trust, of a nature most abhorrent from science, to have thus completely excluded our great national acquirements in civil engineering from one of the leading branches of the profession. The consequence is, that, in respect to roads, England stands, confessedly, far behind Ireland and Scotland; and is even greatly outdone by France, whose great roads, at least, are remarkably perfect in regard to direction, inclinations and cross-sections, and also as to the state of the surface,—unless the Government lays hands upon the funds applicable to repairs.

The causes of this universal mismanagement, may perhaps receive some explanation by attending to the constitution of a trust, as established by the Legislature under the usual provisions of a turnpike act. The fundamental principle is always to vest the whole management in the hands of the country gentlemen; and as they act gratuitously, it has been the policy of the law to appoint in each act a prodigious number of commissioners—frequently from one hundred to two hundred, for the care of ten or fifteen miles of road: and thus a business of art and science, is committed to the discretion of a promiscuous mob of peers, squires, farmers and shopkeepers, who are chosen, not for their fitness to discharge the duty of commissioners, but from the sole qualification of residence within a short distance from the road to be made or repaired. The consequences are, as might be expected, that the whole time of these meetings is occupied in tumultuous and unprofitable discussions, and in resolving on things at one meeting which run a good chance of being reversed at the next; that the well informed and civilized commissioners become very soon disgusted with the disorderly uproar, or the want of sense, temper or honesty of some of their companions; and that the management finally falls into the hands of a few busy, bustling, interested persons of low condition, who attend the meetings with no idea of performing a public duty, but for the purpose of turning their powers, by some device or other, to the profit of themselves, or of their friends and relations.

The origin of a plan, so radically wrong, may be traced to the vulgar notion that there is nothing so easy as to make or repair a road; and as it is even now-a-days a very common doctrine, that every one is born a good roadmaker, it may be of use to show, very briefly, how far road-making is an art, and in what way the aid of science may be serviceable. As there is nowhere any very great extent of country free from bogs,

ravines, precipices, rivers, hills or mountains, it is plain that to lay out a line of road which shall be as short as possible between two places, and yet without any great declivities; and avoiding all local difficulties in the most effectual and economical manner, must require some considerable portion both of skill and experience. In forming a road, therefore, to the best advantage, whoever undertakes it, ought to be accurately acquainted with the sciences of levelling, surveying and mensuration; he should be thoroughly well versed in the best practical methods of moving large quantities of earth; he must understand the principles and the practice of building abutment walls and bridges, and of draining land. For forming the surface of a road, he ought also to know many of the mineralogical qualities of stones and other hard materials; and practically how to clean or break them, and how to manage the disposing of them so as to give the road a proper form, and to secure the greatest possible degree of smoothness, solidity, and durability. These are a few of the preliminary qualifications to be acquired by a person before he can be entitled to the name of a tolerable good road-maker. Yet how few commissioners possess any of them, or have ever dreamt of their necessity! In point of fact, the state of the roads displays no symptoms of well qualified commissioners. They leave the art and science of the business to their surveyor,—who is commonly just as much in the clouds as themselves, as to his own proper calling. With a laudable veneration for his forefathers, he proceeds according to the antient system of things, without plan or method; and, fearing no rivalry, and subject to no intelligent control, he proceeds, like his predecessors, to waste the road-money on teamwork and paupers, and leave nothing for the public like a road, but the name and the cost of it.

Whenever other extensive works requiring the employment of various sorts of labour are undertaken, the constant practice is, to have a plan and specification made out of all the particular things to be done, with an estimate of the expense—and a contract entered into for the performance of them, and a rigid inspection to ascertain that all the conditions are complied with before the money is paid. But turnpike commissioners scarcely ever require any plan or specification of the work to be done; but leave the surveyor to spend the money as he pleases: There is no inspection of the work he executes; he merely hands in his bill to the treasurer, and receives what is due by his own showing. Although ninety-nine people out of a hundred believe a surveyor to be a professional peculator, the inquiries of the Committees did not

go far enough to establish the correctness of this opinion. It is waste, probably, and not robbery, that is mostly to be complained of. Waste in every way,—by unnecessary team work; by employing old parish paupers as labourers; by bills of costs; by making use of badly prepared materials; by leaving the roads in such a shape that they are constantly wet; in consequence of which, the materials put upon them are immediately destroyed. Mr M'Adam says, 'This waste of public money, I conscientiously believe, amounts to one-eighth of the road revenue of the kingdom at large, and to a much greater proportion near London.'

The small extent of road of which most turnpike districts consist, is another great defect of the system; because the funds are seldom sufficient to allow of employing a qualified surveyor. But notwithstanding this defect, surveyors would be better than they are, if the best that could be got were always appointed. In place of this, however, it is matter of general notoriety, that the appointment, nineteen times out of twenty, is a perfect job. The following is a small specimen, taken from the evidence before us. '*Question*—Where was the present surveyor appointed? *Answer*, I believe he was appointed two years and half ago.—What station in life did he fill before? I believe he was a *miller* in the neighbourhood of St Albans, under Lord Verulam; there was a serious objection to his appointment by several of the commissioners, who brought forward a proper person qualified for the situation.—In what state did you find the executive department of these roads when you took charge of them? I found at Epsom a person as surveyor, who had been an *undertaker* at Llyod's Coffee-house, at a salary, as I am informed, of 60*l.* a year, and who was allowed to keep the carts and horses, and do the cartage of the trust. I found at Cheshunt three surveyors; one an infirm old man, another a *carpenter*, and another a *coal merchant*. I found, on the Wadesmill trust, three surveyors also: one of them was a very old man; another a *publican* at Buckland; and another a *baker* at Barkway. I found on the Royston road a *publican* as surveyor; and I found at Huntingdon a bedridden old man, who had not been out of his house for several months.'

Another great defect in the system of turnpike law, is the want of a provision to compel each trust to account, before some competent tribunal. Road commissioners are the only persons entrusted by Parliament to levy a large revenue from the public, without being required to account in any way for what they receive. A still more glaring defect is, the want of any proper remedy when a set of commissioners abuse their trust. They may suffer their road to become a perfect ruin; they may embezzle the funds, and commit every sort of malpractice, and yet

go on levying tolls, keeping possession of the road, and defying all complainants. As to the legal remedy of indicting a turnpike road, this is in fact, punishing the innocent for the guilty; and every one knows it never operates as an effectual remedy.

In this case, as in most others of inveterate abuse, it is certainly far easier to point out the evil than to provide the remedy. But the first measure perhaps should be, to appoint a Parliamentary Commission, with full powers to ascertain the state of every trust in the United Kingdom, and to report the result to Parliament. It would be too much, perhaps, to repeal at once all the turnpike acts now in force, for the purpose of substituting the more simple and effectual measure of one Board of Commissioners for the whole United Kingdom. All that can be done probably is, to leave them to expire by degrees; and, in the mean time, to pass a general act to oblige each trust to elect four or five Directors, who shall have the whole active management; and providing that, whenever a turnpike act expired, the magistrates of the county should elect five or six commissioners, in whom it should be vested; the debt, if any, to remain secured upon the tolls:—and thus, as each existing act expired, each road would, in succession, vest in the same commissioners; so that, in the end, they would have the management of all the turnpike roads of their county.

In respect to a new road, and the best plan of framing an act of Parliament for making one, it seems to us that it would be a valuable improvement to allow all persons who may be willing to subscribe their money, to proceed in the same way as is followed in regard to canals. Let the right of levying certain tolls be granted to the subscribers; the surplus, after paying all outgoings, to be divided as profit. Let the subscribers elect five or six directors to manage for them; and, in order to protect the public from any neglect on their part, let there be a power given to the Court of Chancery to sequester the tolls, and to appoint commissioners to manage the road, if a sufficient case can be made out against the Road Company.

But, even if there should be no radical change in the present system of turnpike law, a great deal of good may be done by the commissioners under the existing acts, paying more strict attention to their duties. If each trust would appoint a committee of four or five, with full powers to manage every thing belonging to the road repairs, more ability and economy would soon become conspicuous upon the roads: And with regard to the art of making the roads themselves, and the things that are to be attended to by the managers and superintendents, we are sure we cannot possibly do better than to lay before our readers

the following extract from Mr Telford's Report to the Parliamentary Commissioners for improving the Holyhead road. Mr Telford says—

‘ It may be useful, in concluding this Report, to recapitulate sundry matters which apply generally to all districts. 1. It appears that, from the interference of a great number of commissioners, (although each well intentioned), the multiplicity of opinions and directions tends to perplex the surveyors, and prevents the carrying any well-digested scheme steadily into effect; and therefore it would be advisable to have general meetings, say only once or twice a year, in order to receive reports, make general regulations, pass accounts, and elect a committee of five persons, who should manage the executive part of the business, as is the general case with regard to canals. 2. That it is advisable to have, annually, a regular specification made out of what is required to be done in each trust, during the ensuing twelve months, and this work to be let to some respectable contractor, upon conditions distinctly defined, and without any restrictions as to employing old and unfit workmen: it would then become the interest of the contractor to take active measures, both with respect to procuring materials, and using them, and keeping effective persons constantly upon the road. 3. This would relieve the surveyor of all the detail of employing workmen, seeing that they worked faithfully, also as to procuring materials:—all he would have to do would be to see that the road was conducted, in all respects, agreeably to the specification; and an able and respectable surveyor might in this way attend to at least 30 miles of road, and have an adequate salary. 4. Having distinct specifications, as a written law, all discretionary directions from different trustees, or even the surveyor would be put an end to: the contractor would know his duty, and could be fairly checked. 5. As to the practical part, it is of importance to keep the surface of the road above that of the adjacent fields; where it is got too low, it should be raised, or removed to fresh ground. 6. The road should be kept open to the sun and air; therefore, cut down and remove high hedges and trees, slope banks, &c. 7. The roadway should be well drained and kept dry; the cross section of the road should be made, and kept of a flat form; the whole curve of thirty feet should not exceed eight or nine inches; the water should never be suffered to run far along the road, before it is conducted into a cross drain, which ought to be particularly attended to, and conducted into natural water-courses or field ditches. 8. Particular attention should be paid, either to find a naturally dry bottom for the roadway, or to construct one; and avoid as much as possible suffering the workable materials coming into contact with clay: And this may always be accomplished by means of gravel, sand, vegetable soil, chalk, or bottoming stones; but this bottoming should be made perfectly firm and regular, so as to receive the top workable metal of an equal thickness. 9. This top workable metal, or layer, or stratum, should be of equal and uniform quality, freed

of all clayey or earthy matter, by sorting, sifting, screening, and, not unfrequently, by washing. If the material be stones, they should be broken, so as not to exceed six ounces for repairing old roads, and eight ounces for making new roads. If it is gravel, all round stones of above one inch should be separated and broken, and put upon the road without any mixture of the smaller stones. 10. The roads should be regularly shaped between the footpaths, or, where there are none, between the fences. This admits the water to get off freely, or to evaporate by the action of the wind and sun. In the country, about 16 or 18 feet in the middle of the road should be made and repaired with broken quarry stone, or broken gravel stone; the sides may be made and repaired with inferior materials: But near large towns, or where there is much traffic, the whole breadth should have broken stone. 11. Where a road has been originally constructed, or by improvement brought into what is here described, it should never be suffered to go into disrepair. This is to be accomplished by unremitting and judicious attention, so that no water be suffered to lie on the road, but, as a defect occurs, to have it immediately remedied by thin coats of hard materials frequently applied. The making and maintaining roads should be considered as a separate business. Workmen should be bred, and induced constantly to apply themselves to road-work only, the same as any other distinct trade. They would then become acquainted with the quality of materials, and the proper method of using them; and contractors, by attending to roads only, would acquire experience, and have better profits from lower prices. Hitherto road-making and repairing have not had sufficient importance attached to them.

Mr M<sup>r</sup>. A. Jam on the same head says,

'Now, the principle of road-making I think the most valuable, is to put broken stone upon a road, which shall unite by its own angles, so as to form a solid hard surface. What I find fault with in putting quantities of gravel on a road is, that before it becomes useful, it must move from its situation, and be in constant motion. The defects of the roads proceed principally from the large use of a mixture of clay and chalk, and other matters that imbibes water, and are affected by frost. Such roads become loose in wet weather, so as to allow the wheels of carriages to displace the materials, and thereby occasion the roads to be heavy and rutty. In digging gravel in places where there is loam adhering to it, I recommend to leave the small part of the gravel in the pits, and to make use of the larger part only; which can be broken, for the double purpose, *first*, of having the gravel stone laid upon the road in an angular shape; and, *secondly*, because the operation of breaking quarry stone is the most effectual operation for beating off the loam that adheres to the pieces of gravel.'

It is very satisfactory to collect from the reports, that all the improvement that can be desired in respect to the repairing the

roads, may be obtained without any new charge to the public. In the Bristol district, the commissioners incurred a debt of 43,000*l.* in 20 years, and had the roads in a very bad state. Mr M'Adam, with the same annual income, in three years, made them excellent roads—paid off a floating debt of 1400*l.*—made a considerable reduction in the principal debt—and, at the last settlement, had a balance in hand of 2790*l.* At Epsom, the roads have been put into a good state of repair by the same person, at an expense considerably under the former annual charge. The road between Reading and Twyford has been made solid and smooth, in the course of twelve months, at an expense of 15*l.* per week,—the former expenditure being upwards of 22*l.* per week. The truth is, as admitted by experienced road-clerks, who are in general more fit to manage a trust than the commissioners, that the practice of employing men past hard labour, to take them off their parishes, and relieve the poor-rates, has become so general, that the road-revenue is now a regular poor-fund, and the labour performed by each man is not worth more than one fourth of a good day's labour by a regular workman.

After what has been already said to prove the utter failure of the existing system of road-management, it is impossible to pass over that part of the Report which says, 'that many important reasons exist for leaving generally the direction of the affairs of the different turnpike trusts in the hands of the respective commissioners, whose experience, character, and interest, afford the best pledges of ability, attention, and economy.' Now, unfortunately for the inference of the Committee, the state of the roads, as described by such a number of the most competent witnesses, gives a flat contradiction to their proposition; and proves, beyond all question, the want of all ability, attention, and economy: And if the experience, character, and interest of the commissioners, have not, up to this time, produced good roads, they surely are but bad pledges of better management for the future. That a Committee of the House of Commons, however, should speak tenderly, and even favourably, of turnpike commissioners, is not to be wondered at. The county members, of whom no doubt the Committee was principally composed, are always commissioners themselves; and receive a great deal of county support from that class of landed proprietors, who are also, as a matter of course, road-commissioners. These circumstances diminish considerably the authority of this part of the Report; and therefore, it ought not to operate as any discouragement to an attempt to take the direction of the roads out of the hands of the local commissioners; for unless this is

done either at once, by appointing one set of commissioners for the whole of the turnpike roads, or by a commission for each county, the same radical vices which have hitherto prevailed, will be found to exist in all turnpike meetings; the tolls and the debts will go on increasing—horses be tormented and killed in the same prodigal way—and the roads remain in their present defective state; at once, a disgrace to the nation, and a serious inconvenience to the public at large.

There is no more reason for doubting the practicability of one set of commissioners managing to advantage all the turnpike roads of the country, than there is for doubting the practicability of one set being able to collect thirty millions of excise revenue. One eminent civil engineer for every 1000 miles, as a chief inspector, with sub-inspectors for each 100 miles of road, would relieve the commissioners from almost all trouble. The patronage of such an establishment might easily be so arranged, as to keep it free from the taint and control of the Treasury. We take the liberty to suggest this plan, because it is science and philosophical experience that is requisite for making good roads;—and not those other numerous qualifications which are possessed so abundantly and administered so usefully for the benefit of the public, by that most meritorious class—the country gentlemen of England.

ART. XIII. 1. *Les Lettres de M. de FELLEMBERG à M. CHARLES PICTET, de Genève, Bibliothèque Britannique des mois de Novembre et de Décembre 1807.*

2. *Coup-d'œil de M. GAUTHERON sur l'Influence Morale qu'exercera l'Etablissement d'Hofwyl sur la Masse du Peuple.*

3. *Lettre de M. de VILLEVIEILLE sur le parti que le midi de la France peut tirer des Moyens et Méthodes Agricoles d'Hofwyl. Bibliothèque Britannique.*

4. *Préface au Cours d'Agriculture Anglaise, avec les Développemens utiles aux Agriculteurs du Continent; par CHARLES PICTET, de Genève.*

5. *Lettre de M. ESCHER, de Zurich, Seigneur de Berg, sur l'Agriculture de M. de FELLEMBERG (en Allemand.)*

6. *Rapport sur les Etablissements d'Hofwyl, à la Nation Helvétique, par une Commission nommée ad hoc par le Landammann et la Diète des Dix-neuf Cantons de la Suisse.*



7. *Observations sur ce Rapport, par M. SCHFOLD, Commissaire de S. M. le Roi de Wurtemberg, auprès de l'Institut d'Hofwyl (en Allemand.)*
8. *Voyage à Hofwyl, par M. HOFMAN, Envoyé de la Princesse de Swartzenberg-Rudolstadt, avec des Observations de M. THAER, Conseiller d'Etat de S. M. le Roi de Prusse.*
9. *Observations sur l'Ecrit précédent, par EMMANUEL DE FELLEBERG. Ces Observations ont paru dans les Annales d'Agriculture de M. THAER, et dans les Feuilles d'Hofwyl (en Allemand.)*
10. *Feuilles d'Hofwyl, 1808, 1809, 1810 et 1813, quatre Cahiers avec plusieurs Planches (en Allemand.)*
11. *Rapport de M. D. A. CHAVANNES à ses Commettans sur l'Institut d'Education des Pauvres à Hofwyl, suivi de l'Acte pour la Création d'une Commission perpétuelle chargée de surveiller cet Institut, et des Observations de M. CH. PIOTET, sur les Moyens que l'Agriculture fournit à l'Education. 1813.*
12. *Rapport sur l'Institut d'Education des Pauvres à Hofwyl rédigé par M. A. RENGGER, ci-devant Ministre de l'Intérieur de la République Helvétique, au Nom de la Commission établie pour l'Inspection de l'Etablissement.*
13. *Le Cinquième Cahier des Feuilles d'Hofwyl.*
14. *Appel adressé par le Fondateur d'Hofwyl aux Amis de l'Humanité souffrante en Septembre 1816.*
15. *Second Cahier des Feuilles d'Hofwyl, où MR DE FELLEBERG explique l'ensemble de ses Vues. 1817.*

**N**OTWITHSTANDING the wonder so sapiently expressed by the libellers of the Education Committee, at their bestowing so much attention 'on one village school in Switzerland,' we shall venture to trouble our readers with some further account of M. de Fellenberg's establishments at Hofwyl. Since the publication of our former article on that subject, we have had a very favourable opportunity of obtaining more minute and precise information, both as to the conduct of that singular Institution, and as to the views and objects of its illustrious Founder; and are satisfied that we cannot fill up our remaining pages either more profitably, or more pleasantly for our readers, than by making them the vehicle of this information.

Mr de Fellenberg was first known merely as an agriculturist, and still keeps up his original establishment of husbandry at

Buchsie, an old chateau near Hofwyl; but agriculture was always with him a secondary object, and subservient to that system of Education to which his thoughts were very early directed. He is a man of an unusually ardent as well as persevering turn of mind, and conceals a character of deep and steady enthusiasm, under a very calm exterior and manners. Although born to patrician rank in his own country, he early imbibed those political doctrines of which such tremendous misapplication was so soon to be made in his neighbourhood: and the disappointment filled his mind with melancholy views of the moral state and future prospects of mankind. It appeared to him, that the world was blindly hurrying on to irretrievable ruin; and that a sounder system of education for the great body of the people, could alone stop the progress of error and corruption. He has sometimes mentioned in conversation the particular circumstances which finally determined him to the course he has since pursued. In the year 1798 or 1799, he happened to be at Paris as one of the commission sent by the provisional government established in Switzerland after the French invasion; and in that capacity he had an official conversation with the Director Reubel, at his country house near Paris,—in the course of which he laid before him, in glowing colours, a picture of the miserable state to which his country was reduced, and which might soon lead to a *Vendean* war, destructive to both parties. The Director appeared for some time to listen with profound attention, and Mr de Fellenberg ascribed his silence to conviction of the truths he urged, and something like a feeling of compunction,—when, all at once, the worthy republican throwing open a window, called aloud to one of his servants—‘*Jacques! apportez moi Finette!*’ A little spaniel was brought accordingly with its litter of young ones in a basket—and there was no chance of his hearing another word about Switzerland or liberty! After this rebuff, he gave up the idea of serving his country as a politician; and, asking for his passport the next day, made the best of his way home, determined to set about the slow work of elementary reformation, by a better mode of education, and to persevere in it for the rest of his life!

It is now upwards of twelve years since Mr de Fellenberg undertook to systematize domestic education, and to show on a large scale how the children of the poor might be best taught, and their labour at the same time most profitably applied: in short, how the first twenty years of a poor man’s life might be so employed as to provide both for his support and his education. The peasants in his neighbourhood were at first ra-

ther shy of trusting their children for a new experiment; and being thus obliged to take his pupils where he could find them, many of the earliest were the sons of vagrants, and literally picked up on the highways; and this is the case with one or two of the most distinguished. He had very soon, however, the good fortune of finding an excellent cooperator in the person of a young man of the name of Veltzli, the son of a schoolmaster of Thurgovia, who, coming to Hofwyl in 1809, to see the establishment and inform himself of the mode of teaching, was so struck with the plan of the *school of industry* that he offered his son, then about 18, as an assistant. This young man devoted himself from that moment to the undertaking.—Although admitted at first to Mr de Fellenberg's table, he soon left it for that of his pupils, with whom he has ever since lived night and day. Working with them in the fields, their play-fellow in their hours of relaxation,—and, learning himself what he is to teach as a master, his zeal has not cooled a moment during a trial of more than ten years' unremitting exertions, under the guidance of his patron, and assisted now by four other masters. The number of the pupils has increased successively to 43: They obey him as well as Mr de Fellenberg, entirely from love and a sense of duty:—punishment has been only inflicted twice since the beginning; and their treatment is nearly that of children under the paternal roof. They go out every morning to their work soon after sunrise—having first breakfasted and received a lesson of about half an hour. They return at noon. Dinner takes them half an hour,—a lesson of one hour follows; then to work again till six in the evening. On Sunday, the different lessons take six hours instead of two; and they have butcher-meat on that day only. They are divided into three classes, according to age and strength; an entry is made in a book every night, of the number of hours each class has worked, specifying the sort of labour done, in order that it may be charged to the proper account, each particular crop having an account opened for it, as well as every new building, the live stock, the machines, the schools themselves, &c. &c. In winter, and whenever there is no out-of-doors' work, the boys plait straw for chairs; make baskets; saw logs with the cross saw and split them; thrash and winnow corn, grind colours, knit stockings, or assist the wheelwright and other artificers, of whom there are many employed on the Establishment. For all which different sorts of labour an adequate salary is credited each boy's class.

We have been furnished with the accounts of the *school of industry*, from its origin to the 30th June 1818. It appears that at the end of the 4th year (June 1813), the average number of

		Swiss Livres.	
boys 22, Mr de Fellenberg was in advance		-	L.3411 10 0
5th year, for 29 pupils and 5 masters, cost	-	L.3450	1 0
Proceeds of labour	L.1673 8 6		
Board paid by 3 of the boys	271 11 6		
		1945	0 0
			1505 1 0
6th year, for 33 pupils and 3 masters, cost	-	L.3893	2 8
Proceeds of labour	2562 3 11		
Board paid by 3 of the boys	168 0 0		
		2730	3 11
			1162 18 9
7th year, for 32 pupils and 5 masters, cost	-	L.4599	12 6
Proceeds of labour	2507 2 3		
Board paid by 4 of the boys	351 10 0		
		2858	12 3
			1741 0 3
8th year, for 34 pupils and 6 masters, (a year of great scarcity) cost	-	L.6511	12 2
Proceeds of labour	3115 9 8		
Board paid by 7 of the boys	851 15 0		
		3967	4 8
			2544 7 6
9th year, ending } for 39 pupils and 5 masters, cost	-	L.6247	13 4,
June 1818. }			
Proceeds of labour	3172 17 0		
Board paid by 5 boys	746 0 0		
Compensation for a boy taken away before his time	400 0 0		
		4318	17 0
			1928 16 4
			L.12293 13 10

The result is, that Mr de Fellenberg is in advance 12,293*l*. 13*s*. 10*d*. Swiss money, equal to about 750*l*. Sterling; and as we have no desire to exaggerate the merits of his system, it is but fair to say, that to this should be added the board charged for certain boys, and the compensation for one taken away before the end of his time; and that, upon a correct estimate, we think it appears that each of the boys has cost about 56*l*. money each year, or 3*l*. 8*s*. Sterling beyond the value of his work. Mr de Fellenberg indeed observes, that the boys being most of them only just come to the age of productive labour, it is presumed the Establishment will not only support itself in future, but repay past expenses; particularly as certain outfits charged to the first years will not recur again. He observes also, that several grown boys have been suffered to go away, and have been replaced by young children, to the great injury of the Establishment. It may be added, that the pupils have been indulged of late with better clothes than formerly, or than is strictly necessary, as well as a better table; and that, from attention to their feelings, the cast-off clothes of the *school of the rich* are not turned to their use, but given away to the

poor of the neighbourhood, that they may not appear in the light of dependants on any but their adoptive father and their own labour. The progression of yearly value of the boys' labour for the last four years, in our table, has been 58, 78, 72, 91: but the money laid out upon each of them has been for the same years as 119, 118, 140, 191,—a result certainly not very promising for the economical success of the Institution. We would observe, however, that the money laid out upon such establishments, even where they do not entirely pay their own expenses, may still be considered as *placed at high interest*, even in a worldly sense of the word; since farmers, proprietors of land, and manufacturers, must find it well worth their while to be at the expense of raising nurseries of intelligent and faithful servants for their own use, either directly, by establishing such schools, or indirectly, by allowing a yearly contribution to those who do. It is undoubtedly a very striking circumstance, that only one out of the whole number of boys admitted into this school since the beginning, has been dismissed as irrecoverably vicious; all the others have got rid of their former habits;—and, when final sentence was passed on the unfortunate boy, the others begged leave to contribute each one *batz* towards a present to him, that he might remember them with kindness.

The fatal consequences of defective and erroneous information, especially among the lower and most numerous classes, and the difficulty of establishing the truth in time to counteract the effects of error, has been sufficiently exemplified in our times; and indiscriminate reading, particularly of common newspapers, may be thought not much better than no reading at all. But, even upon this principle, it would be difficult to dispute the advantages of that sort of teaching which the school at Hofwyl undertakes to give:—the boys never see a newspaper, and scarcely a book; they are taught, *viva voce*, a few matters of fact, and rules of practical application. The rest of their education consists simply in inculcating habits of industry, frugality, veracity, docility, and mutual kindness—by means of good example rather than precepts, and above all by the absence of bad example. It has been said of the Bell and Lancaster schools, that the good they do is mostly negative; they take children out of the streets, employ them in a harmless sort of mental sport two or three hours in the day, exercise their understanding gently and pleasantly, and accustom them to order and rule without compulsion. Now, what these schools undertake to do for a few hours of each week, during one or two years of a boy's life, the school of industry does incessantly, during the whole course of his youth; providing, at the same time, for his whole physi-

cal maintenance at a rate which must be deemed excessively cheap for any but the very lowest of people.

Whatever the objection against popular learning may be, it is well worth observing that the experiment never has been tried with the class of country labourers, but only in towns, where teaching of some sort is within the reach of the common people, together with books and newspapers. The character and circumstances of these two classes of people, however, are obviously very different. The one, crowded in a narrow space, in daily contact with vice and profligacy, exposed to alternate penury and abundance, overworked at times, quite idle at others, is always disposed to be turbulent, dissolute, and rapacious; the facility of communication serves often to propagate falsehood, and almost always to stimulate jealousy and discontent. The seeds of learning scattered over such a soil, must be expected to produce some noxious weeds, along with their more wholesome increase. Peasants, on the contrary, are by nature an inert race; slow and enduring; unapt to combine and act upon a plan, they always were, in most republics, the subjects of townsmen; their solitary labour precludes the communication of ideas, blunted already by the sameness and simplicity of their lives. Providence regulates their seasons, and sends them good and bad harvests; there is no combining against such a master. These people want stimulants, as the others, to be calmed and repressed: And it would rather seem, that knowledge and new ideas, considered as mere excitements, and independently of their intrinsic value, are of far more importance to the one than the other; and that one of the happiest thoughts the genius of utility ever suggested, was that of rendering the labours of the fields subservient to education, and placing a school at the tail of a plough.

The demand for children's labour in manufacturing districts, encourages population beyond the permanent and safe means of subsistence; and the Hofwyl scheme might be liable to the same objection, if it held out to parents the flattering prospect of gratuitous maintenance for their children. But facts do not yet warrant the expectation of such institutions being able wholly to defray their cost; although it should always be remembered, that the demand for agricultural labour is always more steady than any other: But on this particular case it is also to be remarked, that young people of both sexes, of the rank of peasants, in the canton of Berne, have long been known to impose but little restraint upon themselves in their intercourse with each other. It is the custom, and always was, for young unmarried women to admit the visits of their admirers in their

bedrooms, from Saturday to Sunday morning, either alone, or with a small number of associates. This intercourse begins about the age of 15 or 16, and was deemed innocent formerly; but the increasing number of illegitimate births, leaves no doubt as to its nature at present. It is very true, that as soon as pregnancy takes place, marriage generally follows: but at all events, most women in the country become mothers at a very early age; and it is a fact, that notwithstanding the continual drain of the male population by foreign service and emigration, the canton of Berne, reduced to about one half of its former extent by the loss of the Pays de Vaud and Argovie, contains now the same population (about 350,000) it had in 1764, before that diminution. The tax imposed on the burghers of each community for the support of their poor, has also increased within that period in a very alarming manner, bearing, in some places, a comparison with our English poor-rates. There are instances at least of a property letting for 40 louis a year, rated at 6 louis for the poor-tax. The state of things, therefore, in this part of Switzerland, is nearly at the worst as to the increase of population; and the tendency of M. de Fellenberg's establishment is manifestly calculated to improve it. Most of the pupils of the *School of Industry* have attained the age of puberty; yet they scarcely ever went beyond the boundaries of the farm since they entered it, either day or night; not one of them ever was at a village dance, or has any acquaintance out of doors; nor do they appear to think of such things. The labours of the field, their various sports, their lessons, their choral songs, the necessary rest, fill the whole circle of the twenty-four hours; and judging from their open, cheerful, contented countenances, nothing seems wanting to their happiness. But it is a great point gained, to have brought young men to the age of 18 or 20 uncontaminated by the general licentiousness which prevails in the country. When their time is out, and they mix with other people, they will no doubt marry; but the probability is, they will be more difficult in their choice than other men of the same rank, and will shrink from vulgarity and abject poverty. Long habits of self-restraint, too, will enable them to look out with comparative patience for a suitable establishment, before they burden themselves with a family. In short, if the only check of the mild kind to an excessive increase of population is self-restraint, from motives of prudence and morality, where may we look for it with better hopes than among the pupils of M. de Fellenberg?

Although an expense of three or four pounds Sterling a year is not much, compared with the object attained, still it is beyond

the reach of most poor people : So that the great benefit of such establishments must result less from their actual operation on those who attend them, than from the indirect influence of their example, and the comparisons they suggest. Young men brought up at Hofwyl must obtain such a decided preference in all competition for employments, that parents will in time be induced to imitate, in their respective families, the successful process of the *school of industry*, the influence of which would thus extend far beyond its local habitation. Nor is this preference a matter of mere inference or supposition. Mr de Fellenberg has always applications for twice the number of lads in his school, who might be advantageously placed at any time, if their patron thought them sufficiently qualified, and if it was right for them to leave the Establishment before it is remunerated by their labour. Two only of the pupils have left Hofwyl for a place before the end of their time; and one, with Mr de Fellenberg's leave, is become chief manager of the immense estates of Comte Abaffy in Hungary, and has, it is said, doubled its proceeds by the improved methods of husbandry he has introduced. This young man, whose name is Madorly, was originally a beggar boy, and not particularly distinguished at school. Another directs a school established near Zurich, and acquits himself to the entire satisfaction of his employers.

We shall now proceed, however, to lay before our readers a more detailed account of the internal management of the school of industry. The lessons are given mostly *viva voce*, and various questions continually interposed, respecting measures of capacity, length and weight, and their fractional parts; the cubic contents of a piece of timber, or of a stack of hay; the time necessary to perform any particular task, under such or such circumstances; the effects of gravitation; the laws of mechanics; rules of grammar and different parts of speech, &c. &c. The boys endeavour to find the solution of arithmetical and mathematical problems without writing, and at the same time to proceed with the mechanical processes in which they may happen to be engaged. Aware of the difficulties with which they are thus made to grapple, as it were, without assistance, they are the more sensible of the value of those scientific short cuts which carry you in the dark indeed, but safely and speedily, to your journey's end, and the more delighted with their beauty as well as their use. They acquire the *rationale* of the thing, together with the practice; their understandings are exercised, and their attention kept awake. None of them are ever seen to look inattentive or tired, although just returned from their day's labour in the fields. Contrivance, and some degree of difficulty to overcome, is a necessary condition, it would seem, of our enjoyments. The



prince, whose game is driven towards him in crowds, and who fires at it with guns put ready-loaded into his hands, is incomparably sooner tired of his sport than him who beats the bushes all day for a shot.

The pupils are not always questioned, but, in their turn, propose questions to the masters, and difficulties to be solved, which they do sometimes with considerable ingenuity. They draw outlines of maps from memory, exhibiting the principal towns, rivers, and chains of mountains; they draw correctly from nature, and in perspective, all sorts of machines for agriculture; and are very fond of trying chemically the different sorts of soil, and have tables of them very well arranged. The Bible is read aloud on stated days, and such books as *Leonard and Gertrude* of Pestalozzi, the small book of *Want and Assistance*, *Robinson Crusoe* of Campe, the work of Zollikofer of Leipsic, the *Helvetic Mirror of Honour* by Stierlin, &c. and others of the same sort in which the German language abounds. Their music is of the simplest sort; Vehrli writes down the notes on a black board; the pupils copy them in their books; they sing each part, separately first, and then together, in general very correctly, and in good taste. A disagreeable voice will probably remain so; but Vehrli remarks, he never knew an instance of a bad ear which practice could not render perfect. Musical talents are very common among the peasants of German Switzerland; their lakes, their woods and mountains, resound with such concerts of voices as fill the eyes of the traveller with involuntary tears, if he is capable of being moved with concord of sweet sounds.

The boys go through the military exercise once a week, so as to appear respectably in the ranks of the militia when they shall leave the Establishment. Various gymnastic games are also practised occasionally; but mental exercises find their place better after hard labour: They do indeed in the fields full as well as on the benches of the school. For instance, when the boys are employed in digging trenches to irrigate a meadow, and while directing the water along artificial ridges, and round hills, so as to regulate the fall and distribute the moisture equally, they put each other in mind of what they have heard about the laws of hydraulics. When they clear a field of the stones turned up by the plough, and are directed to separate those which are calcareous, in order to be burned into lime, they know and practise the different tests by which their nature is ascertained, and can point out in the horizon the particular mountains which have furnished these various fragments.

Some of these acquirements may be thought unnecessary for country labourers; and they are so in some degree: But, at all

events, they do no harm, provided they do not encroach on indispensable employments. This is an experiment, the object of which is to show how much may be done for the education of the poor and their support, at least cost; and the more implies the less. If it should be found that some of the learning had better be spared for the sake of economy, and that it is necessary to bring earnings and charges nearer to a par, it is a comfort to know that we have so much to come and go on.

We may be asked, where are masters like Vehrli to be found, —able and willing to teach and play and labour—to guide the plough and lead the choral band with equal zeal—and just wise enough to follow the instructions of the directing spirit, without introducing any schemes of their own? We must answer, that it certainly will not be easy—and yet less difficult now than it was at first—since the pupils of Vehrli may be expected to supply some individuals like himself; and these others. He is by no means a man of extraordinary talents, but simply a zealous, conscientious, and rational substitute or agent.

In order to encourage the attachment to property acquired by our own industry, the pupils are allowed certain emoluments, such as the proceeds of the seeds they collect, some part of their gleanings, and what they raise in a small garden of their own: all which accumulates and forms a fund for the time of their going away. No ambitious views are fostered by this mode of training the poorest class beyond that of being good husbandmen. The pupils of the *school of industry* are not raised above their station; but their station, dignified and improved, is raised to them. It has been remarked before, that men born in the poorest class of society, constituted as it is at present, especially those who subsist in part on public charity, find it almost as difficult to get out of their dependent situation as a Hindoo to leave his cast,—kept down as they are by a sort of inbred ignorance and improvidence, and, above all, by their multitude; which is one of the worst consequences of that improvidence. The higher and middling ranks scarcely keep up their numbers anywhere; while multiplication goes on, unrestrained by any consideration of prudence, precisely among those who are least able to support a family. The poor may, in the bitterness of want, exclaim against taxes and ill government, and certainly not always without reason;—but the worst government is their own of themselves. When five labourers depend for a comfortable subsistence on getting a piece of work which can be performed by four, their comfort and their independence too are in no little danger; but both are irrecoverably lost if they should unwarily double their numbers. We may devise legislative checks on population,

and call to our aid even war and emigration : But the most powerful remedies will prove but palliatives ; and nothing will do, after all, but individual prudence and practical morality. Now, this is precisely what is meant to be inculcated in the *school of industry*. The practicability of the scheme, we think, is demonstrated, and the extent of application is under experiment ; and all who care for the peace and happiness of mankind, should pray fervently for its success. M. de Fellenberg, we are happy to learn, is on the point of establishing a second school of the poor in the neighbourhood of Hofwyl, wholly independent of the first.

*Agricultural labour* is not the only occupation which can be made the base of such an education. *Manufactures*, with all their disadvantages, might answer the purpose, provided the children were not collected together in vast numbers in the same rooms—provided they were under the care of intelligent and kind masters and overseers, and were allowed gardens of their own, and a certain number of hours each day to work in them, or take exercise in the open air—all which must abridge necessarily the time allotted to productive labour, or to learning. One of the great advantages of husbandry is, that it affords sufficient exercise, and leaves more time for mental improvement. Such of Vehrli's pupils as have a turn for any of the trades in demand at Hofwyl—wheelwright, carpenter, smith, &c. tailor or shoemaker—are allowed to apply to them. These boys will leave the Institution at the age of one-and-twenty, understanding agriculture better than any peasants ever did before, besides being practically acquainted with a trade, and with a share of learning quite unprecedented among the same class of people ; and yet as hard-working and abstemious as any of them, and with the best moral habits and principles. It seems impossible to desire or imagine a better condition of the peasantry.

The training for the rich may appear to some more objectionable ; but the ends, at least, are equally laudable—and the earnestness with which they are pursued can scarcely fail to do good.

Mr de Fellenberg believes, that men are infinitely more corrupt and vicious now than they were of old, and that they are growing worse every day. He wishes to recal them to that primitive simplicity, now nearly obliterated from their character, and to those antique virtues they have lost. The justice of this opinion is not, after all, of very great consequence. Whether men are now better or worse than they were, it is enough that they are not as good as they might be, to justify our endeavour to make them better.

Homer is a prodigious favourite at Hofwyl. The pupils of the higher school are thorough Hellenists; and the heroes of the Trojan war are their chosen friends. They are the oldest historical personages no doubt on record—at least in profane history: but whatever their poetical merits may be, few of their moral qualities can well be held up by Mr de Fellenberg to the imitation of his pupils; and we cannot help thinking, that he would have done much better if he had selected his heroes from among his own countrymen: For they also had their age of patriots and heroes—of men who, in all the grand and public virtues, might stand proudly beside those of Sparta or Rome, while they were infinitely their superiors in the nobler qualities of justice, humanity, and Christian charity, which characterize, upon the whole, the present state of society.

Public education, Mr de Fellenberg observes, is too generally an uniform process, imposed indiscriminately, and by force, upon every variety of disposition, talents, and character. His object, on the other hand, is to suit the education to the pupil, and not the pupil to the education. A good preceptor should be an experienced friend, who guides,—not a master who commands, and, above all, not an irascible master. Punishments and rewards he considers as equally objectionable: for fear makes slaves, and the love of distinction unfolds, in the end, most of the bad passions. *Do as you would be done by* is, he maintains, the only safe rule of conduct to inculcate; a lively feeling of right and wrong, good will and kindness to all men, the only sentiments fit to be encouraged. Emulation, perhaps, is too powerful and universal a stimulant to be altogether excluded; but it needs more frequently to be repressed than excited. Such a vigilant and cautious system of training would be best carried on certainly under the parental roof, in a well regulated and united family; and therefore he wishes a school to resemble as nearly as possible such a family, and to be as unlike as possible to a mere manufactory of learning. But as few families are exactly as they ought to be, and as the effect of this mode of education requires time, he makes it an express condition with parents placing their children in his hands, that they should leave them there for nine years, which brings them generally to the age of 19 or 20. They are not to expect annual visits—there are no holidays—no intervals of idleness, or worse, to counteract the general plan. This may appear a great sacrifice, and like giving up their children altogether, with the hazard of their becoming strangers to all early attachments. This, however, we are assured is not the case, but even the contrary: It has been found that they retain a lively remembrance of the early kind-

ness and indulgence of their parents and relations, and even an opinion of their capacity, often the more favourable for having been formed before they knew other objects of comparison.

The whole course of studies may be considered as divided into three periods, of three years each. In the first, they study Greek and the Grecian History, the knowledge of animals, plants, and minerals. In the second, Latin, Roman History, and the Geography of the Roman world. And in the third, Modern Languages and Literature, Modern History to the last century, and Geography—the Physical Sciences, and Chemistry. During the whole nine years, they apply to Mathematics, Drawing, Music, and Gymnastic Exercises.

The geometrical representation of near objects—the house, the garden, the course of the river, the surrounding country, the mountains beyond it, taken by approximation in the shape of a map—is the natural introduction to Geography. When the pupils feel a curiosity to know more of the world than they can see, maps are then laid before them, and the globe and its uses are explained. They are made to delineate correctly, from memory, the shape of continents and seas; and to place and name the principal chains of mountains, the course of rivers, the boundaries of states, their provinces and capitals;—and this leads to an inquiry into the particular history of each, and their natural productions.

Drawing is early cultivated, from natural objects first, then by copying, and finally by composing characteristic heads, or rather endeavouring to imitate the effect of passions on the human countenance. The execution is generally correct, but hard and dry—in the style of Perugino certainly, rather than of Rembrandt. Music likewise is much practised; not however with a view to execution, but for the sake of the Poetry of music, and its Piety—as an elevated language, in which certain ideas and feelings are expressed, which no other human means can reach or convey. The gymnastic exercises have for their object health, and the dexterous use of the bodily faculties; but they never are exhibited in public, and made an occasion of show and display.

The peculiar grammatical affinity existing between the Greek and the German languages, concurs with other motives to determine its early study. The extreme simplicity of Homer's narrative too, and the charms of the *Odyssey* in particular, give the younger pupils an early taste for history, and enable them to overcome, with comparative ease, the first difficulties of the language. They all become extremely fond of Homer. *Hærodotus* is next read—then *Thucydides*, *Xenophon*, *Eschylus*, and the other tragedians, and *Demosthenes*,—all, or only some

of these writers, as the pupils are disposed; for their taste is never forced. No extraordinary incitements are ever found necessary: there is indeed more occasion to restrain an over-eagerness for some particular study, for Homer in particular, which has been known to encroach too much on the necessary rest, and endanger the health. They begin Latin after reading Herodotus; but Virgil not answering the same purpose as Homer, and a course of previous historical reading being requisite before they undertake Livy, they take up in the mean time the best compilations of various authors;—later, they read Cicero, Horace, Tacitus, Sallust, &c. &c. Mr de Fellenberg advises passing from the Latin to the *Romance* dialect, previous to the study of Italian, being in fact the intermediate link, and an excellent introduction to the philosophy of languages.

The history of nations, Mr de Fellenberg says, may be traced with more certainty in the great moral results, which are all conspicuous and well known, than in the details of events often disputable or misrepresented. The leading vices and virtues of a people point to the ultimate end which awaits them, and throw light on their remotest history. In the patricians of Rome, we perceive at once the successors of fathers of families—patriarchs, and not roving adventurers and thieves. But the beneficent authority of fathers perpetuated in the hands of strangers, scarcely fails of degenerating into tyranny:—a rapid decay follows. This attempt to trace the succession of causes and effects—the true philosophy of history, becomes an entertaining as well as an useful object of study for the more advanced pupils, who are left a good deal to their own discretion in drawing inferences. It may however be doubted, whether our modern world has much moral or political affinity with the ancient one—or whether any practical conclusions can now be drawn with safety from the one to the other.

The civilized world is become a great whole, composed of parts sufficiently independent of each other to admit of considerable internal changes and great local revolutions, without the radical subversion by which national identity is lost, and political death inflicted on a community. About the beginning of our era, the world was divided between Romans and Barbarians: The former, masters of all they chose to call their own, knew scarcely any other limits to their empire, but that of geographical knowledge: Their advanced guards everywhere stood on the very verge of civilized life, and looked out on the illimitable wilderness beyond. The long habit of conquest lulled them at last into security,—want of exercise and excitement paralyzed by degrees that wholesome energy of their faculties, which had

made them what they were,—the enjoyment of overgrown wealth generated all sorts of vices,—legions of slaves administered to the pleasures of the masters of the world, and were the preceptors of their sons. Meantime the Barbarians grew in strength, in confidence, in wisdom, and probably in virtue. Rome stood by the magic of her name alone, for centuries before her fall; but she fell at last to rise no more: For with her fell at once her institutions, laws and language; and her learning, consigned to a few manuscript copies, may be said to have perished with all the rest. None of these things can happen now.—In the first place, there are no Barbarians—no unexplored wilderness where they might be hid:—we know every corner of the habitable world, and we fill it all. The offsets of Europe shade half America: they have cast deep roots in Asia, in Africa,—and form already a thrifty grove on the shore of a last discovered continent at our Antipodes. There are no longer any wars of extermination.—A few members of the great confederacy may quarrel; but a very decided superiority and encroaching disposition in any one of them is not tolerated any longer than is necessary to find an unguarded moment, or a vulnerable side, to attack and reduce it. The existence and efficacy of this watchful and preservative principle, so evident in our days, pervades the internal constitutions of governments, as well as their external relations; unfavourable alike to external and internal encroachments—to conquests abroad and to oppression at home. It facilitates reform, counteracts the silent deterioration of time, and tends, with a force that must be ultimately irresistible, to accommodate ancient institutions to new circumstances and necessities. Useful knowledge, practical experience, virtuous principles, are no longer deposited exclusively in a few heads which may be struck off, or consigned to a few leaves of papyrus which may be lost or consumed; but are spread among countless numbers of men and of printed books, beyond the power of any revolution short of an universal deluge to destroy.

But to return from this digression, we would observe, that the attention of the pupils is more particularly directed to those instances of generous and enlightened patriotism and private virtue which occur at intervals; than to those of a contrary nature unfortunately more frequent, and to the vulgar traffic and retail dealing of diplomacy. It is the endeavour of the master to encourage his pupils to express freely, both in writing and conversation, the opinions and feelings which have been suggested by their reading; and thus to enable them to rectify their mistakes, either as to facts or inferences; never dictating to them what they should think, and yet restraining and directing the flights of a young

imagination. The pupils do not read the history of the last century before their twentieth year, when judgment is sufficiently matured; and even then, all reference to the politics of the day is avoided, that they may enter the world with minds wholly free from party spirit, and able to form unprejudiced opinions. Common newspapers and political pamphlets are never seen at Hofwyl.

The study of Mathematics continues during the whole period of education, to an extent determined entirely by the individual capacity and disposition of each pupil, who is not hurried on or retarded for the sake of keeping pace with others. Every problem is analyzed and explained thoroughly before passing to another. The interest and attention of those of ordinary abilities, is kept up by practical applications of the science; and none but those properly qualified apply to the pure mathematics: In doing so, they are carefully guarded against the pride of successful calculation, which is apt to overlook Divine power in the consideration of its own.

At the same time that Mr de Fellenberg dwells with delight and confidence on the natural proofs of the existence of a Supreme Being, he admits fully, and establishes the necessity of a Revelation to supply the insufficiency of human reason. Socrates himself, he observes, did not know how to establish the dogma of the unity of God. His pupils, brought up in purity and simplicity of heart, under the influence of reason and kindness, are in a great degree Christians before they are taught Christianity,—and best prepared, therefore, to understand and receive the Divine doctrine; but all dogmatic points are reserved for the ministers of their respective communions, who are to instruct them; and controversial disputes are unknown and interdicted.

There is not any separate course of logic or philosophy. It is conceived, that philosophical and historical inquiries, properly conducted during the whole course of study, must have taught these sufficiently: nor is political economy expressly taught. The pupils are left to find out and gather together its scattered elements from the wide field of science over which they are conducted, and to draw their own conclusions. They will read with more pleasure, in due time, the works of the fathers of this last born of the sciences.

The dreadful scarcity of grain which afflicted all Europe, and especially Switzerland in 1816–17, calling for general and immediate assistance, Mr de Fellenberg made daily distributions of economical soups to the poor of his neighbourhood. The pupils of the higher school formed themselves into com-



mittees of inquiry and assistance, and made domiciliary visits to ascertain the situation of the claimants, and the best modes of relief. We have seen some of their reports; and though we are aware that such things are very apt to degenerate into theatrical displays, we must say, nothing of that kind is observable here. The various accidents which beget wealth or poverty, and render industry productive or unavailable, are all within the fair range of political economy; and this lesson of judicious humanity should be valuable, on more accounts than one, to the sons of German and Russian Nobles and Princes, and to rich commoners of all nations who compose the higher school.

The mode of teaching peculiar to Hofwyl, mostly oral, and to few pupils at a time, requires an unusual number of professors; there are not fewer, we think, than thirty for eighty pupils. In reference to this number, we have sometimes heard it asked, how it came to pass that in an establishment embracing the education of the high and the low, there should be twice as many rich as poor,—considering that there are so many more poor than rich in the world, in need of education? The question, we suspect, implies a charge of mercenary views in Mr de F.: and to this we can only answer, that the remuneration for the pupils of the higher school is only 45 louis or guineas for the Bernese, exclusive of clothing and extra masters, for riding, fencing, &c.; and that altogether they do not cost their parents more than 100 or 120 louis a year. Strangers pay 2000 Swiss francs, or 125 louis,—board, clothing, washing, and all masters included. The lively interest the Emperor Alexander was known to take in the Establishment, had given rise to an idea that Mr de Fellenberg shared in the munificence of that great Sovereign. That he might have done so on the slightest intimation of its being desirable, is undoubted; but, in point of fact, Mr de Fellenberg is under no pecuniary obligations to any one on earth, not even to his own Government. The Russian Emperor takes upon himself, we believe, to pay the board of about 15 of his subjects in the Establishment, at the stated price of 125 louis, and no more: thus saving Mr de Fellenberg the trouble of a running account with their parents,—and this is the amount of his obligation. There are several pupils, not fewer than 12 or 15, whose parents, having experienced reverses of fortune, pay nothing at all. The thirty professors cost about three thousand pounds Sterling a year, besides their board—about 35 of the 40 boys of the School of Industry cost Mr de Fellenberg 3*l.* 8*s.* Sterling a year each. On the score of money, therefore, it is evident that nothing but the strictest economy can bring the expenditure of the Establishment within the income. The sur-

plus of that income, we believe, has always been applied to the extension of the system, and the erection of such buildings as he finds necessary in its progress. A stone house, 180 feet long and 56 feet wide, and another of wood, 90 feet by 36, for a riding-school, and other winter exercises, have been lately erected.

It has been said also that Mr de Fellenberg's husbandry is ruinous. This would only add to the wonder of his being able to do what he does by his own slender means; but, in point of fact, his farm affords a considerable profit. We have, upon this point, the evidence of a gentleman well versed in those matters, Mr Crud of Genthod, one of the commissioners appointed by the Swiss Diet to inquire into the agricultural establishment at Hofwyl, the result of whose statements is, that the farm (214½ poses, equal to about 172 English acres) has produced *net* in 4 years from 1810 to 1814, 56,705*l.* Swiss money, and for one year 14,176*l.*, which, deducting interest at 6 per cent. on 14,382*l.* the average value of stock on the farm, or 843*l.*, leaves a clear profit of 13,313*l.*, equal to 3*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* Sterling a pose, (nearly equal to 4-5ths of an English acre \*); and, valuing the farm at the high price of 750*l.* a pose, (47*l.* Sterling), gives something more than 8½ per cent. interest, net of all charges. The farm is undoubtedly benefited by the Institution, which affords a ready market for its produce, and perhaps by the low price at which the labour of Vehrli's boys is charged: But the farm, on the other hand, affords regular employment to the boys; and also enables Mr de Fellenberg to receive his richer pupils at a lower price than he could otherwise do. Hofwyl, in short, is a great whole; where 120 or 130 pupils, more than 50 masters and professors, as many servants, and a number of day-labourers, six or eight families of artificers and tradesmen, altogether about 300 persons, find a plentiful, and in many respects a luxurious subsistence, exclusive of education, out of the produce of 170 acres; and a money income of six or seven thousand pounds, reduced more than half by salaries, affords a very considerable surplus to lay out in additional buildings.

Mr de Fellenberg began with a paternal estate of about 500*l.* Sterling a year, upon which he raised a capital by mortgage; but he has no other debts; and the expenses of the Establishment are paid with the utmost regularity. We have omitted to mention, that the sale of machines constructed at Hofwyl

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\* The pose is 40,000 square feet of Berne, equal to 32,500 of Paris, and about 35,000 English feet, that is, equal to about 4-5ths of an English acre.

affords a considerable revenue, about 200 *semoirs* being sold annually, at 20 louis a piece, \*—besides a number of *extirpateurs*, a sort of grubber or harrow of a particular construction.

The life of a man is very short for such an undertaking as that of Mr de Fellenberg; and in laying the foundations of his edifice, he probably thought of a loftier superstructure than he could expect to rear with his own hands: The plants he cultivates at present are for seed rather than for immediate consumption. He is now bringing up at least 40 active Managers of institutions like the School of Industry, and 80 Protectors of such institutions:—at least it may be hoped that a certain number of the pupils of Hofwyl will not disappoint the high expectations entertained in regard to them. But it is easier to procure children of poor parents to be brought up *gratis*, than rich and powerful individuals disposed to encourage and assist in the undertaking; and therefore the latter is, as it ought to be, his first object.

The education of the lower classes is principally negative. For it is nearly sufficient to set them good examples, and keep idleness and vice out of sight. But the education of the higher classes is of a more positive and extensive sort; and they have evidently more to learn. They should possess clear views of the sources of public prosperity—of the wholesome and of the pernicious influence of wealth—of the equality of Civil Rights amidst all the differences of rank and fortune; fair prizes to which all men may aspire by legitimate means, without feeling particularly proud when the fortunate number falls to their lot. It is for them to understand the true tenure of power, and especially of hereditary power,—legitimate because of its public utility; and to feel the justice and necessity of securing the end so well, and making it so evident and plain that no one may be tempted to question the means. Nations press round the foot of the tree of knowledge, and will pluck the green fruit, unless we help them to that which is ripe and wholesome. We know but too well to what consequences imperfect and erroneous information, and exaggerated opinions, may lead;—men cannot indeed unlearn, and it is not desirable that they should,—but they may learn better;—nothing remains to secure the peace and welfare of the world, but to open their eyes entirely, and throw a plank over the

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\* The *semoir* saves about two-thirds of the seed; and the peasants who have such a machine, undertake to sow a field without pay, provided they are allowed the same quantity of seed as would be used by the broadcast method;—the two-thirds saved are his profit, and the farmer has a better crop.

precipice, on the brink of which they hover without a guide, and where they may draw others down after them in the fall.

It must not be supposed that the pupils of the two schools are at all on the footing of companions;—nothing can be further from Mr de Fellenberg's ideas than a fanciful equality, wholly inconsistent with a wholesome constitution of society. They have nothing in fact in common but attendance at church on Sunday—that is, those of the same communion. There are 23 Catholics at Hofwyl—14 of the high school belonging to the first families in Germany, 2 of Vehrli's boys, a professor, and 5 servants. They have a curate approved by the *Vicar apostolique* in Switzerland: 15 or 18 Russians again have a Greek chapel situated half way between Berne and Hofwyl—the rest are Lutherans and Calvinists. One only of the pupils has died since the beginning of the Institution.

Not satisfied with what we had ourselves learned and thought on this subject, we have been anxious to learn what was thought of it in the neighbourhood, and by persons not particularly friendly to the Institution. We have scarcely heard an objection against the *School of Industry*. The opinion is *universally* favourable to it; and though there is more difference of sentiment as to the *higher school*, the worst we have heard is, that the pupils are not so advanced in any one science as some young men brought up in other schools are. It is admitted that they are eminently moral and amiable in their deportment; that they are very intelligent; and that their ideas have a wide range. In short, the objection, as it appears to us, is, that they are likely to become liberal-minded gentlemen, but not professors. Hofwyl is not a college where the only object is learning;—still less a monastery, where an austere and uniform rule prevails;—it is a little world, composed of different ranks and professions, and where individuality of character is preserved, and a variety of talents unfolded.

The patricians of Berne have been generally, from the beginning, unfavourable to the Institution; yet several of them have their sons in it, and many more are now endeavouring to procure admittance. We have learned very lately, that a decided and active enemy, many years first magistrate of the district where Hofwyl is situated, and lately dead, enjoined expressly in his last-will, that his sons should, if possible, be educated exclusively at Hofwyl!

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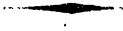
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